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Black Troops in Germany

By the Editors

Private Property A Pillar of Race Prejudice

W. A. Domingo

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THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

A GAIN the Mexicans have had a revolution. Carranza has been deposed and assassinated. De La Huerta is now the Provisional President, soon to be succeeded by Obregon, the chief candidate for the Mexican presidency. It must be said to the honor of Carranza that he played his role of opposition to the American oil interests brilliantly. From the latest reports from Gale's magazine,—a well known communist organ of Mexico, Carranza capitulated to Wall Street. It is reported that he was backing Bonillas, the Mexican ambassador to Washington, for the presidency of Mexico, who was the selection of the oil interests of America. From the trend of the development of American financial imperialism, Mexico will soon become our second Haiti. It was known by all students of world politics that Carranza would never be able to withstand the encroachments of American capital. Liberalism was the ruling policy of Carranza, and it failed. It has failed everywhere. The issues are drawn between two forces—the worker and the capitalist. It is reported that Carranza broke strikes and hence lost the support of labor. He was a strong nationalist, but, he finally realized that self-determination was impossible of attainment for Mexico, and he died opposing the new spokesman of Mexican nationalism—Obregon. Will Obregon become the tool of American capitalists? If he does not, he will also fall. No power can save Mexico from American capitalism except the American workers, and they are too backward and reactionary for the nonce.

THE DEMO-PUBLICAN CONVENTION

IN the very near future, the Republican and Democratic parties will combine upon one presidential candidate. The two major parties will then be known as the Demo-Republican party. That this is the trend of political events, is seen from the fact, that in any district where the Socialists seem to be probable winners, the Republicans and Democrats combine against them. They combined against Victor Berger in Milwaukee, Hillquit in New York, who were running for Congress. It simply proves that there is absolutely no difference whatever between the Republican and Democratic parties. Already, the Wall Street Journal has indicated its satisfaction with the selection of both Harding and Cox. The stocks in Wall Street rallied upon the nomination of each. The platforms of the two parties might have been written by the same hand; to be sure, they were dictated by the same interests. The two political cocks, Harding and Cox, have accepted the League of Nations, as the chief issue. That removes the embarrassment consequent upon discussing the annoying questions of profiteering in rent, food, clothes, the question of civil liberties, etc. Besides, unrest and discontent are increasing, and it is necessary to divert the attention of the people from the causes of unrest to some foreign question which is entirely immaterial to the economic, political and social life of the people. The old trick of the ruling class of all countries, in all periods of human history

of inviting a war of invasion, or starting a war of aggression, to still the voice of the hungry mob, is now being employed by the political tools of American capitalism, Cox and Harding.

FARMER-LABOR-LIBERAL CONVENTION

THE Farmer-Labor-Liberal Convention is over. Just as we predicted a few months ago, the "Committee of 48," composed of alleged liberals, split up. Some went with labor and the farmer, while others will sneak back into the Republican and Democratic parties. The parasite must have a body to feed upon.

The Farmer-Labor group had quite a contention with the liberals over the Negro question plank. Our best information is that Senator La Follette first bolted on industrial and political equality for Negroes, maintaining that it was inexpedient to carry such a plank. To this suggestion Amos Pinchot, Allan McCurdy, J. A. H. Hopkins and George L. Record immediately capitulated, just after the fashion of old line Republicans. Next, they fell down on democratic control of industry. They further balked on nationalization of mines. This closed down three of their planks, which happening in a short platform of four planks was serious. A platform is something to stand upon, and if you pull out all the planks, you have nothing left. Such was the plight of the committee of 48 whose existence is now history.

Up to this writing we have not seen the Farmer-Labor platform, but we understand that they left out the plank in favor of political and industrial equality for Negroes. If this proves to be true, the question may be very boldly asked: Why should not Negroes and other working people be Socialists?

AN APPRECIATION

WE regret to announce the resignation of Victor R. Daly as business manager of the MESSENGER. On the first of August he becomes Director of Publicity for the National Urban League. As business manager for the MESSENGER his relations have been most cordial for the last year and a quarter. During his stay with us he circulated 232,000 copies of the magazine—slightly over a quarter of a million. Intelligent, efficient and energetic we held him in high regard.

ANNOUNCEMENT

NEXT month's issue will appear August 20th, and thereafter all issues will appear on the 15th of the preceding month. We regret having had to skip the last issues but the paper market made it imperative. Subscribers, however, will lose nothing by this. Their subscriptions will be extended to cover those issues. Moreover, after the campaign, there are prospects for a drop in the paper market, whereupon we shall again increase our pages. It has probably not occurred to most readers that the paper upon which the MESSENGER is printed costs as much per pound as does your sugar.

Next month's issue will discuss "The Invisible Gov-

ernment of Negro Institutions," with special reference to Howard University and other Negro schools. Herbert J. Seligman's *The Negro Faces America*, will be reviewed.

For the next three months the MESSENGER will be the only organ in America where sound opinion may be secured on the Negro problem. The political situation will be fully discussed each month. We have, therefore, arranged a three months' subscription at 40 cents. Send 40 cents to the Messenger Pub. Co., 2305 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City and keep posted on the fundamental political, social and economic issues.

THE RAILROAD WAGE BOARD AWARD

THE Railroad Wage Board has awarded the railway workers an increase of six hundred million dollars. This figure is imposing and sounds startling, but the sum distributed among two million men is a mere pittance. The railway owners have asked for an increase in freight and passenger rates to the extent of nearly a billion and a half—or an extra dollar for every additional dollar paid to labor—so expensive is it to hand over money.

Immediately after the award the Pennsylvania Railroad laid off 12,000 men. The new railroad law does not permit the men to strike, yet capital may lock out. Capital may quit but labor may not stop. The railway presidents and boards of directors may meet and decide to lay off any number of men, provided there is no *concert*! But if the executive board of a labor union meets and decides to strike, that is *concerted*. Do you get the difference?

BLACK FRENCH TROOPS IN GERMANY

SAVAGES! BARBARIANS! UNCIVILIZED! Are the epithets hurled by Great Britain and America, at the black Senegalese French troops stationed in Germany. It is alleged that they (the black troops of France) raped white German women. Granting that the charge is true, the calm, cool and dispassionate historian will ask: Why this hysteria, this hallucination, these ravings and imprecations about the "violation of white virtue?" Soldiers are soldiers. We are not excusing the crime. But a crime committed by black French troops is no worse, no more reprehensible than a crime committed by white German barons or white American soldiers. It is a matter of common knowledge that the German barons so abused the African women, that the Socialist and Center Parties combined in the Reichstag in 1912 to put a stop to it. They stopped it by forcing the German barons to marry African women who bore children for them, thereby making the child heir to the property of its father.

Also despatches elude the American censor, telling of the rape of black Haitian women by white American soldiers. From the reports of the American and English press, one would think that only black soldiers commit crime. According to the Rev. S. E. Churchstone-Lord, Pastor of the A. M. E. Church, Port of Prince, Haiti, now in this country, attending the general conference of the A. M. E. Church, at St. Louis, Mo., as reported by the Chi-

cago Defender, issue of May 15th, the American soldiers are creating a reign of terror throughout the Republic. It is alleged that nine little Haitian girls, ranging in age from eight to twelve, died as a result of having been criminally assaulted by white American soldiers. It is further alleged that members of the native Constabulary are compelled by white officers to procure native women for use of the whites as concubines.

Is this not sufficiently revolting and criminally savage to cause the cheek of any civilized person to blush with shame? Yet, the sacred American and British Press are mute. Why? They are black, not white women. Besides, it is necessary to cultivate and perpetuate race prejudice as a national and international wedge with which to divide the workers. They are more easily robbed. But don't let the workers be misled. White women and black women stand for nothing where profits are concerned. The capitalist press cares nothing about them. This raving is for the consumption of the gullible workers. Great Britain will send her black troops to America, and America will send her black troops to England, when there is any advantage to be gained, whether they rape white or black women or not. Of course, the American Liberal press took the sane and sensible point of view. The Nation, in one of its early May issues, made a very sensible and intelligent comment on the incident. We expect the New Republic, the Freeman, and The World Tomorrow to take the vanguard in moulding intelligent public opinion. The New York Call's reporting of the affair was no better than what one might expect from the Harpoon of Texas. It was decidedly vicious. We expect it from the capitalist sheets but not from the Liberal, Socialist and Labor Press. News reporting can do more to poison public opinion against either race or class than any other force we know of. A paper can nullify its entire editorial column by its news policy. Even the radical British Daily Herald, edited by George Lansbury, fell down sadly. It lost its scientific and reasoned style and succumbed to inexcusable panic and passion.

OVERALL CLUBS

IN order to solve the high cost of clothes, Overall Clubs were formed. In certain cities overall parades were conducted. In New York, an overall parade was composed of less than a hundred persons. It was an evidence of the fact that the people regarded the whole thing as a colossal joke. Some cynic might well inquire, as to the amount of the contribution the overall club propagandists received from the overall manufacturers because the minute the agitation proceeded, the price of overalls went up. Of course, some of the capitalists wore overalls for the consumption of the credulous public. They wore them out of choice, but the working people are compelled to wear them out of necessity. It is interesting to note how cocksure capitalists are with respect to their belief in the general ignorance of the patient, well meaning, but misguided "Henry Dub." They will present to him the most transparent sub-

terfuge and they expect him to swallow it hook, line and sinker. The clothing manufacturers were not disturbed. They knew it was a passing, psychological fantasy, manufactured in the brain of some capitalist—intellectual—prostitute. The price of clothing is still high, and from all indications is going higher, the Overall Clubs to the contrary, notwithstanding. When the people get some brains and begin to think for themselves, they will no longer allow themselves to be hoodwinked, deluded and deceived by these obvious and apparent capitalist tricks. They will recognize the necessity of taking sane and effective action against an evil by adopting methods for removing its cause. The cause of the high cost of clothing is the private ownership of the clothing factories. Abolish this private ownership and you strike a death blow at the high cost of clothing. Or let the people organize co-operative clothing factories and produce for and sell to themselves. By this method they eliminate the profiteering middle man. These methods are scientific and effective. Overall Clubs are foolish, silly, inane and futile.

THE FIGHT OF THE NEGRO WORKER

THE Negro worker is fighting a double battle. He is fighting the capitalist for a living wage, and he is fighting white organized labor for just recognition. We emphasize white organized labor because there are independent labor organizations such as The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the International Furriers, the International Hotel and Restaurant Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World who draw no color line. These organizations, strictly speaking, are not a part of the American Labor Movement which is supposed to be enhanced by the American Federation of Labor, although one or two of the above named organizations are internationals of the American Federation of Labor. It can be factually stated, however, that none of these organizations, radical or conservative, independent or regular is doing anything systematic and definite toward organizing the colored worker. They have yet to recognize the true menace which the great mass of unorganized black workers constitute to a high standard of living of the white workers. And as long as the white workers allow the capitalists to poison their minds with the virus of race prejudice, they can expect to be fought and fought viciously by their black brothers. Of course, the white and black workers do not fight each other because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they fight each other, and the capitalists will spare no pains in seeing to it that the fight goes on. They, the capitalists, profit from the fight because it makes it unnecessary for them to fight them both combined. "Divide and conquer," will ever remain the slogan of the master class. The capitalists have no race, no religion, no nationality. The world is their country and to rob labor is their religion. When will the black and white workers learn this? When will they wake up and stop fighting each other?

When will the American Labor Movement take a hand and put a stop to race riots, mob law, lynchings, and the disfranchisement of the black workers? The American Labor Movement can do this. When will the black worker, also, recognize the necessity of fighting in the industrial struggles with his white brother? It is high time that the black and white workers recognize their class interest. The issues are grave, and the crisis is coming.

LILY-WHITEISM

EVERY presidential year a fight between southern white and colored Republicans goes on, each seeking to dispossess the other of the privilege of representing the southern states at the National Republican Convention. Large sums of money are employed by the Republican contestants for the presidential nomination, to capture the southern Republican delegates. The privilege to vote in the National Republican Convention is the only political privilege that the colored Republican has. The whites, who are Republicans, in the South, are Republicans only because it enables them, either to get political jobs, or campaign slush funds. The same thing is true with respect to the southern colored Republican politicians. Of course, the rank and file of colored people are Republicans from tradition, just as the rank and file of the southern whites are Democrats from tradition. Now, the competition among the candidates for the Republican nomination is responsible for the political corruption of the colored and white Republicans of the South. There are no issues, no principles, no policies involved. It must be said also that the southern colored Republicans are no worse than their northern, eastern or western brothers. The colored, like the white politicians, are "spoils and slush fund" politicians. In most cases they lack honesty, intelligence and courage. It is well known that the colored politicians are satellites of their white political Suns. They are neither worse nor better than their white political masters. They have nothing to do with the nomination of Republican candidates, nor have their white political associates anything to do with the same. Wall Street is the political arbiter of the Republican and Democratic Parties, because it is the economic master of America. It owns the mines, railroads, traction interests, steam ships, land, natural resources, factories and banks. This title of ownership makes it the master of the Republican and Democratic Parties who merely see-saw in ruling the government.

The little political tea-pot tempests among Negroes, North, South, East and West, in the old parties, amount to nothing. They do not affect the trend of anything in America. They do not remove a single economic, political or social evil or produce a single good. They are not only carrying on useless and valueless political vaudeville, but they constitute a decided political menace to the Negro in America. They are a means of exposing him as a huge political joke to the country.

FOUR POWER LOAN AND CHINA

EVIDENCES are varied and legion of plots, conspiracies, intrigues and secret pacts that are calculated to drive capitalist governments into another world war. America, Great Britain, France and Japan have effected a consortium by which economic spheres of influence in China will be allocated to these respective countries. It is reported that Japan reluctantly made certain concessions to the Western European Powers. This, of course, was to be expected by any student of the Far Eastern Question. Japan wants to establish a Monroe Doctrine of the Far East, just as America has established a Monroe Doctrine over South and Central America. Both America and Japan are guilty of forcing upon a people protection which they don't desire. The Four Power Loan will be supported by the armies and navies of the several nations. When the capitalists of the respective governments get ready to start another world war, they will order their press, church, schools, politicians and stage to point out to the working people the necessity of again fighting to "Make the World Safe For Democracy," and the self determination of smaller nationalities." We will hear in the very near future much about the "Yellow Peril," the arrogant Briton and the Imperialistic Frenchman. These governments, in turn, will descant upon the greed cupidity and avarice of the blattant American. In short, a world war tinder box is being formed, only to explode upon the application of a fuse—the slightest provocation. The only question then is: What can be done to halt this mad rivalry and hostile competition between the great Powers for the exploitation of undeveloped lands and peoples? The answer is: Let us change our system of society. Let us nationalize and democratically manage those basic industries that produce the surplus wealth which seeks investments in Africa, Asia and China. When we socialize the industries, we socialize the products—wealth. When we socialize the wealth, we stop the investments in foreign fields. When we stop the investments, we stop international intrigues and plots that are productive of wars.

RAILROADS

THE railroads are in a chaotic condition. They are virtually bankrupt. They are calling for an increased freight and passenger rate. A freight rate of 28 per cent, and an additional 30 per cent in the event that the railroad workers are able to enforce their demands. It is maintained by the railroad owners that the wage demand of the workers will mean an addition of a billion dollars to the pay roll of the railroads. The leaders of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen maintain that according to their economist Lauck, the minimum wage of the railway worker must be \$2,500; that that alone constitutes a living wage. The so-called "Outlaw Railway Strike" is a protest against the starvation wages which obtain in the railway industry. It is also a revolt against the conservatism and inaction of the leaders of the

Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. There is a widespread and, too, justifiable feeling on the part of the rank and file of railway workers, that their leaders are working in the interest of the railroad owners and not the workers. It appears, from all indications, that it will be utterly impossible for the railroad operators to solve their financial and labor problems. They have reached an impasse. They refuse to yield to labor and labor refuses to yield to them. Meanwhile, the long suffering and patient public, or the families of the great working class, suffer. Sober and conservative economists believe that the only solution of the present railroad problems is government ownership and operation. This, doubtless, will be the ultimate recourse. It is impossible for this conflict, which imposes consequent industrial disorganization in other fields, long to continue. The very life of the capitalist system demands a certain amount of efficiency in the main factor of the country's economic life — transportation. Unfortunately, the Brotherhoods of Railway Trainmen, despite the request of Samuel Gompers, still refuse to admit Negroes into their unions. Certainly, this backward, reactionary, bigoted, narrow and unprogressive attitude of the railway workers on the Negro question, will be abandoned soon. The very outlaw strike is a healthy sign of the growth of radicalism within the ranks of these organizations. This radicalism will undoubtedly burn up the noxious weeds of race prejudice.

WHY AND HOW TO STOP NEGROES FROM BEING DRIVEN OUT OF THE SOUTH

DURING the regime of slavery, laws were enacted by the slave states barring the entrance of free Negroes. Slaves who were aggressive and difficult to subjugate, such as the Coremanche tribe, brought a low price, and, in many cases were rejected in the slave market.

The reason for the attitude of the South toward slaves with an indomitable spirit, and who had tasted of the new wine of freedom, is plain. These types of slaves were a menace to the system because their presence was a suggestion to submissive slaves of the possibility of their becoming freemen. It created discontent, and wherever there is discontent among a people with conditions, an effort will be made to find a remedy to remove those conditions. And whenever a group benefits from the existence of certain conditions, that group seeks to perpetuate the same. These are the reasons for the opposition of the Southern Bourbon ruling class to Negroes who show any signs of unrest, with lynching, the jim-crowcar, disfranchisement or the meager educational facilities provided for their children. Just as labor and radical agitators of new economic and political beliefs are deported out of the country, so are certain Negroes being marked to be driven from their homes and families.

Why is this? The reason lies in the fact that the south of Hoke Smith, Vardaman, of John Sharp Williams feels its palsied and bloody fingers being

pried loose from the throat of the Negro by the lever of the "New Crowd" Negroes' propaganda. And, in desperation, it is attempting to break the morale of this New Crowd by a reign of intimidation and terror. One of the methods it is adopting is "forcible deportation" of the most prominent colored men of business and educational standing in Southern communities. However, this should be cause for no alarm. Yet it is, for the Negro leaders have presented the rank and file no program of action in these days of storm and stress.

Now, what should be done? Two measures should be adopted, physical and economic. First, in every city and town in the South, Negroes should organize "life and property safety societies." They should be composed of both men and women. A steering committee should be selected, whose duty is the formulation and presentation of the demands of the organization, (whenever the life, liberty or property of any Negro in the organization is threatened), to the Mayor and Board of Trade of the city or town, and the Governor of the State. It should be made clear that the said officials will be held strictly responsible for the life, liberty and property of the person in question. Now, by confining this protection to only members of the organization, it will be both attractive and coercive upon those Negroes who are reluctant to join. It should also be made known to the said officials that the Negroes are fully prepared to protect any of their number. Caution, however, should be taken against rashness, hotheadedness, too much feeling, bluster, meaningless and incoherent threats of uprisings, violence, etc. The measures adopted should be the result of cool, sober and dispassionate thought and deliberation; the action of those who are stern and determined.

The second measure should be the use of the strike as an economic weapon. But this can only be done effectively when it is an instrument in the hands of an organization. THE MESSENGER has before counselled the use of the strike because we recognize the fact that the Negro is the labor backbone of the agricultural and industrial development of the South. If he strikes, Southern industry will be paralyzed. Not only that, but industry throughout the country will be materially disorganized and impaired. The Negro produces 98 per cent of the cotton of America and America supplies 60 per cent of the cotton in the world. Hence, the world cannot endure a strike of the Negro cotton worker. And national and international pressure will be used to stop the oppression of the Negro by the South. Thus, Negro workers in the South should be organized in every industry upon the basis of the industry, such as teamsters, railroad workers, launderers, mill workers and workers in cotton fields, etc. These various workers should be organized into One Big Organization and subject to the call and direction of a Central Executive Committee, whenever occasion arises. The power of such an organization to paralyze southern industry, will, by its very existence, strike fear into

the heart of the South, forcing it to respect the rights, privileges and immunities of the Negro.

This organization cannot be effected at once. It can be begun, however, at once. The first measure, on the contrary, can be adopted immediately.

OUTLAW STRIKES

FROM the view point of the capitalists, all strikes are outlaw. They are simply emphasizing the present railway yardmen's strike as an outlaw strike because it represents the revolt of the rank and file against the treacherous, reactionary policies of the labor heads of the "Big Four." The Big Four Brotherhoods have been flattered, cajoled and praised by the capitalists as sober, intelligent, sane, and, above all, "Good Americans." It was because they seldom struck. The leaders of the railway workers have been constantly wined and dined by the railroad owners. And naturally it is very difficult for one to put his feet under the board of his host, and at the same time proceed to oppose his host's opinions upon matters vital to his host. In fact, it is seldom done; at least, it is done but once. Then the guest becomes persona non grata. Well, the constant association of leaders of the railroad workers and the owners of the railroads made them unusually friendly, in fact, pals. The leaders were receiving fat salaries from the hard earnings of the workers. Hence, the high cost of living did not disturb them. But the poor slaves, who actually run the railroads, were at their wits end to make ends meet. When they found it impossible, they commanded their leaders to demand a living wage from their employers. Their leaders balked. They flatly refused to call the strike on the grounds that it was un-American for the worker to make such demands during a period of high living costs. In other words, it is un-American for the worker to demand the right of a full stomach. So the so-called Outlaw Strike came. The workers called it over the heads of their leaders. This was not the first break between the workers and their leaders, for the leaders had already opposed the Plumb Plan, a device for operating the railroads upon a more Democratic basis. It reposed the right and power of management into three groups, the classified railroad employees, the regular employees, and the government. It represents an extension of workers control in industry. It is an American edition of the English Guild system of Socialism with slight variations. It is a decided improvement upon private ownership. It gave the railroad workers a definite voice in determining their scale of wages, hours, and conditions of work, but the leaders of the workers vetoed this plan. Of course, the leaders of the workers did as the owners of the railroads desired. This is the reason for the wide spread discontent among the railway workers. They will not be able to democratize their unions until they scrap their present leaders. Outlaw strikes will do it. It is the only strike which will win while the labor leaders are "outlaws" to labor. We want

an outlaw strike to break down the nefarious bar of race prejudice which prevents colored railroad workers from joining the Big Four. Think of a worker being denied a union card because of race! This thing is distinctly characteristic of the American Labor Movement. It stands as an inexcusable disgrace to organized labor, and the colored worker can be relied upon to remain the enemy of the white worker so long as it continues. And how could one be so naive as to expect him to be different?

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

DESPITE the rosy promises of the administration to reduce the high cost of living, prices continue to soar. A. Mitchell Palmer, United States Attorney, has done nothing sensible about the present wave of inordinate profiteering. His programme has been to visit, seize, search and jail radicals, who, are, in fact, the thermometer of the temperature of social unrest. His attitude toward the agitators is like jailing a meteorologist, on the grounds, that he predicts a coming storm. Certainly, it is about as reasonable to expect a squad of police, stool pigeons and thugs to solve a basic economic problem, such as the high cost of living, by raids, clubbings, arrests, the suppression of free speech, assembly and the press, prosecutions, persecutions, threats, bomb scares, sensational and unfounded outcries against Red uprisings, revolutions and massacres, as it is to expect a blacksmith to perform an operation for appendicitis by hammering a patient's head on an anvil. It simply can't be done.

Everybody knows, who has an ounce of sense, that a business man who controls commodities which

the people need in order to live, is going to charge them as much as they are able to pay. The buyer can never rely upon the sense of justice of the seller, for he has none. The seller's interest is to buy cheap and sell dear. He wants profits, and nothing but profits. But the buyer's interest is to have the price below the value of the commodity. Then he gets the advantage. Thus there is a conflict between the buyer and the seller. The only fundamental remedy for high prices is the abolition of private control of the food supply. In other words, let the government take the great packing industry out of the hands of Armour, Cudahy, Morris and Wilson and democratically manage these industries in the interest of the people. The same method could be applied also to the railroads and other cognate industries that produce foods. Of course, it is necessary to nationalize the land.

But, in order for this to be done, the present office holders must be replaced by representatives of the people. It is idle and foolish to expect the agent of Rockefeller to agitate in the interest of legislation for the reduction of the price of oil. For his salary is most likely to go up when the price of oil goes up. Now the present existing government is dominated by manufacturers, bankers, corporations, land owners, packers, railroads, steel and coal magnates. There is not a single labor representative in Congress. Thus, it is evidence of extreme political and economic unsophistication to expect the present capitalist government to reduce the high cost of living, unless a rising storm of protest from the people threatens to sweep it into political oblivion. The capitalists will then make slight concessions to save the heads of their political hirelings.

Economics and Politics

Private Property as a Pillar of Prejudice

W. A. DOMINGO
(Continued)

OTHER proofs that race prejudice is kept alive by capitalism are afforded by present day conditions.

Two brothers leave France for French colonies. One goes to Martinique, the other to the French Congo. They both received the same training and imbibed the same humanitarian ideals at home. The one who goes to Martinique finds an overwhelming black population with essentially French traditions engaged in every occupation of life. In his search for employment, he is forced to hire out his services to a black mulatto or black business man. In the capacity of an employee, he finds his labor exploited

and himself in an inferior economic position to his non-white employer, and after many years of working, returns to France. His brother, on his arrival in Africa becomes part of a system of merciless exploitation. He knows that as a junior official of a commercial house with headquarters in France, he can keep his job only by getting a maximum of wealth out of native labor, and being away from the restraints of exacting French laws, he becomes a party to various atrocities perpetrated upon the defenseless natives. Through his ability to get maximum results, he is promoted, and after years of labor in the Congo, he returns to France where he meets

his brother. They have both dealt with Negroes, but one had had his labor exploited by them, whilst the other had been an instrument for their exploitation. Growing out of their different economic relations with "les noirs," it is only natural for the brother who went to Martinique to maintain the inherent equality of all races, and for the brother who had gone to the Congo to be convinced of essential Negro inferiority!

Or take another example. In the United States, the economic outlook of mulattoes and blacks is essentially alike. In the West Indies they differ, the blacks having inferior and more circumscribed opportunities. Being able equally to exploit mulattoes and blacks, the majority of the whites in the United States concede to mulattoes no higher racial or social status than the blacks, and in some cases, go so far as to assert that mixture of blood produces a type that is inferior to both parents. American mulattoes, finding themselves for the most part in no better economic situation than their black relatives, recognize their community of interests and unite with them for common racial weal. In the West Indies, because the capitalist white minority must have assistance in order that its exploitation might be thorough, mulattoes are made a part of the machinery of exploitation as a sort of junior partner. They are admitted to clerkships and form the major part of the middle class. They have avenues of opportunity open to them, though to a limited extent, which permit a few of their number to become a part of the upper crust of the exploiting class. This situation, born of the economic needs of the white exploiter, creates psychologies that are different to those of American whites and mulattoes. It makes the whites and mixed blood West Indians alike contemptuous of the exploited black man. This, like in other cases, soon becomes crystalized in literature. Efforts are then made to prove that mixture of blood makes for superiority over pure bloodedness in Negroes, and, of course, the whites, the exploiters of both mulattoes and blacks, are superior to both! In America, both types of Negroes are exploited alike and characterized as being equally inferior to their exploiters. In the West Indies, mulattoes are less intensely exploited, and they are regarded as being inferior to the whites, but superior to blacks. In the United States because of common exploitation, hybrids and pure bloods fight together against oppression. In the West Indies, because of difference of economic status, the two types stand divided—at daggers drawn. The last illustration disproves the naturalness, the inateness of race prejudice because of physical differences. American mulattoes intermarry with full blooded Negroes freely, whilst West Indian mulattoes strive desperately to maintain a separate caste through constant infiltrations of white blood. If color repulsion is natural, and if material conditions have nothing to do with it, why is not the attitude of West Indian, South African, and American mulattoes uniform?

Capitalism is based upon the theory of private rights and that theory, imbedded in the organic law

of every country except Soviet Russia, is responsible for much of the racial friction in the United States.

Many writers point to the comparative absence of race prejudice in America prior to the abolition of slavery, but few of them seek for an explanation in the institution of private property. During the period between 1619 and 1863, when slavery in the United States was legal, there were thousands of white and black slaves. These slaves had common interests against their masters and manifested little or no race prejudice against each other. This is proven by the fact that there were frequent intermarriages between slaves. An outstanding example of this were the parents of Benjamin Banneker, the black astronomer. Laws were made punishing such marriages, as the masters realized artificial means were necessary to stop certain natural consequences which grow out of common economic status. Gradually as black slaves increased in number, and as white slaves became free homesteaders, the economic cleavage between the races became clearly marked. Color and economic status became more or less identical. In the past, the masters could not use the fact of their color to assert their race superiority, since some of their own race were in no better economic situation than the despised Negro. But they could easily explain the matter from the stand point of feudal aristocracy. When white slaves became free, they unconsciously imbibed the psychology of the master class. It is even related that free blacks and mulattoes, because of their freedom, regarded the slaves with contempt. With lines of race identical with those of economic status, a psychology of contempt for the race occupying the inferior status was developed. However, this feeling did not actively manifest itself at once, since there was no danger of the inferior race encroaching upon the one whose position was superior.

What is the essence of chattel slavery? It is the forcible denial of the rights of private property in the slave himself or in the products of his toil.

In other words, a slave was not permitted to be the owner of himself or of the product of his toil. This extended even to marital relations. With the abolition of slavery, the right of the master to the legal ownership of the body of the black slave, his wife, his children and the product of his toil, came to an end. Abolition of their right to the private ownership of human flesh brought ruin to the master class, and as is natural, they hated the new owners of their erstwhile property—the slaves themselves! Transference of ownership of the slaves from their masters to themselves, earned for them the hate of the dispossessed owners. Just as contempt for a slave was associated with his color so was hatred of the newly freedmen associated with their color. Of course, only a minority of whites were owners of slaves, but it is a fact of history that the psychology of a country is determined by the dominant class of that country, which in turn derives its ideas from its dominant economic position. It is easy to understand, especially when it is remembered that the psychology is

a self-exalting one, why, first, the non-property owning whites of the South, and next, all the whites of the country, have accepted the attitude of the slave owning class toward black men and women.

It is part of human nature, developed in an era of private rights in human flesh, for the dispossessed slave holders to hate those who deprived them of their property.

Nearly every manifestation of race prejudice in the South, Jim-Crowism, lynching, peonage and the farm lien system can be traced to material motives. Even the elaborate propaganda of Southern race prejudice in the North has an economic back ground, for it is the desire of the South that all America should acquiesce in its Bourbon determination to keep Negroes in an economic situation that makes it possible for their labor to be ruthlessly exploited. By the

South is meant that section of the white population, which by origin, tradition, education and material advantages, controls newspapers, writes magazine articles, monographs, books and plays, like the Red Dawn and the Clansman, produces moving pictures like The Birth of a Nation and publishes periodicals like Ka Lamity's Harpoon, The Pitchfork and Vardaman's Weekly. By no means must the South be confused with the ignorant deluded and degraded "hill billies" and "Crackers" who are fed with the manna of race prejudice by the other South. One is the principal, the other the agent; one the mastermind, the other the tool! Private property is also the source of race prejudice in many other ways. Private ownership of railways and public utilities makes it possible to restrict Negroes to porterships and other menial and inferior positions.

Education and Literature

Bourbonism in the Southern Press

WILLIAM N. COLSON

AMERICANS who have been asleep are alarmed about the security of the minority. They denounce deportation. They disaffirm the sedition bills. They praise Mr. Justice Holmes for his dissentient opinion in the Abrams case. They score Bishop Burch for his autocratic exercise of medieval ecclesiasticism. The expulsion of the five Socialists from the New York Assembly is Bismarkian, they say. The tide against all forms of criticism, destructive and constructive, is crushing the freedom of speech and of the press. These manifestations of reaction, according to the awakened Americans, are new and sinister menaces to American ideals and civil liberties. Mistaken patriots need only look to the Bourbon South, if they would discover the most glaring and flagrant infringements of the rights, powers, privileges, and immunities of citizens and persons known to America. The South has made its own law; deported Negroes at will; enjoined them, without equity jurisdiction, not to speak what they would; prescribed the limits of their teachings and preachings; deprived them of life and property without due process; denied them the right to citizenship; and defied the United States Constitution. The red hysteria turns black in the South. The headline of the Northern capitalist newspaper reads: "Reds Plot to Overthrow Government"; that of the southern Bourbon journal features: "Blacks Arm for Social Equality."

The primary function of the newspaper is to give news containing the whole truth. Through its edi-

torial columns, it may legitimately guide and clarify public opinion. The southern newspaper, as a collector of general news, depends upon the great capitalist newspaper syndicates of New York and Chicago. There is therefore, little free and unbiased statement of fact, because those facts given, are given in the interest of the capitalist class. These papers get their editorial cues from the same sources. As to local news and comment, the underlying principle is to terrorize and warp public opinion into the rut where the newsmonger thinks it belongs. The bondages of race and sex, class and belief, are the mighty chains of ubiquitous censorship. *Hoary antiquity is the god of respectability and Confederate-Americanism is the patriotic ideal.*

Southern newspapers may be divided into three general classes: less Bourbon newspapers, more Bourbon newspapers, and publications primarily anti-Negro. The anti-Negro papers reek with wilful and wanton slander. Under the less reactionary newspapers, we may place such organs as The Washington Post, The Baltimore Sun, The Memphis Commercial-Appeal, The Virginian Pilot and Norfolk Landmark, The Atlanta Constitution, The New Orleans Times-Picayune, The Houston Post, the Cincinnati Enquirer, The Richmond Times-Dispatch, Among the papers of the second class may be noted The Savannah Morning News, The Tampa Times, The Galveston Tribune, The Waco Times-Herald, The New Orleans States, The Oklahoma Oklahoman, The Nashville Tennessean, and The Charlotte News and

Evening Chronicle. The principal rabid Negro-baiting papers are The Harlem, Ga., Columbia Sentinel, The Texas Harpoon, The Dallas Pitchfork, Vardaman's Weekly, The Item, The Dublin, Ga., Courier-Herald, and The Anderson, S. C., Tribune. Many of the latter class argue that the Negro is not a part of the human family.

The major newspapers, and many of those in the minor class, represent the high water mark of Southern civilization. In politics, they are democratic, and therefore present a solid front. They show an unhealthy unity on nearly all questions. "The Negro's negative power," as *The New York World* puts it, is one of the causes of this unyielding solidity. Because the effort to subject the Negro is the readily apparent cause of southern Bourbon policy, this discussion will center around the black hysteria since the armistice.

There are frequent southernisms in the papers of all classes. The Negro, to be representative, must belong to the faithful, old, servant class; he is never accorded the civility of Mr. or Mrs.; he likes watermelons and steals chickens; he is happy, content and prosperous in the South; his best friends are in the South; he gets justice in the South; no Negro woman is virtuous; it is best for him that he be segregated; he learned bad ideas in France. All these papers feature Negro crime on their front pages. They seldom, if ever, give space to the progress of the educated Negro. They are disposed to write about the success of Negro farmers, but not success along other lines. The relation of the races must be that of master and servant.

Bourbonism is the effort to revive outgrown institutions by clinging to their remnants. Slavery, or what amounts to slavery, is still the institution on which Southern hopes rest. As the maudlin *Shreveport Times* says: "If the black man will stay where he belongs, act like a negro should act, work like a negro should work, talk like a negro should talk, and study like a negro should study, there would be very few riots, fights or clashes." On the same question, *The Houston Post* says: "The earlier they (Negroes) redirect their efforts at progress along lines that do not attempt to overthrow the instincts and traditions of the white race, the more rapid and substantial will their development be." *The Memphis Commercial-Appeal* chimes in: "So, in these days, the negroes will best secure happiness, contentment, and prosperity for themselves, if they strictly follow in the paths of law and order."

The Bourbons use the fear of social equality as their chief instrument for coercing public opinion. The rabid *Harpoon*, which has "constantly, earnestly, and boldly proclaimed the inherent superiority, mentally, morally and spiritually of the white man," for over twenty years, blatantly affirms: "Social equality is the sole cause of the present reign of terror now being carried on by the blacks in this country. Whenever you hear a negro belly-aching, and yelling for a fair chance and equal opportunities, that coon is thinking solely of social opportunities.—The injustice

of equality is what brings on a war among the nations." Chivalric *Vardaman's Weekly* and the Jew-hating, anti-Catholic *Columbia Sentinel* accused President Wilson of furthering social equality when he appointed Emmet J. Scott to a position in the War Department.

In this scheme, where the protection of women "transcends all law, human and divine" lynching is openly and usually sanctioned. *The Macon Telegraph*, apropos a recent Georgian lynching, said: "A bad man met a quick and deserved death. Lynching will be stopped . . . but that day will be when negroes don't wait for white posses to get negro rapists, but string them up and visit the most racial discipline on them of their own accord." *The St. Louis Globe-Democrat* condones the mob by saying: Sometimes there is sentimentally an excuse for it when a specially brutal crime has been committed, and there is a danger of a failure of regular justice." Vardaman, in his *Weekly*, teaches his readers: "to destroy the species capable of producing such a beast." It solemnly declares that "the mob is the only protection of a white man's home." "The Southern lynching still retains the elements of primitive justice," according to the complaisant *Charleston Evening Post*, while the standard *Atlanta Constitution* praises Judge Andrew J. Cobb for enunciating the rules of the common law on murder by mob, principles regarded as elementary in England, several centuries ago.

If we take the great questions of Woman Suffrage, Child Labor, Prohibition, Education, and Social Legislation of all kinds, the decision of the South is based, first of all, on the relation of that question to the Negro. If southern institutions, whatever they are, are to be changed, and the incidental result is to benefit the Negro, the South, unhesitatingly sacrifices the change, in order "to keep the negro in his place." The southern press unanimously opposes the progressive movements of the present time.

Americans have been prosecuted for advocating progressive changes in the U. S. Constitution. Southern papers still inveigh against the 14th and 15th Amendments. They not only say that the adoption of these amendments was a gross mistake, but they force public opinion into negating the powers afforded under those clauses. They are "overthrowing the government of the U. S." in an actionable sense.

Negro migration was the best cathartic experienced by the South since Sherman's march to the sea. It loosened up the intolerance of Confederate-Americanism. As a consequence, Law and Order Leagues and Welfare Associations sprang up throughout the southern country. Their object was commercial: either to keep the Negro laborer in the South, or to lure the expatriate back home. *The Memphis Commercial-Appeal* gave these leagues great publicity, with such headlines as: "Plenty of Work in South for Negroes. Will Not Have Northern Negroes." As the *New Orleans States* pathetically urged: "The best people of the South are striving to better the condition of the negro. If they are permitted to press the problem to its solution, they will succeed."

The *Atlanta Constitution*, like the paternalistic *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, declares: "Our negroes as a whole are contented and prosperous. The best place for the negro is in the South." Witness the lachrymose *Shreveport Times*: "It is a well known fact that the white people of the South have a more affectionate regard, sympathy and solicitude for the negroes than can be found in any other section of the land." Then the sardonic *Shreveport Journal* adds: "The same laws that govern his conduct in the South, also govern the conduct of the white man." To keep Negroes in the South, the *Birmingham News*, as a typical case, starred: "Southern Negroes Are Hunting Jobs In Chicago—Ten Thousand Laborers Said To Be Without Positions." When the southerners became alarmed over the loss of black labor, nearly all their papers painted pictures of roseate conditions for the Negro in Dixie.

Northern Negro papers and agitators are bitterly opposed across the line. Their attitude is best expressed by the perverted *Dallas Pitchfork*, to which President Wilson is a subscriber: "But when a negro gets mean and dangerous, there is just one thing to do with him—kill 'im." The *Atlanta Constitution* says on this point: "If left free from agitators, who do not know their nature, and who have not the negroes' best interests at heart, there will be no negro problem in the South and the negro will get full justice." Reactionary to the core, the *Memphis Commercial-Appeal*, staunch defender of civilization, loudly proclaims: "Let them beware of prophets

coming from a strange land, and let them also beware of new prophets rising up among themselves, preaching to them a new gospel." Later, waiting to pulse the Negroes' own reaction, when the cringing Negro serviles of North Carolina and Texas pronounced their satisfaction with southern conditions, and struck a blow at Negro radicals, almost every southern paper praised their ignominious acts. The southern press unanimously approved the assault on Shillady.

That southern publicists have brought the mob within the influence of the printed news, needs no proof. It was the *Jackson, Miss., Daily News* which carried the appeal to the murders: "John Harfield Will Be Lynched By Ellisville Mob At 5 O'clock This Afternoon." The *Washington Post* assembled the mob, which precipitated the Washington riot, by its well known headline: "Mobilization For Tonight."

The southern press has gagged southern opinion. It has castrated inadvertently its free play by holding the Negro down. Prevailing and accepted ideas are preserved because they happen to exist, and for no other reason. Error is supreme. Truth cannot live in the poisonous soil of proscription and terror. What is needed in the South is not the suppression of the *Harpoon* and *Vardaman's Weekly* "by constituted authority," but an unrelenting attack of truth and correct opinion. *Bourbonism and reaction cannot exist under a barrage of fact, evidence, and statistics.*

The New Negro—What Is He?

By THE EDITORS

OUR title was the subject of an editorial in the *New York Age* which formed the basis of an extensive symposium. Most of the replies, however, have been vague and nebulous. THE MESSENGER, therefore, undertakes to supply the *New York Age* and the general public with a definite and clear portrayal of the New Negro.

It is well nigh axiomatic that the most accurate test of what a man or institution or a movement is, is first, what its aims are; second, what its methods are, or how it expects to achieve its aims; and third, its general relations to current movements.

Now, what are the aims of the New Negro? The answer to this question will fall under three general heads, namely, political, economic, and social.

In politics, the New Negro, unlike the Old Negro, cannot be lulled into a false sense of security with political spoils and patronage. A job is not the price of his vote. He will not continue to accept political promisory notes from a political debtor, who has already had the power, but who has refused to satisfy

his political obligations. The New Negro demands political equality. He recognizes the necessity of selective as well as elective representation. He realizes that so long as the Negro votes for the Republican or Democratic party, he will have only the right and privilege to elect but not to select his representatives. And he who selects the representatives controls the representative. The New Negro stands for universal suffrage.

A word about the economic aims of the New Negro. Here, as a worker, he demands the full product of his toil. His immediate aim is more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. As a consumer, he seeks to buy in the market, commodities at the lowest possible price.

The social aims of the New Negro are decidedly different from those of the Old Negro. Here he stands for absolute and unequivocal "social equality." He realizes that there cannot be any qualified equality. He insists that a society which is based upon justice can only be a society composed of *social*

equals. He insists upon identity of social treatment. With respect to intermarriage, he maintains that it is the only logical, sound and correct aim for the Negro to entertain. He realizes that the acceptance of laws against intermarriage is tantemount to the acceptance of the stigma of inferiority. Besides, laws against intermarriage expose Negro women to sexual exploitation, and deprive their offspring, by white men, of the right to inherit the property of their father. Statistics show that there are nearly four million mulattoes in America as a result of miscegenation.

So much then for the aims of the New Negro. A word now about his methods. It is with respect to methods that the essential difference between the New and the Old Negro relates.

First, the methods by which the New Negro expects to realize his political aims are radical. He would repudiate and discard both of the old parties—Republican and Democratic. His knowledge of political science enables him to see that a political organization must have an economic foundation. A party whose money comes from working people, must and will represent working people. Now, everybody concedes that the Negro is essentially a worker. There are no big capitalists among them. There are a few petit bourgeoisie, but the process of money concentration is destined to weed them out and drop them down into the ranks of the working class. In fact, the interests of all Negroes are tied up with the workers. Therefore, the Negro should support a working class political party. He is a fool or insane, who opposes his best interests by supporting his enemy. As workers, Negroes have nothing in common with their employers. The Negro wants high wages; the employer wants to pay low wages. The Negro wants to work short hours; the employer wants to work him long hours. Since this is true, it follows as a logical corollary that the Negro should not support the party of the employing class. Now, it is a question of fact that the Republican and Democratic Parties are parties of the employing or capitalist class.

On the economic field, the New Negro advocates that the Negro join the labor unions. Wherever

white unions discriminate against the Negro worker, then the only sensible thing to do is to form independent unions to fight both the white capitalists for more wages and shorter hours, on the one hand, and white labor unions for justice, on the other. It is folly for the Negro to fight labor organization because some white unions ignorantly ignore or oppose him. It is about as logical and wise as to repudiate and condemn writing on the ground that it is used by some crooks for forgery. As a consumer, he would organize cooperative societies to reduce the high cost of living.

The social methods are: education and physical action in self defense. That education must constitute the basis of all action, is beyond the realm of question. And to fight back in self defense, should be accepted as a matter of course. No one who will not fight to protect his life is fit to live. Self defense is recognized as a legitimate weapon in all civilized countries. Yet the Old Crowd Negroes have counseled the doctrine of non-resistance.

As to current movements, the Negro would accept, praise and support that which his enemies reject, condemn and oppose. He is tolerant. He would restore free speech, a free press and freedom of assemblage. He would release Debs. He would recognize the right of Russia to self determination. He is opposed to the Treaty and the League of Nations. Yet, he rejects Lodge's reservations. He knows that neither will help the people. As to Negro leaders, his object is to destroy them all and build up new ones.

Finally, the New Negro arrived upon the scene at the time of all other forward, progressive groups and movements—after the great world war. He is the product of the same world wide forces that have brought into being the great liberal and radical movements that are now seizing the reins of political, economic and social power in all of the civilized countries of the world.

His presence is inevitable in these times of economic chaos, political upheaval and social distress. Yes, there is a New Negro. And it is he who will pilot the Negro through this terrible hour of storm and stress.

Next Month's Messenger
Out August 20th

Who's Who

A. MITCHELL PALMER

THE National Popular Government League has rendered a signal public service in publishing its report upon the *Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice*. The report is signed by twelve of the ablest lawyers in America, among whom are three professors of the Harvard Law School, including the dean. All of these lawyers are Republicans, Democrats or independents. Not one is a Socialist. They portray the Department of Justice under A. Mitchell Palmer to be what we have known it to be to Negroes for many years—a *Department of Injustice*. The report is brief, in order to elicit its reading, but to the criminal practices of the department might have been added its vicious, reactionary and race prejudiced report on Radicalism and Sedition among Negroes, which report stirred the country a few months ago. In this report no criminal activities of Negro-radicals were even hinted at. It was pure propaganda. The chief charge against the *Messenger*, for instance, which bore the brunt of the attack, was

that it urged the equality of Negroes with other people, *and even superiority*. The latter was, of course, a palpable fabrication, but to the first charge, we plead guilty. We are thorough supporters of the egalitarian theory so ably established by Lester F. Ward, the study of whose works would add very materially to Palmer's stock of "missed" information!

At the time of the publication of this report, Palmer's press agent, David Lawrence, gave out much vicious information about it, whereupon we sent out a strong release which forcefully presented our attitude toward the matter.

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