

HOW TO STOP LYNCHING!

1920



AUGUST, 1919

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*The only Magazine of Scientific Radicalism
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would have done just what Trotter attempted and thereby could have performed some useful service for the Negro.

The international method of dealing with problems is the method of the future. Almost all democratic problems have been settled through force of international opinion. Our Revolutionary War of 1776, was made possible through the assistance of French troops under Lafayette, who responded to assistance because of the revolutionary opinion of the Frenchmen. Our Civil War was won by the North, because Carl Marx, the founder of Socialism, Frederick Douglass, who had more character and intelligence than any of our present day old crowd leaders and other persons interested in universal democracy, appealed to the public opinion of England to oppose the system of chattel slavery which still obtained in the United States. Douglass was able to get a hearing in England when the United States would not grant a hearing. It was possible to get a hearing in the North, where slavery was abolished, while a hearing in the South was not possible. The beneficiary of a system cannot be relied upon to change that system from which he receives his benefits. England cannot be relied upon to relieve the Irish people of their oppression because the landed estates of Ireland are yielding great profits to the absentee landlords of Great Britain. The Negro in the United States cannot expect much assistance from those who control this government, because the manufacturers and capitalists whom President Wilson says are the government of this country, are making huge profits out of the cheap labor of Negroes. Great Britain would not consider the independence of the American colonies, because she was drawing huge taxes on tea, clothing, machinery and other articles and instruments. The United States grows eloquent over the pogroms committed against Jews in Poland, but the burning of a Negro every day or so in Texas or Georgia or Mississippi (which by the way are in the United States) does not disturb our good President Wilson, who calmly states to the Senate "America shall lead the way!" Is there any wonder that Leon Trotsky of Russia should regard our President as "the arch hypocrite in Christendom?"

Another reason why international opinion is so important is that every country is ready to pose as being democratic to some other country and most ready to take up the persecutions of other peoples as a means of directing attention to the wrongs of others and diverting the attention from its own mismanagement and abuse and tyranny. It is a species of international hypocrisy—international deception, which is a mark of advancing civilization. The more enlightened people become, the more necessary it is to make use of psychological forces, rather than physical forces. They can be deceived more easily than they can be coerced. Ideas move the world, but those ideas must be sound ideas. As Lester F. Ward says, "Opinions beget desires and desires beget actions." The action, however, will be sound or unsound, in proportion as the opinion is intelligent and informed. Enlightened international opinion is the most powerful opinion in the world. It should be propagated for numerous reasons, but we must let it suffice to close with the above citation. Long live internationalism!

THE RAND SCHOOL AND THE LUSK COMMITTEE

Of recent date much has been heard of the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. It has been frequently raided, according to the newspapers—the term raid being used to imply that some sort of secret, criminal activities were being carried on. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. On the contrary, the Rand School is the largest independent educational institution in the United States. It is well conducted, manned by a staff of the ablest professors in the country, while it has an attendance of nearly six thousand students.

The school was founded by Carrie Rand, a genuine old abolitionist. She and her husband were both bitterly opposed to Negro slavery and their voices were heard not infrequently in protest. Not only that. She was different from the average run of Radicals and Liberals of today who have money. She not only gave lip service, but material assistance to the cause. She left a substantial sum of money with which to found the Rand School, believing, in keeping with the principles of the school today, that education was the most powerful force in the emancipation of a people. She saw that the Negro chattel slavery, which had just passed, was succeeded by a miserable wage slavery, which gave but little more liberty to both white and black workers than what they had already enjoyed. The Rand School was founded in 1906, with an attendance of 250 students. It has grown so rapidly until today it is a menace to reactionary government in the United States. It has no fear of the truth. It teaches courses on the Hindoo problem, the Japanese question and within the past year, it has instituted a course on the Economics and Sociology of the Negro Problem, which course is taught by the two editors of *THE MESSENGER*. In inaugurating a regular course on the Negro problem, it has set a fine example to other educational institutions. As a matter of fact, the Lusk Committee seems more concerned about its activities, in teaching the truth about Negroes than in the rest of its work. Again, it must be noted that the Lusk Committee has not directed its attention to any bomb throwing or bomb manufacturing in New York but against the only bomb which the reactionaries fear—an educational institution which opens the eyes of the people. Ingersoll once said, "To teach the alphabet is to inaugurate a revolution; to build a school house is to construct a fort." In all countries where men have been held as slaves, it was a crime to teach a slave to read and write. Today it is a crime to spread to the people education which will raise their standard of living, increase their wages and shorten their hours. Enlightened public opinion has about discovered what a farcical fossilized and motley crew of ignoramuses the Lusk Committee is. It has not and will not injure the Rand School, for people who have never known anything about it will now study it and inform themselves. When the Lusk Committee shall have been driven to the tall timbers and retires to that oblivion and obscurity from which it ought never to emerge, the Rand School will remain as a monument to the new civilization, a land mark on the highway of progress. The unspeakable Lusk Committee has groomed itself for

the shades of private life and for the Stygian darkness of barbarism in which a combination of the Lusk-Stevenson intelligence might fitly hibernate.

—:o:—

THE MESSENGER AND THE POST OFFICE

His Honor, Postmaster Burleson, finally consented to allow the July MESSENGER to go through the mails. However, we assign no credit to Mr. Burleson for the same. The real cause of the release of the MESSENGER was the violent avalanche of protest which swept down upon the Post Office. It became clear to the saner element of the government that such unwarranted, arbitrary, autocratic, stone-age action would produce a social explosion, the outcome of which no man could reckon. Even a worm will turn when hit too savagely. The people have not protested against the editorial and article entitled the "Hun in America" and "German Propaganda Among Negro Soldiers" and the cartoon portraying the American sport—lynching. But, of course, such would not please His Honor Burleson, who, by the way, according to the New York World, maintains a Peonage Farm and hails from Texas where 15,000 white civilized Americans took a holiday upon the occasion of burning a fourteen year old Negro boy under the shadow of the Court House. Yes, Burleson released the MESSENGER out of fear not favor.

But Burleson or no Burleson, the MESSENGER will continue to carry its message of economic, political and social justice to the Negro in particular and America in general.

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THE NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD ASSOCIATION

The National Brotherhood Association of America is a sort of Negro Federation of Labor. It is composed of Negro unions of all kinds from Florida to New York—Negroes who have combined to exact justice both from the employers and from the labor unions. It was the power of this organization, more than anything else, which drove the American Federation of Labor to adopt its changed profession toward Negro labor. This organization also, with its tremendous power in Newport News, Norfolk and Portsmouth, was able to dominate the election of the President of the State Federation of Labor of Virginia in June, while it secured one representative on the Executive Board of the State Federation of Labor of Virginia.

Since the American Federation of Labor announced its new profession, some members of this organization have wondered whether it needed to continue its work. Our answer is—most assuredly the work must be continued. It is just as important as the work of the United Hebrew Trades in protecting the members of the Jewish race. It is even more important because Negroes are more discriminated against. Besides, no real change of heart has yet affected the Federation of Labor. It is a center of reaction in the United States. We are not sure that it has undergone a real regeneration. Beware of the Greeks bearing gifts.

The National Brotherhood Association is having a great convention of Negro organized labor in Washington, D. C., on August 25th. Every Negro

union in the United States, whether independent, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Industrial Workers of the World ought to be represented through delegates. There are many important issues to be taken up and the persons to take them up are not the old crowd Negro leaders, but the plain people, who work with head and hand—who do mental and manual labor. We heartily endorse this convention and reiterate our urgent message to American Negro laborers to be there, August 25th, 1919.

—:o:—

WHY EVERY NEGRO SHOULD BE A CO-OPERATOR

You have to buy the necessities of life each week. By purchasing them from a Co-operative Store the difference from the actual cost belongs to you and will be returned to you later in dividends or in social benefits. Business people do not give their goods away—why let them grow rich at your cost? One-fourth of the population of England are Co-operators. They create capital out of their own purchases at their own stores—why don't you?

The Workers In Europe Have Come To Know That Co-operation Is The Sure Way To Help Them Help Themselves.

Their stores save for them their pennies when they buy flour, potatoes, shoes and clothing. Their combined savings have built for them great business organizations. Their wholesales did a trade in 1916 of nine hundred million dollars—an increase over 1915 of more than two hundred million dollars.

SAVINGS On Their Daily Purchases In Their Co-operative Stores Enabled The Workers Of Belgium To Build Their Own Halls For Congresses And Propaganda, Their Own Libraries, Their Own Schools.

This gives Solidarity and Strength to the Working Class Movement. They use their collective saving for the best and noblest interests of their class. How do you use yours?

IF You Form A Co-operative Store With Your Brothers, Your Shop Will Have No Need To Cheat Or Adulterate.

For with Co-operators those who buy and those who sell are of one body. Why should they cheat themselves?

WHEN You Pool Your Purchasing Power In Large Numbers You Can Also Save In Buying.

That means more savings. From this collective capital you will eventually control a wholesale with great warehouses. Then you will run your own factories and make your own goods that your own stores sell. With the earnings from your factories you will purchase wheat lands, coal mines, herds of cattle, coffee and tea plantations, fruit groves and farms. The workers in Europe—two million, eight hundred thousand in Holland, four million in England, thirteen million in Russia, etc.—have done this. So will you when you wake up to your power as Consumers.

HOW Much Rebate Have Your Grocer And Coal Man Given You Each Year For Your Business In The Past? Not One Penny!

When YOU form a Co-operative Society YOU decide what shall be done with the money saved from the goods you buy each day. You and your

neighbor, each with a vote, put that money to use for the common good or you vote to pay it to yourselves in dividends.

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ONE BIG UNION

The monistic interpretation of human actions and human institutions have ever increasing confirmation in the march of historical events. The League of Nations is the highest manifestation of capitalism, politically expressed. It is the final consummation of a process of integration in world-politics—proceeding from petty balances of power, such as triple alliances and ententes. This is but the reflex of a similar trend of integrating Finance—Capital. This imposing, colossal and gigantic aggregation of capital must and will provoke a counter irritant—a One Big Union. The organization of labor upon the basis of industry can no more be checked than could the rise of capitalism upon the ruins of feudalism have been checked. Trade Unionism has played its part. It has had its period of usefulness. It is not only now no longer useless, but, like the vermiform appendix it lurks to cause disease. It hinders the “march of the iron battalion of the proletariat” to industrial democracy. The One Big Union can only express the One Big Aim against the One Big Enemy for the One Big Cause—the cause of capturing the world for the workers in a period when capitalism has reached its final stage of development.

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THE GREAT 'GENE

Noble 'Gene, thou that seest and singest of the end of the old and of the beginning of a new world; of capitalism's temples robed in fire, falling, and of Socialism rising. We salute thee, 'Gene! With a heart as big as the world and as broad as humanity, you have extended your hand of comradeship and greeting, across mountains of corpses and rivers of blood and tears, to your brothers of Russia and Hungary struggling in the birth pangs of a proletarian revolution. You have dared to state to the money lords of pelf and power, of sword and blood that the old world of slaves is perishing and a new world of freemen will take its place. It is for this and only this, that thou art languishing enchained, gagged and strangled by the red and reeking hand of freedom's greatest foes. It is you, 'Gene, yes, our 'Gene, to whom labor owes more than to any other soul in America, the debt of giving you freedom. Yet giant labor, unmindful of its power, still slothfully sleeps, while the heart of our 'Gene is torn and bleeding. Though thou art suffering, thou art still majestic in thy sadness at the piteous cries of mankind. Though thy forum roars no longer, thy spirit, like the evening star, yet gilds the fanthom shores of Time. Liberty in America is dead, while thou art prostrate under the iron heel of capitalism in the dark, dank and cavernous dungeons of dirt, disease and death; and labor's escutcheon of honor is sullied and disgraced. Great 'Gene, we salute thee! We hallow thy name, thy works and days, we, the most crushed of peoples, loved thee since first thy struggles for economic justice began. Yes, our 'Gene, messenger and prophet of the noblest philosophy conceived in the mind of man.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Labor in Europe, is indeed, becoming class conscious. It too, is becoming revolutionary. It appreciates that an injury to one is an injury to all, whether the injury be inflicted upon the workers in Manchester, Paris, New York or Petrograd. Only ignorance stands between labor and the control of the world. Labor need not ever expect Congresses and Parliaments that are dominated by Capital, to grant its demands. It would be suicidal to capitalism. For the triumph of labor means the death of capitalism. The lion and the lamb cannot lie down in harmony and peace together. The flea and the dog cannot fraternize. This is also true of labor and capital. Labor is the mother of capital and hence it must control and own it. The world is the product of labor and hence labor must, ought and will finally own it. A general strike will pull the armies of the Allies out of Russia, the first working-class government in the world. It will free the political prisoners in England, France and also America. Because the plutocrats out of fear of a similar general strike taking place in this country will “let our people go.” Mass action is labor's only effective weapon. So, get to it.

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HOW TO STOP LYNCHING

Lynching is our chiefest problem in America today. All Negroes are agreed, and some white people also, that it is the arch crime of America and that it ought to be stopped. The only difference is that of method. The question of How?

We are also pretty well agreed that the methods adopted by Negroes at the behest of Negro leaders, in the past, are futile and valueless.

For instance, we have sent telegrams to Southern Governors only to be told in reply, that they have no power and oftentimes no inclination to stop what they are pleased to characterize as “an orderly lynching.” Experience has taught us that appeal to “Big White Politicians” is simply ineffective. For even the President, Woodrow Wilson, made a pronouncement against lynching (Of course he was only interested in Robert Prager, a German who had been lynched, and especially in view of the fact that Germany had threatened to take revenge upon American citizens residing in Germany) with no visible effect upon the Southern mob.

The MESSENGER proposes an immediate program for Negroes. This program includes two methods. First, physical force and secondly, economic force.

Physical Force

Anglo Saxon jurisprudence recognizes the law of self-defense. Our information also records that the right of self-defense is recognized in the laws of all countries. Not only is the right of self-defense recognized with respect to the person about to be injured, but it is recognized that the person about to be injured may summon others to assist him in repelling an attack. We are consequently urging Negroes and other oppressed groups confronted with lynching or mob violence to act upon the recognized and accepted law of self-defense. Always regard your own life as more important than

the life of the person about to take yours, and if a choice has to be made between the sacrifice of your life and the loss of the lyncher's life, choose to preserve your own and to destroy that of the lynching mob. Recently we have had a few instances of the effect of organized self-assertion on the part of Negroes in the South. The Nation points out that on the 25th and 26th of May a mob in Memphis, Tenn., where Eli Persons was lynched a year ago, had settled upon a race riot. It was found out, however, that Negroes were well armed and organized to meet the attack with resistance. This having been learned, the Mayor of Memphis immediately called the Chief of Police, and both together promptly called off the riot. Just a few days ago, the Negroes of Long View, Texas, held up a mob which started out to lynch a Negro school teacher who had reported a lynching through the Chicago Defender. Instead of leaving the Negro school teacher to himself, to make his own defense, a group of Negroes, well armed and well organized, fired upon the advancing mob, shooting down four members of the mob, whereupon its steps were taken backward rather than forward. The Governor of Texas, as a rule, has always claimed that he had no troops and no power to stop the action of the mob but when the Negroes at Long View protected their lives with shot and shell and fire, the Governor of Texas sent militia and rangers and army planes to restore law and order in Long View. The MESSENGER wants to explain the reason why Negroes can stop lynching in the South with shot and shell and fire. All mobs act on the principle of pessimism. One hundred to fifteen thousand men usually take part in lynching one Negro, with the Negro handcuffed and arrested, unable to defend himself. The very numbers who engage in it are evidence of the cowardice of the mob. But when the mob knows that somebody is going to have to give his life, each man thinks that *he* may have to give *his* life. No one desires to make this sacrifice, and although it is perfectly certain that twenty millions of people can beat down eight millions, if the sacrifice to accomplish this is so great, it will deter the twenty million from its aim; and so with the mob. A mob of a thousand men knows it can beat down fifty Negroes, but when those fifty Negroes rain fire and shot and shell over the thousand, the whole group of cowards will be put to flight.

This may sound rather strange talk for the pacific editors of the MESSENGER, but we are pacific only on matters that can be settled peacefully. The appeal to the conscience of the South has been long and futile. Its soul has been petrified and permeated with wickedness, injustice and lawlessness. The black man has no rights which will be respected unless the black man enforces that respect. It is his business to decide that just as he went three thousand miles away to fight for alleged democracy in Europe and for others, that he can lay down his life, honorably and peacefully, for himself in the United States. In so doing, we do not assume any role of anarchy, nor any shadow of lawlessness. We are acting strictly within the pale of the law and in a manner recognized as law abiding by every civilized nation. We are trying to enforce the laws which American Huns are trampling in the dust, connived in and winked at by nearly all of the

American officials, from the President of the United States down.

Economic Force

Physical force is not the only weapon of the Negro. He has tremendous economic power. He constitutes one-seventh of the industrial population of the United States. In the South, his economic power is even greater. According to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, the Negroes in the South produce three-fifths of the wealth, that is, one-third of the population produces over one-half of the wealth. Now one of the best ways to strike a man is to strike him in the pocket-book. Cotton is the staple crop of the South. The Negroes are the chief producers of cotton. They also constitute a big factor in the South in the production of turpentine, tar, lumber, coal and iron, transportation facilities and all agricultural produce. They should be thoroughly organized into unions, whereupon they could make demands and withhold their labor from the transportation industry and also from personal and domestic service and the South will be paralyzed industrially and in commercial consternation. That state of affairs will attract the attention and interest of the whole world. Lynching will immediately be made a national and an international problem.

The problem will become *national* because the textile industries of the North and West are dependent upon the products of Negro labor. When Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York can no longer get cotton for the mills, the mills must close. Machinery stands idle. Men are unemployed. Discontent grows. Social unrest spreads. Revolution stares the government in the face. The building and lumber trades will also be at a standstill. Mechanics will be thrown out of work. Carpenters, masons, moulders, painters, plumbers, electricians, machinists, contractors and architects will have their work cut down. Something will then have to be done. Both capitalists and workers will become interested in abolition of lynching—the capitalists because their profits will be cut off, from the cessation of business, and the workers because their wages will be cut off, from the cessation of work. At this time, the whole of the United States will for the first time, be interested in abolition of lynching, not because they will love the Negro any more, but because it is necessary for their own interests to stamp out this typical American injustice.

Lynching will then become an *international problem*, also. During the Civil War, when the Southern Blockade was on, and cotton could not be shipped to Europe, industrial paralysis was thrown into Great Britain. In Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and London, the textile industries had to be closed. Work stopped in those great industrial centers and every Englishman began to inquire about American slavery. The Englishmen wanted slavery abolished, because the fight over the institution was striking them in the pocketbook. Slavery became an international problem because cotton could not be supplied. At that time, however, only a few million bales of cotton were produced. Today over a hundred million bales are being produced each year, largely by Negroes. Now, if the hold up of a few million bales made slavery an international

problem, the hold up of hundreds of millions of bales of cotton will make lynching an international problem of prime importance. If Negroes withdraw their hands from the cotton fields, the cotton will rot on the farms. The South will get on its knees, just as it was almost on its knees over the migration during the war. It did not want Negroes to leave there, not because they were hankering for Negro company but because they wanted the Negro's work—his labor power.

At the present time, these two forms of attack will suffice for Negroes to enter upon. Whenever you hear talk of a lynching, a few hundred of you must assemble rapidly and let the authorities know that you propose to have them abide by the law and not violate it. Offer your services to the Mayor or the Governor, pledging him that you can protect the life of any prisoner if the State militia has no such power. Ask the Governor or the authorities to supply you with additional arms and under no circumstances should you Southern Negroes surrender your arms for lynching mobs to come in and have sway. To organize your work a little more effectively, get in touch with all of the Negroes who were in the draft. Form little voluntary companies which may quickly be assembled. Find Negro officers who will look after their direction. Be perfectly calm, poised, cool and self-contained. Do not get excited but face your work with cold resolution, determined to uphold the law and to protect the lives of your fellows at any cost. When this is done, nobody will have to sacrifice his life or that of anybody else, because nobody is going to be found who will try to overcome that force.

Industrially, let the farmers organize farmers' protective unions. Let the lumber workers, moulders, masons, plasterers and other Negro workers on railroads and in mines organize into unions, quietly and unostentatiously. Be prepared to walk out in concert, every man and woman who does any form of work. Let it be known that we are down to plain business, free from any foolishness or play.

Let every Negro in the South, begin to work on this program by agitating for it in the lodges, churches, schools, parlor and home conversation and while at work in factory or field. Write also to us about any detail in entering upon this work. If this program is pressed, a year from now, we can call out of the fields, the factories and the mines between a million and two million Negroes, who will initiate the true work of making America a real "land of the free and home of the brave."

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THE NEGRO AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

At its Convention in Atlantic City in June, the American Federation of Labor went on record as endorsing and planning to organize Negroes in the unions throughout the United States. Negro leaders all around are claiming to have had some influence in creating this decision. Such old fossils as Fred R. Moore, Robert Russa Moton, George W. Harris, Emmett J. Scott and George E. Haynes have the temerity to claim that they were able to bring force to bear to get this decision in the American Federation of Labor's Convention. Of course, we hardly need to say to our readers that these old

political fossils, mental manikins, intellectual lilliputians, who are bankrupt in ideas and poverty stricken in information, could have had nothing to do with any movement which tends toward progress, except to hold it back. What, then were the real causes of this quasi change of heart on the part of the Federation of Labor?

There are several reasons.

First: There are thousands and tens of thousands of Negroes in the unions, who have been moved by the social unrest which is shaking the world. Instead of assuming the complacent, compromising, shifty, surrendering position advocated by the old political and social fossils enumerated above, these Negroes in the labor unions decided to assume the position of a threat and to hold the Sword of Damocles dangling over the head of the Federation of Labor. In the convention, they threatened to withdraw, to secede entirely. Now, these Negroes pay in dues hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly to the Federation of Labor. They hold an economic power which cannot be ignored by that strong and powerful organization. But the withdrawal of immense sums of money looked menacing, and a blow in the pocketbook is always a blow which will be felt, noted and responded to if it is pressed with persistency.

Secondly: A large group of these Negroes in unions have formed the National Brotherhood Association which is itself, a sort of Negro Federation of Labor. It has headquarters in Washington, D. C., and has called a convention for August the 25th, in the City of Washington. This organization threatens to pull the Negroes into a body which will fight both employers and the labor unions who discriminate against Negroes, very much in the way that the United Hebrew Trades operates among the Jews. The editors of the MESSENGER are members of the Board of Directors of this organization, and that means that the organization is built upon and is following sound, union principles and militant, revolutionary methods.

Third: The MESSENGER magazine, the only magazine of scientific Radicalism in the world, published by Negroes, has been carrying on relentless and widespread propaganda among Negro workers in this country for nearly two years. It is being read this month by over thirty-three thousand Negro workers and a few thousand Radical whites. It has struck such alarm in the breasts of the reactionaries who dominate the American Federation of Labor's machine, that the Union League Club asked the New York State Legislature to probe its agitation among Negroes in the United States. The Legislature of the State acted upon said resolution and the National Security League has been examining its issues and propaganda. This resolution of the Union League Club was passed March 13, 1919, and carried by the Associated Press. On March 25th, 1919, the National Civic Federation Review, an organ of the Wall Street plutocrats, and the millionaires and billionaires of the United States, carried a three-page article entitled, "New York State Probe of Bolshevism Asked." "Union League Club Committee Declares Facts Warrant Full Inquiry Especially as to Those Who Seek to Stir Negroes—Ultra Radicals Back New Union." The article stated,

done anyhow and the reactionaries of this country, together with Samuel Gompers, the reactionary President of the American Federation of Labor, desire to hold back this trend of Negro labor radicalism.

Seventh: The Providence Sunday Journal of June 1st, 1919, one of the chief plutocratic mouth pieces of the country, carries a whole half page on THE MESSENGER and its labor agitation, entitled "Enrolling American Negroes Under Banners of Bolshevism." In speaking of THE MESSENGER it says: "What is advocated by THE MESSENGER, is a policy of evolution—one that will bring the Negro workers of this country into closer relationship with the white unionists—one that will make a great combination of the white and black laboring vote of this country, and, therefore, one which if brought to a successful culmination would dominate the politics and policies of the entire country."

The Providence Journal continues, "The publication in the U. S., spreading this insidious propaganda among Negroes, is THE MESSENGER. It is published at 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York City, by *two as well read, well educated and competent Negroes as there are in the United States*. They are A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, and as a contributing editor, they have Dr. George Frazier Miller, one of the best known Negro divines in New York City. The publication is well gotten up, well printed and in every way put together in a manner which would appeal to the people that it is intended to reach."

After writing a whole half page on the propaganda being carried on by THE MESSENGER magazine and the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes the Providence Journal also quotes the preamble of the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism Among Negroes.

Eighth: The New York World, the mouth piece of the present administration, and also a plutocratic mouth piece, says in its issue of June 4, 1919, "The radical forces in New York City have recently embarked on a great new field of revolutionary endeavor, the education through agitation of the southern Negro into the mysteries and desirability of revolutionary Bolshevism. There are several different powerful forces in N. Y. City behind this move. The chief established propaganda is being distributed through THE MESSENGER, which styles itself—"The only magazine of scientific radicalism in the world, published by Negroes." Its editors are A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, with George Frazier Miller, contributing editor. This radical journal is published at 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City. With the exception of The Liberator, it is the most radical journal printed in the U. S.

In the issue of the New York World, June 8th, Sunday edition, a special article, almost a page long on "Methods Used by Radicals to Destroy the Influence of The American Federation of Labor," the following quotation was taken from the MESSENGER: "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 prin-

ciples. 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!"

The foregoing comments from such powerful organs as The Providence Sunday Journal, The New York Sunday World, The National Civic Federation Review and the Union League Club of New York, followed by action of the Legislature of the State of New York—demonstrates how powerful is the influence of a well written, logical publication, fighting for the interests of twelve million Negroes in particular and the working masses in general. These are the real reasons why the American Federation of Labor decided to lay aside its infamous color line. There is no change of heart on the part of the Federation, but it is acting under the influence of fear. There is a new leadership for Negro workers. It is a leadership of uncompromising manhood. It is not asking for a half loaf but for the whole loaf. It is insistent upon the Negro workers exacting justice, both from the white labor unions and from the capitalists or employers.

The Negroes who will benefit from this decision are indebted first to themselves and their organized power, which made them dangerous. Second, to the radical agitation carried on by the MESSENGER; and third, to the fine spirit of welcome shown by the Industrial Workers of the World, whose rapid growth and increasing power the American Federation of Labor fears. These old line Negro political fossils know nothing of the Labor Movement, do not believe in labor unions at all, and have never taken any active steps to encourage such organizations. We make this statement calmly, coolly and with a reasonable reserve. The very thing which they are fighting is one of the chief factors in securing for Negroes their rights. That is Bolshevism. The capitalists of this country are so afraid that Negroes will become Bolsheviks that they are willing to offer them almost anything to hold them away from the radical movement. Nobody buys pebbles which may be picked up on the beach, but diamonds sell high. The old line Negro leaders have no power to bargain, because it is known that they are Republicans politically and job-hunting, me-too-boss-hat-in-hand-Negroes, industrially. Booker Washington and all of them have simply advocated that Negroes get more work. The editors of the MESSENGER are not interested in Negroes getting more work. Negroes have too much work already. What we want Negroes to get is less work and more wages, with more leisure for study and recreation.

Our type of agitation has really won for Negroes such concessions as were granted by the American Federation of Labor and we are by no means too sanguine over the possibilities of the sop which was granted. It may be like the Constitution of the United States—good in parts, but badly executed. We shall have to await the logic of events. In the meantime, we urge the Negro labor unions to increase their radicalism, to speed up their organization, to steer clear of the Negro leaders and to thank nobody but themselves for what they have gained. In organization there is strength, and whenever Negroes or anybody else make organized demands, their call will be heeded.

always purchased directly or indirectly and at the lowest price possible. So much for the buyer of votes.

What about the seller of votes? How about the value and price of his vote? Well, the same principle here obtains. Just as the buyer of votes is offering and paying the lowest price possible for votes, the seller is asking the highest price he can get for his vote. Still, just as one seller can get more for his commodity than another in proportion to his intelligence and ability to bargain, so one voter or set of voters can get more for his vote or their votes in proportion to his or their power to bargain. And the power to bargain is in proportion to intelligent organization.

Now just as the ignorant, unorganized sellers of labor power or commodities are at a disadvantage in selling their labor or goods when dealing with shrewd, unscrupulous and intelligent buyers of those commodities—so the ignorant, unorganized voters are at a disadvantage, when dealing with shrewd, intelligent and unscrupulous purchasers of votes. Think of the average vote-seller having to deal with such agents of the "party-vote-buyers" as Root, Hughes, Untermeyer, Staunchfield, Penrose, Guggenheim, Smoot, Foraker, Murphy, Taggart, Ryan and Mark Hanna! It is obvious that there is no equality of the parties bargaining.

Again, a vote is a commodity. A vote is a right, and rights constitute property. Professor Ely very aptly defines property as "Anything which may be bought and sold." And we are agreed that a vote may be bought and sold. To deprive a man of his vote is to deprive him of his property. To disfranchise a man, is to take from him certain property. Even when a man does not make continuous use of his right, it is a tremendous power to know that he CAN and therefore MAY, make use of it, if he wishes to do so. For instance, if all goes well, one may simply by silence give his assent, just as happens in assembly often; but if something starts wrong or against his wishes, he immediately exercises his power of protest by his vote. It is just like money lying in the bank ready for use when needed. It is like coal ready for use when

the weather turns cold. I do not touch the coal during the sweltering summer, but I may do so if a blizzard should come. I may do the same in case of a political blizzard when I possess my political fuel—political coal—the ballot. I reiterate that the only value which the ballot has is a property value, just as the only value which property has is the rights which it gives. For instance, the only value of my owning a house is my right to use it in certain ways. I may sell it, rent it, lease it or destroy it. At times it may be free from any use but it is there, susceptible to use, ready for use, and subject to my wishes when I so desire. There is not a single characteristic of the ballot which differs from any other intangible property.

A ballot is not only property, but it is capital. Think of it; a ballot is capital! Capital is anything which is used or held for producing wealth. The ballot gives the power of taxation to a party and that power may be used for producing or acquiring wealth. A legislature or board elected by the peoples' votes may grant franchises, easements and exemptions from taxation. It may give away rich lands just as our Congress gave the railroads their vast wealth in lands, lumber, coal mines and oil wells, besides liberal financial assistance. Think of that great trust—the railroads of the United States—almost wholly given by the votes of the people. Powerful votes! Capital indeed! For have those votes not been used for producing future wealth!

Again, just as it is true that the seller wants all he can get for his vote—his political commodity, his political good—the buyer wants to buy as cheaply as possible. He really would like to have it donated, and the buyer will readily defraud the seller of his vote. Here comes in the principle of what we know in economics as "Higgling the market." How is it done? There are four ways employed: (1) Party platforms, (2) Candidates promises and evasions, (3) Party records, (4) Candidates records.

With the exception of the Socialist Party the platforms of the other parties are simply the most attractive "bunch of bunk" to catch the voter. The Republican and Democratic platforms have

no fundamental differences. There are appeals in both to capital and appeals to labor, appeals to Jews, to Negroes and Italians. There are appeals to farmers and appeals to industrial workers.

Besides the appeals and promises of the old parties' platforms, there are the more flexible promises of the candidates. They are prepared for immediate emergencies, and in the event that somebody wants something which the platform-makers left out, the candidates of all parties except the Socialist Party, is ready to supply the deficiency AT LEAST WITH A PROMISE. And in the event that some plank in the party platform appears unpopular the candidate of the old parties must side step it for the good of his election.

Third. Party Records. One who is acquainted with a party's records does not need to pay attention to its campaign promises. Much is made of the party record. The Republican party has defrauded the Negroes of their vote, for years, on the strength of its record fifty-five years ago, by reducing him to a real wage slave and a despicable black peon. But the campaign orators point to the Emancipation Proclamation and to Lincoln.

Fourth. Voters are higgled into voting against their interests by the putting up of "Good men." Most people think so poorly that they vote for men. That is a very unsound principle. It is better to trust a party than to trust a man. A man may die over night, but this is not true of a party. Moreover, as we showed elsewhere, the party machine is all powerful. A man may want to be good, but he must move with the machine. The parties know this, hence they put up a man with a clear record to catch the voters, but they have a string on the man.

By the above mentioned methods, most voters are secured. It is, in truth, what might aptly be termed "political larceny by trick." Voters really give their votes away. Because to give one's vote without getting anything in return for it, is to throw it away. The Negroes have always given their votes away. There are not 5,000 Negro voters in this country who are offering their votes to the highest purchaser. They have always given their votes to the

biggest liar, to the most arrogant hypocrite—I refer to the old, venal, mercenary, reactionary and discredited Republican party. The southern whites are giving their votes away, too. By preaching race prejudice it has been possible to set up an imaginary issue on which the ignorant, poor whites have been wasting their time for over half a century and on that very account, the South today is well nigh void of any decent modern social legislation.

Diamonds are paid for highly but no one buys pebbles which can be picked up on the beach. Some votes are paid for, but Republicans do not buy Negro free votes, nor do southern Democrats buy white votes in the South. There is practical unanimity of opinion in each case and in each place, which means low grade education and low grade opinion. Lester Ward says homogeneity of opinion exists only among savages. Money is spent in primary contests in the South, but not for the election afterwards, because nomination is tantamount to election, since there is no Socialist or Republican vote in Dixie.

*Economically speaking, the Negro's vote is a free good. It is worth nothing, not that it is not valuable, but because it may be gotten without cost, effort or labor. The same is true of air. Air is indispensable but it costs nothing, and hence it is known in economics as a free good. The same is almost true of water. The southern white vote is a free good, too, so far as the Democratic party is concerned. IT COSTS NOTHING THOUGH IT IS WORTH MUCH.

Now there are two factors which tend to give economic value to a vote and raise it from a free good to a limited good. These factors are (1) the fight for patronage and (2) the fight for principle. By the fight for patronage I mean the fight to have control of the government in order to hand out jobs, levy taxes and wield power. That is the fight always between the Republican and Democratic parties. Their principles are the same. There is no difference between them except the difference in name. They are even the same in having names which represent diametrically the opposite of their true principles. They carry on a per-

petual political prize-fight to fool the voters, but with a tacit agreement, all the time, to divide the political gate receipts of the people 60 to 40. Their fight is over the 20 per cent difference. But this 20 per cent represents fat stakes for which either one of the old parties will pay high—high pecuniary sums, and the most limited concessions in legislation which they think they can get by. So much for the effect of patronage fighting in giving value to votes.

The fight for principle also gives value to a vote. The Socialist party represents this force in most countries. They continually threaten to supplant the old parties and this makes the vote very valuable. Indeed, when the Socialist party bids fair to win, the vote reaches the highest premium.

Why is this so? Why does the growth of the Socialist party increase the value of the vote? Can this possibly be true? Let us examine this proposition. When the Socialist party comes into the political arena, it is offering the highest price for each man's vote. In very truth, it offers the voter the full value of his vote. It is a terrible competitor of the old parties. It is threatening. It is just like one factory offering to pay you Five Dollars per day while the others are offering you Two Dollars per day. Every man who can get into the Five Dollar a day factory will get into it, if he has the intelligence and the sense to do so. He will leave the other factories. He is selling his labor power to the highest bidder.

Well, the Socialist party is the highest bidder, it is offering the best in Public service—in transportation, in gas, electricity and phone—not only good service, but GOOD SERVICE CHEAP. It is extending the best to the children in the way of schools, playgrounds, parks. It is providing for old age with old age pensions. It is adopting workmen's compensation laws, women's and child labor laws, in fact, the most approved and desirable social insurance legislation. It extends nurseries, kindergartens, amusements, bath houses, clean streets. It cuts out graft and corruption. It places taxes upon those most able to bear. It offers something PRACTICAL, USEFUL, DE-

SIRABLE AND WORTH WHILE for the voter's vote.

Not so with the old parties. They give a job to a big Irishman, a big Jew or a big Negro. They adopt some little, "compromise" measure, like the Democrats did the Child Labor Law, to secure an election, and they, immediately after the election, have their Supreme Court packed with corporation lawyers to overthrow such humane legislation.

It is not possible either for the old parties to meet the Socialists competition. They cannot offer an honest and just system of relief and reconstruction in public utilities, because the Republican and Democratic campaign funds are contributed by Gould, Belmont, Ryan, Harriman, Vail, Morgan and Shonts who profit from charging the voters high prices for carfare, gas, electricity and telephone. It is the case of private interest being principal while the public interest is incidental with the Republican and Democratic parties. It is the case of public interest being primary while the private interest is secondary with the Socialist party.

The old parties draw both race and sex lines, not because they are prejudiced to either person, but because they want a small electorate which is easily bribed. The Socialist party draws neither race nor sex lines, because it is not desirous of corrupting anyone, since there could be no reason for it. No one contributing to the Socialist campaign funds expects any profiteer benefits, because the very nature of its program prevents it. An owner of the street cars would corrupt the voters to defeat the Socialist party because he benefits from charging the people a five or six cents fare when three cents would be adequate. But the public wants the lowest carfare it can get, hence the only bribe the Socialist party offers is the bribe of PUBLIC BENEFIT. There is no reconciliation between the Socialist party and the capitalist party while their programs are diametrically opposed.

The function of a minority Socialist party is to enhance the value of the vote. That has been true of it in every country. The more the Socialist party grows, the more each man's vote is worth. The old parties pay the voter to stay with them and they pay him

to stay away from the Socialists. They offer low prices, however. They give out beer, whiskey and sandwiches. They appoint some individual to a big job—a big Irishman, a conservative Jew, a good, pliable, handy Negro. They adopt some fine-sounding legislation, shot through with loop holes, jokers and fraudulent clauses which defeat the supposed object of it. They eventually, when hard pressed by the Socialists, adopt some half-loaf measures. But the voters continually watch the "political WANT ADS." They notice the political wages of the parties. And they are adopting the habit of political migration. Even the Negro is adopting that habit. He is wandering into the Socialist Party just like he is industrially wandering into the North, East and West. He is wandering away from his hypocritical Republican "friends (?)" just as he is wandering away from his "self-styled southern friends," who persistently claim that they are the best friends of the Negro.

In conclusion, every man and woman should sell their votes to the highest bidder. The highest bidder is the party which offers you the most in opportunities to secure food, clothing, fuel and shelter. The Republican and

Democratic parties are maintained by funds from corporations, trusts, banks, railroads, speculators in food and fuel, who make millions by charging the people high rents, exorbitant prices for clothing, prohibitive prices for food and fuel. They represent the prop of capitalism from which nearly all your evils spring. The Republican and Democratic forces charge the highest prices to the consumer when he buys, and they pay the lowest prices to him as a laborer when he is selling his labor power. There is no more in common between the people and the Republican and Democratic parties than there is in common between a dog and a flea. Those old wicked parties are public fleas, sucking the peoples' life blood. They are the national leeches—nay, pondering and poisonous parasites. They are octopuses upon the American people. The people must destroy them or they themselves will be destroyed. The two cannot exist and thrive in the same world.

The old parties are defrauding the people of their jeweled right—the ballot. They are offering a price which does not comport with these hard times. They are Hooverizing their price and profiteering on the ballots of the people.

The Socialist party is offering to every man and woman, black or white, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, all that he produces with his vote. It is offering just what it can give and no more. It's the highest bidder. Every man and woman should sell his vote this year to the party of public interests and not to the old parties of predatory interests and public plunder. It is time that the people stopped giving away their votes. Political charity is as objectionable as any other charity. Negroes above all can least afford to give away their votes. It is no joy to have the masses of Negroes grow mean while a few big Negroes grow sleek and fat. Sell your vote this year for adequate food, fuel, clothing, shelter, good wages and regular employment the year round. The Socialist party offers this and there is an ample supply for all. If we can, remember that the Republican eagle has always pounced and preyed upon others—has never been even a scavenger, like the buzzard, but always a depredating, foul, beastly bird.

The Socialist party's offer will not be met nor topped and the voters should sell his vote to that party.

When the War Will End

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

EDITOR'S NOTE:—*This article was written before the end of the war came, but conditions prevented its publication. We now publish it, so that the MESSENGER's readers may observe the scientific accuracy with which its editors treat national and international problems.* — THE EDITORS.)

The determination of when the war will end rests, first, upon the determination of the conditions which cause it to continue; second, upon the growth of forces tending to remove those conditions.

Upon an examination of the war and the causes of the war, the ruling, specific factors tending to secure its continuance may be classified under four general heads: economic, political, psychological and military.

First, as to the economic factors which cause the war to continue; there is the desire for territorial acquisition which is fundamental. The Berlin to Bagdad route, to the unexploited fields and people of Asia, has long been the dream of the Junkers of Germany, and the diplomatic intrigues with the Porte of Turkey were designed to achieve that end. Events show the ruling class of Austria had feared the Slavic nationalistic movement of Serbia, and the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina would stop her expansion. She still hopes to become the international superintendent of the Balkans. The Russian debacle increased these hopes. Great Britain holding more territory than she can exploit, is more concerned about preventing Germany, her chief

competitor, from acquiring more territory, than she is in getting new fields for herself. The position of these two dominant world powers on the question of international geography is, undoubtedly, the main determinant of territorial apportionment.

Ports are still a question of moment to Germany. She has not yet finished her march to the sea.

Antwerp of Holland exacts a toll from the Rhineland provinces which Germany seeks to evade.

Free sea lanes are a condition to the development of overseas trade. Hence, the mad international rivalry for the control of strategic naval base stations, such as Egypt, Morocco, Kiao Chau, the Philippines, etc. The control of the canal routes, such as the Suez and the Panama are convenient and powerful instruments for war

advantage. Austria and Italy contend for control over the Adriatic, and all countries are agreed upon preventing either from establishing political suzerainty over the Dardanelles. Not that either is interested in Turkey, but that all have a mutual interest in preventing either from securing an international advantage, by virtue of dominion over this route.

The relation of territorial expansion, ports, open-sea lanes to the growth and development of commerce and trade, are paramount.

The industrial revolution has given the world labor saving machines. Labor saving machines have produced an economic surplus. Capitalists who control this surplus desire the highest return on their investments. The highest return may be secured in the undeveloped countries, Asia, Africa and China. This, then is the reason for capitalists using their government to secure economic spheres of influence in these countries. They want raw material. They want to sell the consumers goods, such as hats, shoes, etc. All countries are directly or indirectly fighting for these things.

So much for the economic factors, causing the war to continue. Next we shall consider the political.

Governments subserve the interests of those who control them. Governments are directed by an army of officials who are elected through party methods; but selected by financial interests who supply the campaign funds of the capitalists' parties. These powerful economic interests are interested in overseas finance and they seek through the manipulation of secret diplomacy to gain access to the Kimberly Gold Mines of Africa, the rich oil and coal mines of China. For this reason ambassadorial courts are established in various countries and they shift and juggle peoples and lands, like pawns upon the international chess board. The publication of the treaties of Russia, under the Czar by Trotsky, exposed to the pitiless light of publicity the dark and hidden machinations of designing imperialists.

According to article four of the agreement between the General Staffs of Italy, France, Great Britain and Russia, Italy entered

the war for the following reasons:

"Under the imminent treaty of peace, Italy must receive: the District of Trentino; the entire southern Tyrol to its natural geographical boundary; the river Brenner; the city and suburbs of Triest, Groitzia and Gradisca, all of Istria to Quarnero, including Volosca, and the Istrian Islands of Cherso and Lussino, and also the smaller islands of Plavnik, Unia, Canidole, Palazzulo, San Pierro dei Nembi, Azinello, Grutzo, together with the neighboring islands." In Article five, Italy demands the province of Dalmatia. In Article seven, the control of the foreign relations of Albania; in Article fourteen, England obligates herself to assist Italy to negotiate a loan of Fifty Million Pounds sterling in the London market.

This agreement was signed in London the 26th day of April, 1915, by Sir Edward Grey of England; Cambon of France; Marquis Imperiali, of Italy and Count Beckendorf of Russia.

These are the international agents of double-dealing through the invisible channels of secret diplomacy.

In this wise foreign colonies are conquered and the problems of colonialism arise; wars are begun and continued.

As to colonial problems, Great Britain has her India and Ireland; America her Philippines; Japan her Korea.

Secret diplomacy and the problems of colonies are direct consequences of the march of financial imperialism which expresses itself through a government of political autocracy—an autocracy which shuts off from the view of the people questions of world significance, entangling alliances, ententes, cordiales, the most favored nation's clause, dollar diplomacy, the Monroe Doctrine, the Far Eastern Problem.

Germany achieves this political autocracy through her Prussian three-class-electoral system; Great Britain through the limitation of manhood suffrage; France, Italy and Austria through their archaic reactionary system of plural voting; America through her thirteen-class-electoral system of the South, a prohibitive poll-tax, the Senate and the Supreme Court; Japan through a limitation of the

vote to a million and a half persons out of a population of 65,000,000. Such is the story of political tyranny which reflects the economic autocracy of the present belligerents.

What is the place of Revolutionary Russia in the scheme of the war?

The significance of the Russian Revolution is big as a cause of the continuance of the war. If Russia had not collapsed we would not have had an expose of secret diplomacy. If Russia had not collapsed we would not have had the celebrated peace of Brest Litovsk revealing the insincerity, duplicity and hypocrisy of the imperialists of Germany. If Russia had not collapsed we would not have witnessed a young, a true democracy languishing in an international prison, under stress of war, maligned, condemned and spat upon by every so-called civilized nation in Christendom. The Capitalists governments on both sides fear that the contagion of the Russian Revolution will sweep through their countries and contaminate their peoples. This fear hangs like the sword of Damocles over their heads. If they could overthrow the Russian Revolution by stopping the war, they would stop the war tomorrow. They are in a dilemma. If the war stops the Russian Revolution will remain as a menace to capitalist institutions. If the war goes on indefinitely, the people may grow weary and revolt in their own countries. This is Russia's relation to war and peace.

Another most important political condition to a continuance of the war is a lack of political unity among the Allies, a difference in war aims. This difference may flare forth in a war among the Allies themselves. This would be no new historical precedent. All countries now Allies have once been enemies. And the countries which are now enemies have once been allies. Economic forces make strange bad fellows. But the ruling class never stops with the labor and ballot of the worker, it reaches out for his mind, his very soul.

Thus the economic and political factors are reenforced by psychological ones. Each country has national slogans, shibboleths, rallying, emotional symbols which rule the people by the law of sug-

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gestibility. The flag is waved; a slogan is proclaimed; the people are agitated; they visualize the sacred hearth of their country violated by the ruthless feet of the foe and they fly to arms. The meanings of these patriotism stimulants have been organized in the consciousness of the unsophisticated people through force of habit. They work well. The slogan, "Britannia rules the waves," stirs the hearts of the poverty stricken Briton, though he may not own a single foot of the land in the whole empire. It creates prejudice against non-Britons. The Rothchilds, the Lansdownes and their ilk know its value to protect over-sea investments.

"Revanche," is the psychological weapon of the Bank of Paris, which aborted the Russian Revolution in 1905. It supported the Czar of Russia with huge loans; "Revanche" would reclaim from Germany the rich coal and iron fields of Alsace-Lorraine.

"Der Tag," has long been the dream of the German Junkers. The day when Germany would take her place in the "Sun" is the privilege to rob, pillage and plunder smaller nationalities; to establish a Mittel-Europa.

"Italia-Irredenta" fires the Italians with the love of land. Pictures of their countrymen under the iron heel of oppression of the House of Hapsburgs are painted for their consumption. The ruling class of both countries are competing for the opportunity to exploit the servant class.

"Uncle Sam," too, was used by the embalmed beef speculators during the Spanish American War, to promote patriotism for plunder, for profits. The horrors of the "water-cure" inflicted upon the Philipinos were worse than any the United States relieved the Cubans of from the yoke of Spain. When we took Texas from Mexico in 1836, the bourbon slave holders of the South exploited "Uncle Sam."

But after the peoples are stirred by the emblems of patriotism they must be supplied with weapons of offense and defense. The police power then is essential to enforce the decrees of the ruling class, so that huge supplies of men and munitions may be fed to the flames of war. But as men and munitions decrease the flames flare and flicker dimly.

When the marginal man-power and the munition power are approached, the flames die. Or when the people behind the lines revolt, the fuel is withdrawn and the war is no more. This is typified in Russia. This is the thing which flings itself near in the distance.

What then are the forces now tending toward peace?

They may be grouped into the following classes: economic, political, psychological, military. Just a word about the economic.

When the people who fight wars and the class which profit from wars agree to stop wars, wars will end. Now, when the class which profits in this war is deprived through taxation of their profits, they will agree to stop it. The people who fight need not be solicited to agree not to die. The fear of revolt is driving governments to adopt heavier and heavier taxation upon wealth. England now takes 80 per cent. of the income over a certain point; America is about to take 60 per cent. When the people force their governments to take 100 per cent., the war will end. What about men and material.

The end of this war will be hastened by diminution of men and arms. A shortage of bread will lead to bread riots and the morale of the people will be shattered. For not only does an army, but the citizenry, too, move upon its belly. A hungry population is oblivious of a hungry army and a "bread peace" will be demanded.

Let us pass next to the political, psychological forces tending toward peace.

There is a growth of Radicalism, economic and political in all lands. In Russia, the peasants have hurled their oppressors from power and the Soviet, the people's government, stands defiant before the imperialists of the world. In England, the Labor party has formulated a most far reaching program of social reconstruction after the war.

The Italians and French Socialists are awakened and awakening.

The Independent Socialists of Germany still challenge the Kaiser. Socialism in America moves apace. The Labor Parties of Australia and Canada have been quickened. The Austrian Socialists have demanded peace. The

Agrarian movements of the United States and Canada are a source of anxiety to the exploiting class.

There is a general unrest as shown by the frequent strikes in the United States and England. Labor, class conscious, has demanded that Mooney be not hanged. These are flashes of a smouldering fire of Radicalism—a revolt against the present order. The Non-Partisan League of the West has incurred the bitter and savage opposition of a labor hating press.

Lastly, there are military factors tending toward peace.

Germany has reached her zenith in man power, munition power and morale. Although she may yet be strong, she is not only declined, she is weaker than she was.

The entrance of America into the war was an unforeseen factor in the military equation by Germany. The military power of America was unknown and underestimated. The submarines failed to stop the transported men, food and arms across the sea. Germany had hoped to win before the American army came. She had hoped to secure a victory by the sword. But Von Kuehlman says that this cannot be done. The ruling class of the Allies would also have a victory by the sword. But the Independent Labor Party of England would call an international labor conference to talk over terms of peace. Russia has called for a peace without indemnities, without annexation, with the self-determination of smaller nationalities.

There is a wild-eyed discontent abroad in all lands. The peoples, under the cataclysmic shock of this world war are disenchanted, disillusioned.

And as the war lords prate about Armageddon, the dove of a negotiated peace looms upon the international horizon.

NOTICE!

CHURCHES, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS and CLUBS. The editors of the "MESSENGER" are now available for speaking dates in any part of the country.

A tour is being planned at the present time and all organizations are urged to book their dates now. Write to the

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charge, then burden the accused with the responsibility of proving his innocence.

A logical fallacy, liberally expressed, might read thus:

It is only a fool or a knave that would require the proof of a negative.

So the artful capitalists, to arrest the onward march of the forces of freedom, would have the stage all set for the discrediting of those who are in the struggle of life for economic and social emancipation.

The bomb scheme has proven so ineffectual, in serving the subtle aims of the master class that it needs to rack its brains in

a vain effort to discover some other means to accomplish its contemptible ends.

Even if Socialism were not opposed to violence—bloodshed and slaughter, such as caused the recent capitalistic war to fester and putrify with all the malignity of insatiable greed and vengeance—the Socialists know that they possess weapons of far greater potency beyond comparison: the strike, collective bargaining and industrial unionism.

Intimidation, misrepresentation and persecution never could suppress the moral and spiritual forces that have been released upon the world.

"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" is an adage of encouragement oft heard in circles ecclesiastical; so the persecution of men in any cause which has mastered their heart and won their support deters not the movement but lends renewed impetus and accelerated force to the propaganda already at work.

The inexcusable attack upon The Call building on May Day, the Stevenson Raid on the Rand School and the dramatic bomb setting have all won sympathy to our cause from various sources; and from many, hearty and unstinted support.

The Negro Worker

By Anise In Seattle Union Record

He had offered his LIFE

* * * *

To his country;

* * * *

He had been over

* * * *

In FRANCE,

* * * *

And came back CRIPPLED;

* * * *

Slightly, and not enough

* * * *

To interfere with work

* * * *

And he went out hunting

* * * *

A JOB

* * * *

In the shipyards

* * * *

From some of these patriots

* * * *

Who made a lot of money

* * * *

From the war,

* * * *

But the employment managers

* * * *

And the foremen

* * * *

Were very UNWILLING

* * * *

To take on a NEGRO.

* * * *

They said to him:

* * * *

"We are afraid

* * * *

You will get a RIVET

* * * *

Or a MONKEY WRENCH

Dropped on you

By some of the men.

For they are sort of

PREJUDICED

* * * *

Against colored folks."

* * * *

But after a while

* * * *

He got a job

* * * *

With one of the companies

* * * *

Which are doing work

* * * *

For the shipyards;

* * * *

And they paid him

* * * *

The \$4.16 rate

* * * *

When all the rest

* * * *

Were getting \$4.64

* * * *

And he said to me:

* * * *

"I don't know whether

* * * *

Those foremen were LYING,

* * * *

Or whether the workers

* * * *

Would really treat a fellow

* * * *

Who was wounded in France

* * * *

As badly as THAT,

* * * *

Just because he was colored!

* * * *

But I DO KNOW

* * * *

That I can't get into

The UNION I belong to,

And have to manage by joining

A different union.

Yet the unions take in

* * * *

All sorts of FOREIGNERS,

* * * *

Who never INTEND to be

* * * *

American citizens.

* * * *

And never were asked by anyone

* * * *

To COME HERE;

* * * *

While I, whose fathers

* * * *

Were FORCED to come here—

* * * *

I, who am of NECESSITY

* * * *

And PERMANENTLY

* * * *

A part of this nation—

* * * *

And BLACKMAILED.

* * * *

I wonder why

* * * *

They are so shortsighted,

* * * *

As not to realize

* * * *

That every time

* * * *

They keep ANY WORKER,

* * * *

Man or woman,

* * * *

White, or yellow, or black,

* * * *

OUT of a UNION,

* * * *

They are forcing a worker

* * * *

To be a SCAB,

* * * *

To be used AGAINST THEM?"

An Analysis of Negro Patriotism

By WILLIAM N. COLSON

Formerly an Officer of the 367th U. S. Infantry

An outstanding feature of the late war was the manifest patriotism of the American Negro. Whether willingly or unwillingly, as volunteer or draftee, in France or America as fighting man or stevedore, as shipbuilder, miner or farm hand, he far surpassed every other racial group in America in his relative proportion of effectual loyalty to the United States. He likewise exceeded in patriotic expression every other oppressed group living under the same general circumstances whether in India, Ireland or Africa. And Negro women and children did their bit no whit less than the men. In household economics, in churches and in schools they went over the top just as the men did, whether in the Bois de Frehaut or in breaking labor records at Brest, at Hog Island, at Newport News or at Baltimore. They vied with each other in the purchase of Liberty Bonds. In North Carolina, as a fair example, Negroes pledged and bought War Saving Stamps more extensively in comparison with their ability than white people. Contrary to the general infamous practice in this country, it was not necessary to coerce them into buying bonds and stamps. They thought that some great good would come out of the war for them. The country promised it and their Old Crowd leaders reiterated it. Befuddled by the hysteria of the times, overwhelmed by the crush of mass opinion and sharing in the exaggerated but superficial approbation of the public, the Negro race turned itself into a vast singing army, singing at work, singing at the cantonments, singing on the march and even under the blasphemy of the guns.

In 1914, nationalistic patriotism was proved to be more potent than religion, race, a common language, Socialism or class solidarity of any other sort. It had its day in Europe and in 1917, it began its wild reign in the United States, where it flourished most readily. Patriotism is the egoistic impulse to glorify

self. It is the disposition on the part of the nation for social enlargement. Under its bias, opinion is warped in time of peace and outraged in time of war. True it is that the utility of patriotism has been in promoting the causes of nationality. Love of country may be considered one of the innate ideas of mankind. But it is an agency of moral degeneration in that it has based itself too much on the self-sufficiency of the group. Nietzsche's will to power is an example. Lord Curzon's imperialism is another. Patriotism is probably responsible for more needless deaths, the inevitable consequence of wars, than any other sentiment in history. It fosters provincialism. It is the ally of political reaction and the co-partner of class oppression. Patriotism, impeached at the bar of reason in peace, become judge and executioner in time of war. It then cries in blatant voice: "our country right or wrong," and "theirs not to reason why."

Except as to color, the Negro takes on the externals of civilization as readily as any minority class in America. When the international bankers led this country into war, the Negro exhibited the most striking reactions of his teachings and traditions. The teaching of patriotism the world over has usually been a mass of silly and mendacious fact. The average Negro is taught in the South and from a southern point of view. Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson and Robt. E. Lee are still the great historical figures South of the Mason and Dixon line. All American schools naturally teach that the United States is the freest and most democratic country the world over. The entire world has been deluded into this belief since 1917. Especially are the American Negroes taught that not only the United States but the South is the best place on earth for them to live forever. There are three patriotisms abroad in the United States: a state, a sectional, and a national. All southern states project organized propaganda in

behalf of state's rights and their respective educationalists have taught the Negroes that their own particular State is the best place under the sun for the Negroes of that state. At a recent anti-lynching conference held in New York City, a white Southerner solemnly declared that he believed Mississippi to be the best state in the Union for Negroes. The Hampton-Tuskegee group are paid by Northern capitalists to advise and keep Negroes contentedly in the South. All of this teaching is done under the guise that the Negro is a common inheritor of rights and duties and that it is his common responsibility to join unqualifiedly in every burst of patriotism.

All patriotism is spontaneous in proportion to the thoughtlessness of the people. In 1917, white and colored leaders harangued the colored population, while they in their reaction and spontaneity made quick response to aid in the perpetuation of their own undoing. Conscription drove the situation home. Once in the army and navy, once in the government employ, it was like an incident that took place in Richmond, Virginia, several years ago. It was the annual football game between the Universities of Virginia and North Carolina. Negroes are prohibited by law from attending either these state schools. Special excursion trains were run to the scene of the conflict from all over the two states where those institutions were situated. Many ignorant and gullible Negroes took advantage of the popular enthusiasm to travel to the game on the trains. They bought huge pennants and streamers but when they presented themselves for admission at the ball park they were refused entrance on account of their color. Some remained, however, to view the spectacle through the holes in the fence, others still merrily flaunted in the public streets their pennants marked with the names of the two schools, but a few, the disillusioned, had the good sense to

burn their banners up. Negro patriotism is much like that of those silly and unsuspecting folk who came to see the football game.

Here we are principally concerned with the disillusioned, the new Negro and his new patriotism. The Negro soon found that the treachery of the white American was infinitely more damaging to him than that of the Hun. He was refused a square deal in the army and navy, and discriminations became more gruelling in the South. There was more exploitation of labor, more personal insult, more segregation, more degradation of women, more racial limitation and restriction than ever before. Now this state of affairs multiplies race antagonism. Class antagonism is destructive of national unity, which is one of the necessary elements of the new patriotism. Therefore, any lack of patriotism on the part of the Negro was and is the natural and logical consequence of unjust practices perpetrated against him.

It is noteworthy that this new patriotism was born during the time of the Negroes active participation in all forms of war work, military and otherwise. Nor does it exist solely in the hearts of officers and true leaders for it is a sentiment which has gained its widest currency among the rank and file of the black soldiery and working class. Before the embarkation overseas of the 92d Division, it was frequently a matter of difficulty to instill the qualities of dash and vim into the enlisted personnel. The men asked without hesitation the reason for their fighting in the war. "Safe for democracy" became to them a mere mockery. They had no faith in their white officers and not much in the colored in that emergency. When discriminations were practiced at the cantonments like the customary equipping of white organizations before colored units and the assignments of the whites to the best camp locations, the most unlettered and provincial Negro soldiers often spent hours in discussing the justice of American military authority. In the 92d Division, the enlisted men as a whole were more outspoken and overt in their resentments than their colored officers. A few of

them manifested their qualified loyalty by expressing sentiments of conscientious objection, nor was their conscientious objection always based on religious scruples. It was often a challenge to a mischievous patriotism. When black officers taught black men bayonet practice they usually substituted the picture of the rabid white Southerner for that of the Hun. This method often times inspired the soldier with the necessary dash and form.

What was the soul of the Negro in war-time? In the mood of seriousness it was the most usual thing for the Negroes to turn in their discussions to the fitness of their participation in the business of war. And in trench or camp, factory or school, the undeniable fact is that Negroes felt that they were fighting for false ideals.

While in France, the Negro soldiers got their bearings. They discovered that the only white men that treated them as men, were native Europeans, and especially the French with their wider social experience and finer social sense. The Frenchman was unable to comprehend American color prejudice. The Englishman was much more democratic than the American. Then the soldiers began to get letters from home. They brought the news that conditions in the States were no better than before; they were worse! For instance, a successful business man from the South wrote that he felt relieved that his son was fighting on French soil for France, because France was at least democratic. A Negro clergyman whose church members subscribed \$10,000 worth of Liberty Bonds wrote that he had no patriotism whatever. He had promoted the subscription in a spirit of hypocritical public service. A leading Negro banker, who had bought many thousands of dollars worth of bonds stated in confidence that he joined in the public movement merely for the sake of retaining the good-will of his white business friends. But there was not one of these persons who would not have been glad to have given his all if he had felt that the war was fought for freedom and opportunity at home. Some Negro officers, just as many white officers did, largely volunteered and trained

for commissions, not because of any real patriotism but because they wished to escape the draft and because they sought the distinction and remuneration which went with the officership. In all fairness, however, it may be said that many of the colored men trained for commissions out of a sense of race pride and prospect. Many of the black soldiers were divested of the little patriotism they possessed on their return from France. Their hearts sank as they hove in sight of these shores. The only reason for their joy in seeing America, was the fact that it meant speedy discharge from a brutal military system and a meeting with home folks and friends. The way soldiers were discharged from the army and navy without prospective employment, is one of the national disgraces. The colored officer, maltreated and thrust aside, has cursed the flag and the country for which it stands a thousand times. Thousands of these soldiers now possess weapons to demonstrate if need be their legal right to self-defense against Southern encroachments and lynch-law.

Intelligent Negroes have all reached the point where their loyalty to the country is conditional. The patriotism of the mass of Negroes may now be called doubtful. The new Negro has put the question: "What will the shot of my bolt mean?"

It was on last November tenth, that a black platoon lay near the crest of a hill overlooking the placid Moselle. With their faces towards the battlements of mighty Metz, the soldiers awaited the order to attack. There was less singing and more thought. In one tense and bloody moment, the voice of a real doughboy, a new patriot, was heard amid the uncanny hiss of hot steel. It was the fervent wish that across the lines were the Huns of America, the convict leasers, the slave drivers, their domineering white American officers, the lynchers, their oppressors, instead of the Boches. The sentiment was that with the Huns of America over there the incitement necessary to the proper dash and courage would be forthcoming. They would then be fighting to make America safe for all classes. Shortly after the armistice mem-

bers of this same platoon were anticipating the return home. Most of them were from the South. An ingenious fellow caused an endless round of merriment, when he cleverly placed each Southern state on an imaginary map of military operations. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Alabama were put in No Man's Land. The border states like Virginia and Kentucky, were the third line trenches, etc. The soldiers, all seated beneath an old apple tree, scarred by four years of German shrapnel, finally concluded that their next war for "democracy" would be in the land of "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER."

War has never given a race its rights. Rights must be worked out along social and economic lines. But before the participation in a war of an oppressed group, a part of a nationality, that group can bargain collectively like the Irish are doing or like the Soviets. The Negro race in America is now beginning to learn that its loyalty has been of little avail. True loyalty permits of no mental reservation. The Negro does possess and will possess a mental reservation until this country is made safe for him and for every other class. Patriotism needs moralization. "Intelligent self-interest is the basis of all morality." For the Negro

to be patriotic under the present circumstances would be unmoral. To be nationalistically patriotic the group must will national social enlargement. Many Negroes wished to see America humbled in the war, because America needs to learn the lesson of justice within its own borders before it can vaunt itself as the proponent of world ideals of democracy. A patriotism is moral when the country to which it is subject recognizes and provides for the interests of all classes within its national scope. Nationalistic patriotism is based upon common interests set in motion through common methods to meet the common need. The new Negro is beginning to realize that he is not identified with the common ends, except as to his exclusion from economic, social and political benefits. He is not a party to the conclusion. In short, patriotism should be the expression of free peoples who are ready and willing to lay down their lives in the defense of those things which they enjoy to the whole end of human betterment.

The most enlightened view is that the American Negro can best attack his problem from without. The Irish are using this method with success. White America fears any criticism by foreigners of its policy toward classes within

its bounds. This country is committed to a policy of race repression. Evolution is too slow a process to secure the Negro his rights from within the United States. This must be secured by the force of international judgment and injunction as a substitute for physical force. The Negro must appeal to the outside world for justice and opportunity at home. William Monroe Trotter has hit the nail on the head. He is appealing the Negro problem from the lower court of barbaric America to the supreme court of the civilized world.

While black leaders continue to make compromises, the Negro embodying the new patriotism becomes an appreciator of social values. A few months ago a giant Cunarder swung up New York Harbor jammed to the rails with black soldiers returning from la belle France. As the ship hove past that unproved symbol, the Statue of Liberty, one of the soldiers reverentially snapped a salute to Bartholdi's emblematic creation. An officer standing near, curious to know the reason for such an action, made the query why. "Because France gave it" came back the firm reply. The new patriotism will see the Statue of Liberty a proved symbol—and proved even in America.

Mill Grindings

G. F. M.

Fear only to do wrong, not the consequences of doing right.

* * *

Don't talk: "Give me liberty or give me death," if your birth-right can be bought for a mess of pottage, or a handful of silver can purchase your soul.

* * *

When Abraham Lincoln signed the proclamation of emancipation the black man was told he was free; but title vested in him simply passed from private ownership to the Republican Party.

* * *

That's right, black man, damn Bolshevism—the white man wants you to: then, again, 'tain't

half so bad as the lynching you get at home.

* * *

Rights are inherent, and no man should be forced to fight for them; but the man who will not fight for them is a blot and disgrace on human kind.

* * *

When bombs kill only those who set them, and damage but the front doors of their "intended victims," while such victims are well removed from the danger point, or are recreating in rural seclusion, the whole thing savors of police and capitalistic theatricals for the sake of effect.

Anent the bombs: Clews, clews, that lead nowhere are sure no clews at all.

* * *

Run not heedlessly into error—it is far easier to stay out of trouble than to get out, and it is far better to continue right than to try to reform.

* * *

"The radicals were convicted of violating the espionage law." So reads a news report. Yes, and Pilate holds no singular place in history for having delivered the innocent to suffering as a means of saving his own skin.

Capitalism the Basis of Colonialism

By W. A. DOMINGO, Editor, *Negro World*

The various colonial empires of the world are maintained by force and trickery and are devoid of altruism in any shape or form. The motivating influence that brought them into existence was the intention of a better armed race or nation to reduce weaker races and nations to the point where they would be compelled to directly or indirectly produce wealth for the benefit of the dominant class of the "Mother Country." The true basis of all empires is economic in spite of the fact that apologists for colonial expansion exhaust all their ingenuity to assign moral intent to countries whose imperial rule is based upon openly exercised, or slightly veiled force. This is as much true of the frank and brutal imperialism of Rome, Germany, France, Spain, Japan and Great Britain as it is of the less visible imperialism of the United States. The former countries, more ingenious than the latter, in acquiring new territory rarely, if ever, attempted to cover up their intentions with hypocritical cant or resort to the outward forms of a "purchase"; they usually took whatever they had the power to seize and explained the conquest afterwards.

A very natural question to ask is: "Why do countries have colonies?" This is easily explained. In the first place, because of the capitalistic development of most "civilized" countries the vast majority of the population have been expropriated from the land and live in cities in ever increasing numbers. In the cities, because of the wonderful productivity of modern machines more goods are produced than can be bought up by the population of the producing country, hence the need for outlets in foreign countries. This condition makes foreign markets necessary. The only markets that can absorb any appreciable portion of manufactured goods are located in such countries as cannot or ARE NOT PERMITTED to develop industrially. To safeguard and insure a market against competition from other industrially developed and exploiting countries, political control of the market is essential. Hence the im-

posing of the rule of the industrially developed exporting country upon the industrially undeveloped and importing country. However, sometimes the prospective colony may have infant industries of its own—enough to supply its own needs—or it may have ambitions to become self-sufficient. In such cases the "Mother" or exploiting country ordinarily effectuates the death of the existing industries or renders the ambition to create new industries, stillborn. This is illustrated by the manner in which the weaving and other industries of India were killed in the interest of English manufacturers and by the way in which the Jamaican government (which is dominated by English officials appointed from Downing Street, London) strangled the soap factory in Kingston some years ago.

The first reason for colonies is to provide safe markets for the surplus commodities of the "Mother Country."

Secondly, because of the needs of modern industry and the inability of manufacturing countries located in temperate regions to produce them, tropical products such as copra, rubber, coffee, cocoa, balata, pissava and hides have to be imported. In order that the supply will be steady and uninterrupted, political control of the source is necessary. This control manifests itself in the form of preferential tariffs between the colony and the "Mother Country." It explains the insistent demands of the Unionists of Great Britain for a preferential tariff with the colonies and the reason why Cuban imports into America are given a substantial rebate of Customs duties.

The second reason for colonies is, therefore, to insure the mother country a safe and regular source of supply of raw materials.

Thirdly, because of the contradiction of modern capitalist civilization, instead of machines being a boon to the workers they have proven to be a curse. In all industrialized countries vast armies of unemployed exist who have been created by the man being displaced by his creature—the

machine. These unemployed men and women serve two purposes. One, by their pressure on the factory gate to reduce wages to the lowest point of subsistence; two, by their ever-increasing numbers enlarge the proletarian population, thereby making of it a portentous menace to the system that created it. So as to avoid the latter phase from becoming too dangerous, the mother country, that is, the class that controls it, needs some place to which the "surplus" population can be conveniently exported. Hence, the various efforts to send unemployed Europeans to Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and other temperate countries. Germany, who came on the colonial field late, had to yield to this imperative economic law even though political control of her exported subjects was lost when they went to colonies of other exporting countries or to sparsely populated sovereign countries like Brazil. This in a measure explains the dual citizenship laws of Germany.

The third reason for colonies is to find congenial territory to which to export the "surplus" population of the mother country.

The fourth and last important reason for colonies is the intention to create sinecures for inpecunious sons of the mother country, who by virtue of lineage and tradition belong to the class from which bureaucrats are largely recruited. This last reason which is the visible manifestation of actual political control of colonies serves a dual purpose. First, it serves as a guarantee that the colonial government, dominated by sons of the mother country, will not be diverted into economic and political activities and alliances inimical to the interests of the land of their birth; and, next, by paying huge salaries and enormous pensions to these officials, substantial amounts are yearly extracted from the colonies and exported to enrich the Mother Country. To sum up: All Empires, no matter how seemingly benevolent, are based upon force and maintain the structural form of a central,

manufacturing, exporting and exploiting "Mother" country, whose influence radiates to the "colonies" through her possession of a merchant marine, political control and expropriation of the natives. These bases of influence in their turn have behind them power in

the form of an army and navy.

Colonialism, therefore, is a product of Capitalism which may be defined as that system of wealth production and distribution that is based upon a favored few living off and at the expense of the op-

pressed many. With the death of capitalism in the Mother or central country, will come the collapse of imperialism and its train or murder, high taxes, poverty, oppression and exploitation in the Colonies.

Conscientious Objectors

To love your fellow men
And to decry their murder
By the governments of the earth—
Has that become a crime
Deserving the brutal treatment,
Being dealt out to men
Who protested against the
Brutalities of war?

Have the high priests of Mam-
mon
So debauched our manhood,
That we supinely submit
To wrongs that one hundred
years ago
Would have brought about
The horrors of a bloody revolu-
tion?

Has it become a crime deserving
imprisonment
And torture for a man
To acknowledge that he has
Conscientious scruples against
war

And military service?

Is merely differing in opinion
from

Those in power to be considered
criminal?

Alas! if so, what better is this age
Than that when inquisitors
burned

Heretics at the stake,
And religious freedom was an un-
known thing?

Have we advanced beyond the
disposition of

The Middle Ages,
When old women, accused of be-
ing witches,

Could be tortured and burned in
the

Public square, while priests
And fanatics gloated over
The sufferings of their victims?

America, once called

"The Home of the Free,"

Of what now can you boast?

These men, your "servants,"

Are treating like beasts

Are not thieves; are not murder-
ers;

Never have been felons of any
degree,

But—they protested against
their fellow men

Being slain that Profiteers might
Have a feast of horrors and
Fill their coffers with blood
money.

Therefore twentieth century civi-
lization

Cries; "To your prison hells with
them!"

Oh! ye fools and hypocrites!

Ye sow now, and tomorrow

Ye shall reap!

And the crop shall be bitter tears,
Agony and despair;

For those ye torture today
Shall lead the hosts of Freedom

In a vast revolution that
Shall free the earth of prisons and

Make the world a place fit for

Democracy to live in, oh

Ye exploiters and usurers!

Ye bond slaves of Capital,

Thy Hour has almost come!

Then shalt thou lift thy voices

And great shall be thy rejoicing.

Bertuccio Dantino.

The Big Ten

By SCOTT NEARING

Before the war, there were ten
nations that had more than a
million tons of seagoing steam
tonnage apiece. Since the war,
there are but seven.

Seagoing Steam Tonnage

(Before the war)

Great Britain	18,892,000
Germany	5,135,000
Norway	1,957,000
France	1,923,000
Japan	1,708,000
British Colonies.....	1,632,000
Holland	1,472,000
Italy	1,430,000
United States.....	1,076,000
Austria	1,052,000

(After the war)

Great Britain	15,007,000
United States	4,476,000
Japan	2,318,000

British Colonies.....	1,832,000
Holland	1,807,000
Norway	1,557,000
France	1,443,000
Spain	894,000
Italy	930,000
Sweden	810,000

(Figures compiled by H. C. Wilt-
bank)

Germany and Austria have
stepped out of the list. Spain and
Sweden have stepped into it. The
United States has taken the sec-
ond place from Germany. Today
she is number two among the big
ten. Japan is third instead of
fifth. France is seventh instead of
fourth.

British policy and British ne-
cessity call for sea control. For
a century, the British held the un-

disputed mastery of the seas.
Germany threatened that mastery.
She is no more. In 1919, the
United States occupies the same
position, as far as tonnage is con-
cerned, that Germany occupied in
1914. Furthermore, the ship
building capacity of the United
States is greater than that of any
other nation. American ship ton-
nage is a new threat to British sea
supremacy. Japan looms on the
Eastern horizon with her grow-
ing fleet of merchant-men.

Would you know the names of
the chief participants in the next
world war? Begin at the top of
the column showing "After the
War" tonnage figures and count
down!

ing the few Negro manly men who go to prison for principle. Ben Fletcher is in Leavenworth for principle—a principle which when adopted, will put all the Negro leaders out of their parasitical jobs. That principle is that to the

workers belongs the world, but useful work is not done by Negro leaders.

We want to advocate and urge that Negro societies, lodges, churches, N. A. A. C. P. branches and, of course, their labor organi-

zations begin to protest against the imprisonment of Ben Fletcher and to demand his release. He has been of more service to the masses of the plain Negro people than all the wind jamming Negro leaders in the United States.

William Bross Lloyd

In his economic and social paradoxes, Lester F. Ward lays down the principle that those who have least to gain from a reform, usually take the initiative in inaugurating it. In many respects William Bross Lloyd demonstrates this principle. Extremely wealthy, a capitalist himself, brilliantly educated, and possessing an exceptional part of this world's goods, he gives his time, his money and his labor to the cause of the working people. When the five Socialist officials were convicted, sentenced and placed under bond, he readily came forward and went \$50,000 upon each bond. When William D. Haywood, the I. W. W. leader was granted bond by the United States Circuit

Court, he readily came forward and tendered \$15,000 bond to the I. W. W. leader. He had no fear of being called an I. W. W., Bolshevik, Red, Anarchist or any of the so-called epithets which the prostitute capitalist press indulges in. When the Peoples' Council was organized, and held its first meeting in Chicago, he made one of the most logical, analytical, scholarly and courageous addresses which was delivered during the war.

William Bross Lloyd first began his Radicalism as a single taxpayer, following in the footsteps of his father. He and his three brothers are brothers only in blood—not in economic and social point of view, while part owner,

and large part owner in the Chicago Tribune, he withdrew from the Board, because of its reactionary policies. He has no semblance of race prejudice in any respect. While the editors of the MESSENGER were in Chicago last year, he invited them to dinner with him on the main floor of the dining room at the Terrace Hotel. We are not so particularly concerned about this, except for the fact that in America the real test of Radicalism comes on the race issue, since the very atmosphere of the United States is permeated with race prejudice as its chief environment. Most white men who can overcome that, are usually amenable to other Radicalism.

The Messenger

The Call is always anxious to give a word of encouragement and support to other publications that are worthy of working-class support. We all the more readily call attention to one of the most valuable and unique Socialist publications that has appeared in this country, the MESSENGER. It is a publication devoted to the Negro workers in particular and the interests of workingmen in general. It maintains a literary and editorial standard that is equalled by few Socialist publications, and in some respects it surpasses all periodicals of this kind in this country.

The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States, of the rise of the slave regime, the economics of the plantation and the ill-disguised peonage that succeeded it in the South, and the general economic status of the Negro worker, complicated, as it is, by racial antagonism. Some

of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the MESSENGER, studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among Negroes. The MESSENGER is one of the few Socialist publications that has consistently based its Socialism upon a sound interpretation of the economic history of this country. It is a striking fact that it remained for Negro Comrades to set this standard for American Socialists.

But, like other publications in the past two years, the MESSENGER has run foul of His Majesty, Czar Burleson, and has suffered in consequence. Not that its circulation has decreased. In fact, it has more than trebled since Burleson issued his ukase against it. But the MESSENGER is engaged in a drive for \$25,000 for the purpose of meeting the increased demands upon it. The message of Socialism is at last reaching our black brothers of the working class

through those who alone can reach them. The Negro has so often been swindled and betrayed by the white man that he is always suspicious of him when he comes bearing gifts. He can only be reached by his own people, and that is being done now.

Besides this prejudice against white propaganda, which has a reasonable justification, there is the servile propaganda of Negro leaders who have succeeded to the role once played by the late Booker T. Washington. Their message to the Negro is one of contentment, adding to it Iago's advice to "put money in thy purse." No white propaganda can contend with this reactionary propaganda waged by Negroes among their own race. Only publications like the MESSENGER can meet it, and it is being met with a generalship and knowledge that wins converts among the black workers every day.

— Editorial, N. Y. Call.



Unemployment and Unrest

I have tried for years to get our Negro journals to give some consideration to such statements as I am about to write. For an obvious cause they invariably turn them down. The above condition confronts all the workers in every civilized country. The Negro of this country is doubly affected, as 99 per cent of the Negroes are of the working class, and are forced by prevailing custom to engage themselves in the lowest forms of menial servitude, such as waiters, cooks, porters, janitors, boot-blacks, house maids, wash women and common laborers. As a rule they are paid the lowest wages for their services and charged the highest prices for the necessities of life, more so than any other nationality. The reason is obvious, if you will only stop and think—and by thinking discover the common cause. Every thinking Negro agrees that it is the lack of "GETTING TOGETHER." "Self preservation is the first law of nature," but the majority of Negroes fail to observe that law. Unconsciously he is continually following false leaders. I am absolutely opposed to leadership on the basis that for every one who can lead you out of darkness, there is another who will lead you back.

No race of people on earth have been damned and doubly damned more than the American Negro, in having some capitalist stool pigeon in the form of a "Big Negro" (tagged as such by our common enemy). We as a rule worship him and invariably follow his leadership. The burning curse of the Negro race is found

in the three P's of hell itself . . . the pulpit, politics and the press.

The time is ripe for organized action among the Negroes, and this action must be based along the lines of co-operation, and upon the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. This movement must manifest itself in organization—not organization as based upon fake fraternalism (which is generally advocated among Negroes and indulged in by them). This must be an economic organization, for and by the working man and woman, all united together in ONE BIG UNION, with one universal working card. One united purpose—and that purpose to protect the interest of all the members in the union at all times. No big I's and little U's. All for one and one for all.

Now, why, ask yourself, do all of our "misleaders" oppose this form of getting together. The answer is simple. In this kind of an organization, there is no place for them to function unless they go to work—and that is degrading. The labor faker, politician, preacher and reporter will find themselves out of a job. No one can become a member of this organization unless they are actual wage workers. Hence these "misleaders" will be unable to get up in the meetings and deliver great orations on some good boss or good politician, or that there is harmony of interest between the employer who overworks you and the employee who is underpaid. No employer will use you unless he can exploit you. He must get profits out of your labor and pro-

fit is that which one produces and does not get and another gets and does not produce. Hence, a great portion of that profit is being used to pay the above mentioned "misleaders," to boost your employer and preach satisfaction to you in order that they may continue without interruption to exploit you. Destruction precedes construction. Therefore, you must destroy the idea that there can be any harmony existing between you and your employer, because it is to his interest to get all the profit he can out of your service and pay as little as he can for what he gets. Your interest is to get as much as possible for what you do, and do as little as possible for what you get.

This fact destroys all idea of any harmony of interest existing between the employer and the worker. I here quote an extract from a report made by the EMPLOYERS' INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, appointed by the U. S. Government to investigate the BRITISH LABOR PROBLEMS: "The leaders of British Industry and officials of large associations of British employers expressed their common verdict as follows; 'All this is predicated on the accepted belief that labor is entitled to more consideration than it has heretofore been accorded.'"

E. T. Gundlach, Chairman.

Therefore, with the intelligent direction of your economic and industrial power through an organization that draws no race, creed, color or national lines, but welcomes all workers to come in-

to its ranks, the Negro, in such an organization, will find that all Jim-crowism, lynching, disfranchisement and all forms of discrimination will pass away as quietly as a snowball before the rays of the noonday sun. There is no better source by which the American Negro can hope to advance his interest, individually and collectively, than through just such an organization as above described.

Yours truly,
R. T. SIMS,
Financial Secretary,
L. U. No. 14782,
Municipal Janitors and
Janitresses.

TO LIMIT IS NOT TO ABRIDGE

By Geo. D. Coleman

The Chief Justice of the United States is a Jesuit, and Justice McCullough on the bench with him is another, so there need be no surprise if we find Jesuit Casuistry in the decisions of the Court. When Congress had three times refused to put a certain word into the anti-trust law, when the law was brought before the Supreme Court, the Court read that word into the law by its decision called "The rule of reason" and called by Justice Harlan "Judge made law." *Harlan died very soon thereafter...* Now we have the decision in the case of the Constitutionality of the Espionage Law as relates to free speech and naturally including free press. The Court admitted the words of the Constitution. That Congress could not pass any law to *abridge* the freedom of speech but it could *limit* its exercise. To *limit* is not to *abridge*, a sort of Pons Asinorum, or while the law could not abridge the freedom of speech, that freedom of speech is one thing and its *exercise* is another thing; its freedom could not be abridged, but is exercise could. If the American people are such stupid fools as to receive such rotten reasoning, then their liberties will soon depart. In Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, the clown says, "I am her ladyship's corrupter of words," and the Supreme Court should don a cap and bells and motley as Uncle Sam's "Corrupter of words." The dictionaries are reversed by the

Court and in fact it's confusing. "Where are we at?" and "Where do we go from here?" This is another Dred Scott Decision, and like it will prove a boomerang.

THE A. F. of L., SHALL IT GO?

I must say that I have found articles published in your magazine both interesting and instructive and must agree that the policies outlined in your valuable paper are in accord with the principles I advocate daily; yet, in spite of the many things that men can sometimes find common ground to agree upon, there are times when they might differ in their opinions relative to some change that becomes necessary for us to advocate for the best interests of everybody concerned.

In commenting on an article in your May-June issue, page 7, headed, "BREAK UP OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR," I might say that in my past twenty-one years' experience as a member of some organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I have found many things in the policies of such organizations that I did not agree with and felt were not in keeping with the principles embodied in the formation of the American Federation of Labor, but found that being on the inside, sufficient space could be secured to bring about such changes that would be beneficial to both white and colored and not make it necessary to destroy the movement entirely.

I know that you are quite willing to agree that the Constitution of the United States embodies every possible means for the rights of the Negroes the same as any other American citizen, but the application of the principles embodied are not applied to his case as it is intended.

Now, it appears to me that it would not be an advantage to destroy what we have so long struggled to develop but rather change its policies by engendering new ideas and thoughts in the minds of the masses and have them to understand and appreciate what a great advantage it is to them (the toilers) to work, plan and act together.

I don't believe that any man

is justified in being conservative unless it might be considered irrational for him to encourage the advancement of an ideal condition in face of opposition, but to compromise on an issue in any place or under any condition would be sufficient to label him a "cowardly cur."

The organizations mentioned in your article as containing the clauses preventing Negroes from joining in their constitution and many more possibly that you did not mention where the clause does not appear in their constitution, have adopted a custom through which they could eliminate the colored man from membership.

The question that now confronts us more than any other, is "where or in what position can we best fight this condition—on the in or outside?" I say these things can best be fought from the inside. We find discrimination on the outside of the American Federation of Labor in unorganized situations. I have seen colored men denied the right to employment, dual organizations strike to have them forced off the job, and know that the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen do not admit them to membership yet permits them to work in many of the railroad centers in the Southland as brakemen.

I believe that if we could concentrate our efforts to the end that we could organize every colored man and women employed in industry into organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we can have a strong, formidable force that will drive the reactionary element out of the labor movement altogether.

Those who are trying to form partnership between the exploiters and the exploited could be eventually driven into oblivion by popular sentiment and a vote carried against them on the floors of the conviction.

I don't believe that different groups of organized workers should be separated, but so united that whatever condition confronted even the smallest group relative to their welfare, would effect and be the serious consideration of all the workers of the United States, to the end that there will be, instead of an organization whose officers are willing or compelled to compromise in the interest of "big business," one

slaughtered. They are always trying to make other people as well as themselves believe that Negroes are different from other people, instead of men and women like everybody else. They often preach the doctrine of hate to their race, in regards to the German population, shutting their eyes to the fact that the Germans now, as before the war, enjoy far more rights than the Negro.

They have not the least idea that there is a marked difference between Wisconsin and Mississippi. If the average Negro were as intelligent on all lines as the

average German, if he did not have so much false pride and egotism, we would soon solve our economic problem which the average so-called Negro leader knows nothing about. They are also dull on history. They are too ignorant to know that human nature is the same the world over and it draws no color or racial line, and neither does the dollar. Even as backward as the Hatians are supposed to be they are sensitive to economic and social conditions, besides, they stand up for their rights. The Cubans are the same way.

The MESSENGER has been nicknamed out this way the Big Bertha of Socialism. It takes well everywhere. Turn loose the Big Bertha on the so-called Negro leaders and fight to death their cowardice, deceit and mental slavery and make the name of the American Negro sound and have the same meaning and character as that of the Cuban Negro and the Russian Jew.

Signed
Frank St. Clair,
4602 Federal St.,
Chicago, Ill.

Next Month's Messenger will be Gripping and Scintillating

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for
September

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3. The "WHO'S WHO" will feature "Woodrow Wilson — Who is he anyway?"
"Roscoe Conkling Simmons — To what specie does he belong?"
"Judge Robert Terrell — What is his status as a Negro leader?"

4. Under Education and Literature, Lt. Wm. N. Colson will discuss:
"THE FAILURE OF THE 92d DIVISION."

While the editors will discuss and give out first hand information on the Ft. Sam Houston Trial of Negroes of the 24th Infantry when 13 Negroes were hanged and forty more sent to Leavenworth Penitentiary.

5. IT WILL ALSO BE THE LABOR ISSUE.

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By THE BUSINESS MANAGER

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