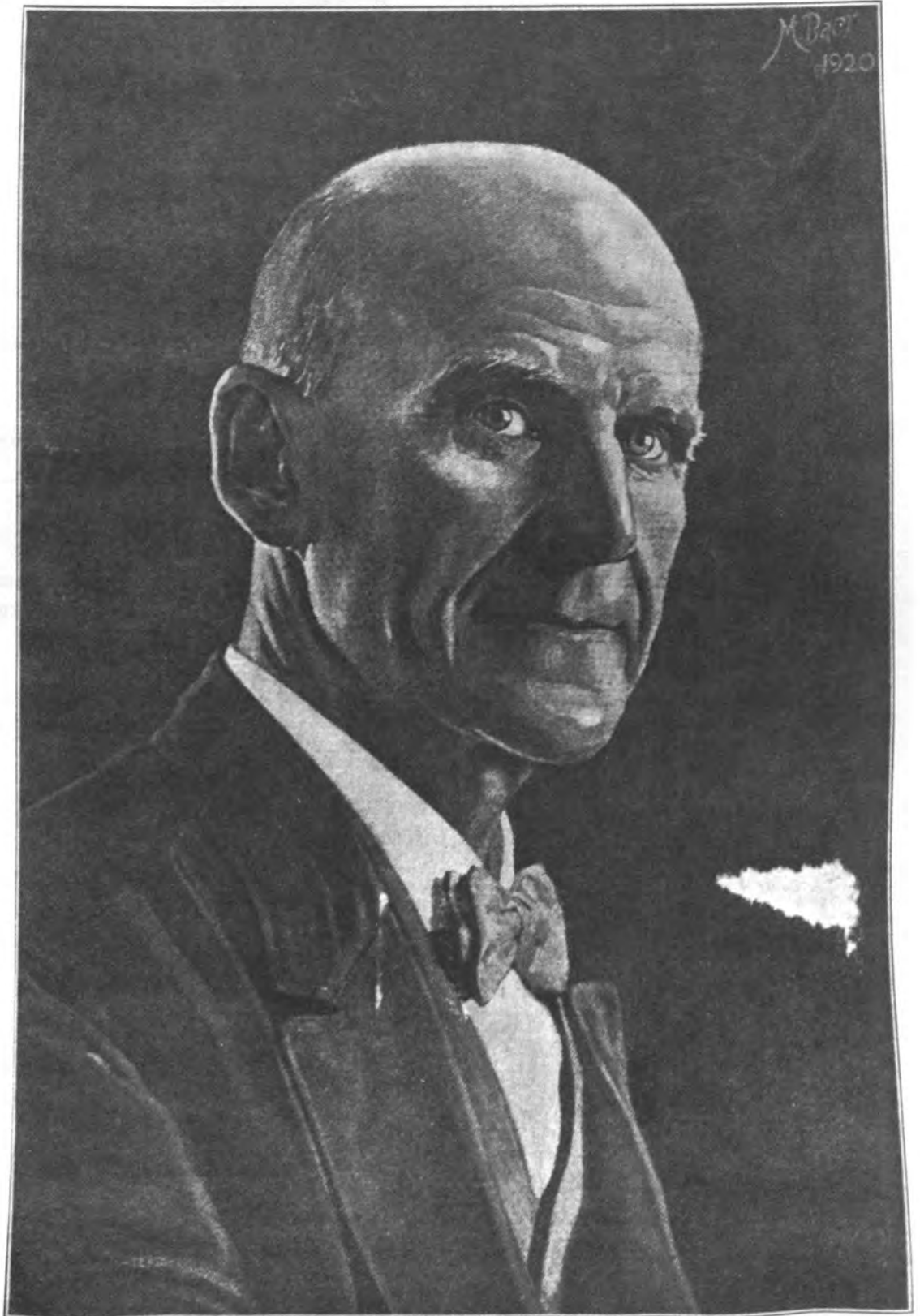


The Messenger

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

NOVEMBER, 1920.

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Washington Making Auspicious Start with New Jersey Firm

Finding extensive field for action in the insurance world, C. W. Adams of Washington, has cast his lot with the Washington office of the Commercial Casualty Insurance Company, of Newark, New Jersey.

About four years ago, Mr. Adams took out a policy with the company, and was so impressed with its contracts and the company's system of transacting its business, that he induced a number of his associates to join. The Washington Branch, located at the Warder Building, 9th and F Sts., N. W., recently offered a Ten Dollar-a-year* policy, the terms of which are very liberal. Adams, feeling the need of more protection, took advantage of the opportunity, and again interested many of his acquaintances.

The manager of the Washington Office, Mr. C. G. Otwell, a man of keen intellect whose eye

is ever alert in discovering new possibilities, submitted a proposition for a part time agency, the terms of which Mr. Adams agreed to.

The enthusiasm, earnestness and resourcefulness that characterized the young agent's endeavors enabled him to interest a number of well known residents of Washington and vicinity.

The terms of the prize contest announced for June, stipulated that the solicitor that turned in the largest number of applications for the \$10 policy would receive a prize. Though in the field but a short while, Mr. Adams by a supreme effort, outstripped the entire agents' staff.

The following is an excerpt from the weekly bulletin published by the Washington Office, July 1, 1920:

C. W. Adams won the Brief Case, June Contest.

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July 1st, 1920.

C. W. ADAMS WON THE BRIEF CASE, JUNE CONTEST.

Mr. C. W. Adams, a part-time representative, who entered our service about May 15th, 1920, paid for in C. C. I. Economy \$10.00 policies during the month of June and thus won the Leather Brief case awarded the leading contestant.

The winner is to be congratulated upon the splendid work as a result of his resourceful plans and untiring efforts.

In order to stimulate production during the months of July and August and to give each man a chance to win the prize and extra percentage on business paid for, we are including all of our lines as outlined in the attached conditions of "July and August Contest".

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C. G. OTWELL,

District Manager.

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4. The International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation, will put a stop to this.
5. Mr. Negro hotel worker, do you want more wages, shorter hours and better conditions under which to work? Then join the hotel workers' union.
6. The Hotel Employer is not strong enough to hold the Negro hotel worker on the job. The organized hotel workers are.
7. If black and white hotel workers unite, they can control the hotel industry.
8. If they allow the hotel employers to divide them with the wedge of race prejudice, they will be robbed and exploited, underpaid and overworked. Workers, black and white, unite!. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have all to gain!

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Special Letter Sent to The Messenger by Eugene V. Debs

For THE MESSENGER

Atlanta, Ga., Oct. 14, 1920.

The historic mission of Socialism is to emancipate the workers of the world and the establishment of a system of society that is based on justice. The Socialist Party of America advocates the emancipation of the workers regardless of race, color, sex or creed. Not only does it advocate political equality, but economic equality. Both are absolutely necessary to free the workers. From its very inception the Socialist Party has recognized the brotherhood of the workers of the world regardless of race, color, sex, or creed. Political freedom and economic justice will triumph with the establishment of Socialism. There cannot be a free nation of people when any part of the people are politically disfranchised or discriminated against. As long as there is a master class that holds in subjection wage slaves there cannot be a free people.

The Socialist Party has always advocated unrestricted suffrage.

The history of capitalism has been a long series of political disfranchisements of the worker, sometimes because he was a wage worker, (not a property holder,) sometimes because he was black, etc., and only through Herculean struggles have the workers succeeded in wresting from them some of their few meagre rights. The Republican party of Abraham Lincoln played the role of the political emancipator of the Negro, but the Republican party promotes misunderstandings and discriminations and when it finds it necessary fosters strife and blood-shed in order to becloud the real issues that confront the people.

With Socialism all this will vanish. Socialism will illuminate a new world where all men are comrades working for a common goal.

The Socialist Party proposes, in accordance with its fundamental principles, that the Negro shall have the same political, economic and civil rights that the white man has to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The Socialist Party, the party of the world's workers, knows no race, color or creed but appeals to workers of all races, and of all nations to unite in the international struggle under the banner of Socialism to achieve their common emancipation.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Editorials

MR. HARDING is trying to do the impossible. He cannot be on both sides of the race question at the same time. He is either for a white California or a Jim-Crow South or he is not; he is either for a free Haiti or he is not.

Speaking to a Californian delegation from his famous front porch on September 14, Mr. Harding assured his listeners that he would support the Californian point of view on the Japanese exclusion question. What is the Californian point of view? It would exclude certain industrious, thrifty and enterprising immigrants for no other reason than that they are not of the white race. To support a point of view is to indorse it; and Mr. Harding supports the Californian point of view.

If Mr. Harding should walk with a Japanese gentlemen at night, and unless they are very near and the light is bright, they might be mistaken for two white men, but if he should walk with a black man no such mistake could be made. Now, if Mr. Harding endorses a prejudiced point of view against a people who under certain conditions might be mistaken for a member of his own race, how can he be trusted to be liberal to millions of a race who under no circumstance could be mistaken for other than what they are? *How can one who endorses prejudice against yellow people be trusted to do justice to black people?*

Speaking in Oklahoma, October 9th, the Senator expressed his belief in justice before the courts for Negroes, but intimated very clearly that he would leave to the South the right to continue Jim-crow cars as an institution. He said that he would not countenance the revival of the Force Bill as he did not intend to return to the past.

In his effort to break the solid South Mr. Harding is thus catering to the prejudice of the South while trying to placate the Negro. Certainly he can not straddle on the issue. He is either for or against Jim-crow cars, and if he will leave it to the South to decide it means that he is for the continued social humiliation of many of the very people whose votes he is pleading for.

Recently the Senator, who believes in "normalcy", had much to say about Haiti, how 3,000 Haitians had been murdered by American Marines sent into the Black Republic by President Wilson and Secretary Daniels. How is it that Mr. Harding did not utter a single word of protest when the initial wrong was done five years ago?

Was not he a Senator and did he not, like every newspaper reader (not to say, publisher, which he is) know of America's violation of Haiti sovereignty? Why, then, did he not protest but waited until it will earn for him political profit?

Senator Harding is a politician and like the rest of his breed he is trying for the favor of Negroes with belated interest in their peculiar problems. But his record, past and present, is against him and the New Negro will see that the Senator be relegated to a condition of undisputed "normalcy."

**

THE National Brotherhood Workers of America has just ended an interesting convention in Philadelphia. The organization is taking on new life. A change was made in its official personnel, and a far reaching program of organization and propaganda adopted. Brother T. J. Pree and R. F. Sims were selected to pilot the organization another year.

**

REPRESENTATIVE Government is dead in America. Socialists, Negroes, nor labor can participate in the government which drafts their labor and life. In Albany, three of the five Socialists have been expelled again. The Republicans and Democrats combined to defeat their reelection, but failing to do so in the five Assembly districts, they combined in the Assembly and refused them seats. Now, where is the difference between the two old parties? They both stand for the destruction of the principle: Taxation without representation is tyranny—the principle upon which the American government was founded.

Clifford Hawkins, the Negro Assemblyman from the 21st Assembly district in New York City, who voted to oust the Socialists at first, reversed and voted to seat them when they were reelected. What a political weathervane! He has no moral convictions. If they, the Socialists, were wrong at first, why are they right now? It is simply a case of Mr. Hawkins playing politics. He saw that his first vote against the Socialists was condemned by the rank and file of Negroes, hence he is trying to save his face. Think of a member of an oppressed race denying the right of representation to an oppressed class! Every Negro voter in Hawkins' district should vote for Chandler Owen and defeat Hawkins.

**

UNEMPLOYMENT is becoming nationwide. In the financial journals, it is regarded as a healthful sign for business. The Pennsylvania railroad has cut off 12,000 men, the American Woolen Company has shut down 50 per cent of its mills. It is reported that 60,000 men have been laid off in the Michigan automobile factories. And this is just the beginning. The workers of America, black and white, are facing hard days. Only Socialism and Industrial Unionism can protect them. There is no hope in the Republican and Democratic parties. They stand for unemployment, they intend to crush organized labor.

THE Friends of Negro Freedom will begin intensive organization work immediately the present campaign ends. Councils will be established in all of the large cities, and a general membership drive will be launched. Encouraging letters pour in from all parts of the country, inquiring about the future plans of the organization.

**

THE Wall Street Explosion was a great calamity. Innocent persons, going on their daily task, were suddenly destroyed. The cause of the explosion is yet a mystery. Some say it was an accident, others that it was a bomb. Whichever it was, it has caused serious alarm, and the reactionary press has seized upon it as a pretext for persecuting the so-called "reds". Two hundred thousand dollars have been appropriated by the Board of Estimate to "rout the 'reds.'" This is done before it is determined what was the cause of the explosion. The politicians have been quick to capitalize the disaster as a means of affording patronage and effort to a swarm of spies. Of course, they must realize that capitalism is out to break up its organization at all cost. Capitalists' slaves know that workers are not selling bombs; but they condemn those who do set them. The workers, both radical and liberal are opposed to violence, they want peace. The Socialists are opposed to violence. But capitalists will employ any weapon in order to achieve its aim.

**

THE flow of immigrants into America has begun. At one time the capitalists were crying down the dirty foreigners, now they are ready to receive them in order to increase the labor supply.

Capitalists only pit the foreigner against the native American in order to keep the workers divided. Of course, the MESSENGER welcomes all peoples to the shores of America. We only hope that more foreign Negroes will come.

Immigration is not a menace to the workers' standard of living, unless labor fails to organize the immigrants. Every worker, black and white, has a right to go anywhere he pleases. But the worker will never enjoy this right until capitalism is destroyed.

**

PRICES are falling; so are wages. The purchasing power of labor remains practically the same. But labor is worse off because it is being put off the job. Factories are closing down. Hence, labor is not going to be able to buy the necessities of life, even though prices be low. The capitalists, on the other hand benefit from both rising and falling prices, because they own the products created by labor and sold to labor. Falling prices precede panics, and panics bring suffering to labor.

THE editors of the MESSENGER are preparing to giving a series of seminars in Richmond, Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, and Boston. Some cities may be listed later. In these seminars, they will treat modern economics, political and social problems in the national and international life of the Negro. A syllabus of the seminars will be issued. Watch for future announcement in the MESSENGER.

**

THE Farmer-Labor Party is out to break the grip of the old line Republican and Democratic parties on the farmers and workers. If it renders any assistance to the Socialist Party in educating the farmers and workers, it will have played a worthy party in the struggle of the workers for industrial democracy. It is commendable that the Farmer-Labor party took a square position on the Negro. As yet, it has no Negro candidate on its ticket.

**

THE Negro Press has lined up as usual for Harding. Of course, the Negro editors have no arguments to offer why Negroes should vote for Harding. They simply come out for Harding because it is customary, and, too, they are looking to get a piece of the Republican campaign Slush Fund Pie, or a political job. Only the MESSENGER and the *Crusader* stand out boldly as the harbingers of a New Day for the Negro and other oppressed peoples. Their Standard Bearer is Eugene Victor Debs. They are not seeking either money or jobs. They are the real representatives of the New Negro.

**

BASEBALL, the great American sport, has yielded to the profit system. Recent investigators revealed so much graft in the game that one has no idea where to find the best team. Despite proud protestations to the contrary, graft seems to be the kernel of our much vaunted Americanism.

**

GEORGE LANSBURY, scholarly and prominent editor of the *London Labor Daily Herald*, asks his friends not to believe a word that Lloyd George says until it has been confirmed. Following suit, the *Freeman*, a scholarly weekly liberal magazine of New York, calls upon its American friends not to believe a word that Woodrow Wilson says until it has been corroborated. Taking up a timely lead, we advise the Negro men and women not to believe a word of most of the Negro leaders until it has been verified. Most of them are bought and paid for. They will say anything during this campaign. The Republicans have about fifty million dollars for the campaign, only a small part of which is essential to hire most Negro leaders for life. Keep your eyes on every Negro Republican speaker and newspaper scribbler. They will sell out the race for a mess of pottage. They are all hot on the trail of a job now—after eight years of enforced vacation? Remember the Mitchell Slush Fund of 1917 and the part Negro ministers, leaders and politicians played in it!

THE MESSENGER magazine still holds the unique position of being the only organ published by Negroes which is denied second class mailing privileges. It is a credit to us that we have the only organ among Negroes which strikes fear into the hearts or gizzards of the Texas and Southern peonage bourbons.

We shall continue to fight for our rights without an iota of compromise. Nevertheless we shall ever remember the Texas bourbon's denial of our postal rights as a badge of honor, a label of pride, a stamp of meritorious distinction. The MESSENGER will continue to speak out and use the first-class mail. It may be, after all, *that first class writing requires first class mail service to carry it.* If that's the idea, probably we shouldn't complain.

**

THE MESSENGER'S Xmas issue will carry 36 pages once more with a beautiful two colored cover. It will be right up to the mark in every respect. Chocked full of good reading matter, illustrated with photos and cuts, packed with unique advertisements—you cannot afford to miss it. A striking article will appear on *The Invisible Government of Negro Social Work, Being a Critical Discussion of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes—a study in subway ethics.* There will also be an illuminating survey of the leading Negro tools of Wall Street who do its anti-social work.

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**

THE Negro radicals are being offered bribes. We are being offered bribes to change our tone of writing, and in the event we will not consent to do that, the money is still extended to us on condition that we do not write at all. These bribes are not small sums of money either. They range in the tens and hundreds of thousands.

Capital is far visioned and wide awake. It is alarmed over the growth of Socialism and unionism among Negroes. Seven million Negro breadwinners who would demand a wage increase of just one dollar a year, or less than one third of a cent per day, would be receiving (\$7,000,000) seven million dollars. An army of hat-in-hand Negro leaders could be hired for a century on this amount. The capitalists know it and they propose to try their best. Three distinct efforts have been made to attract the MESSENGER editors—but to no avail, of course.

No one else is authorized to speak for the MESSENGER but Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph. We wish to say, however, that the entire editorial staff has stood staunch and true in this tempting crisis.

THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

THE American Legion held its annual convention at Cincinnati, a few weeks ago. It ran true to our classification of nine months ago. We then characterized it—The American Legion, Our National Ku Klux Klan. Four things stood out there, one was the opposition to the Negro along with its complete willingness to turn over the Negro question to the South for its own vicious, prejudiced pseudo-solution; a second was its executive committee's request for the removal of Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, because he would not violate the law in dealing with immigrants, foreigners and deportees; and third, of the same stripe, however, its opposition to Japanese immigrants, whereby our Western junkers formed a contract with our Southern bourbons to join hands, hearts and heads in fomenting the "yellow peril" and crying Negro domination. The fourth reactionary demand was for universal military training. It was certainly one of the most reactionary conventions ever held in this country. It is a mystery to us how Dr. Joel E. Spingarn of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois of the Crisis expect to solve the Negro problem, in even a slight degree, through the American Ku Klux Klan. Let every Negro who is not a me-too-boss, hat-in-hand man beware of the American Legion. This Legion is a Trojan Horse!

**

THE Richmond Planet reports the reorganization of the Ku Klux Klan in Richmond, Virginia, with the same purposes and objects as the monster of old. Negro women have been registering in that city to an alarming degree (alarming to the southern bourbons). The Negroes must form their Klan in self-defense and stick together—in other words—clan. The South fears the New Negro, and justly so. The New Negro of both sexes has resolved to make America a fit place for himself to live in, or else we shall make it an unfit hell hole for anybody to live in.

**

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has issued a release announcing terror against Negro voters in Florida. Florida, as you know, is the back door to Georgia, of which a cynic once said, *"If I owned Georgia and Hell, I'd rent our Georgia and live in Hell."* Negroes, however need have no fear. Terror is everywhere. It is here in New York where we speak. The only thing which makes it possible for us speak at all here is the more enlightened working class whites. Surely, though slowly, the poor whites are learning. Ere long they will shake hands with their colored brothers. Until then Negroes must protect their lives, liberties and privileges at any cost. Ingersoll once said, "Liberty is cheap at any price." Patrick Henry exclaimed: "Give me liberty or give me death." Both quotations have more than local application. They apply even to Negroes.

THE NEGRO HOTEL WORKER

THOUSANDS of Negroes work in hotels, dining cars and cafes. They are paid the lowest wages and worked the longest hours, and under the most inhumane conditions. When strikes occur in hotels where white workers are employed, Negroes are employed as scabs to break the strike. This has been used by hotel capitalists as a means of breaking down the backbone of the organized hotel workers, who strike for a decent living wage, shorter hours, and better working conditions. The hotel owners use the innocent Negro hotel workers as tools to pull their chestnuts out of the industrial fire, and then ruthlessly cast them aside when the strike is settled. The white workers are reinstalled, while the Negro worker is discarded to the industrial scrap heap to starve until the masters of the hotel industry need him again to help them keep milk from the babies of their white hotel wage slaves. The organized Negro press, church and leadership condone, connive at, and, in fact, support this criminal practice. The Negro preachers have even received pay to recruit Negro scabs. Negro papers accept advertisements for Negro strikebreakers. Negro leaders oppose white labor unions.

Now, the Negroes have contended that the white labor unions will not accept them into their organizations. That, in some cases, has been and is now true. But the attitude of white labor union is changing, because they realize that they can not win their demand so long as Negroes are employed as strikebreakers. And Negroes will be employed as strikebreakers as long as they are outside of organized labor unions. So that it is true that at some times the Negro worker has been compelled to act as a strikebreaker.

But this has not been true in New York or in other cities where the International Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Federation exists. This organization draws no color, race or sex lines. It fights for all workers. It is now appealing to Negro hotel workers to join them. It is the only hope of the Negro hotel worker.

THE LIBERTY PARTY

THIS is the greatest political joke in the political history of the Negro. Of course, it is nothing but a name. It has no platform, no organization, no principles, and consequently no hope, in its entire career ever to win an election.

It is not even a reform party, because it has no principles which it hopes to force other parties that have some possibility of being elected to adopt. The Prohibitionist party, for instance, has no hope of ever becoming a controlling party, but it at least, had a platform which it eventually forced the Democratic and Republican parties to adopt. Not so with this so-called Liberty party.

It is composed of opportunists, discredited political failures who are now trying to capitalize race prejudice of the Negro. They prate about it's being new, as though newness had some special virtue. Lynching was new at the time it began. Every crime is new when it is first perpetrated. Every fool is new

when he is first discovered. Hence its being new is a poor recommendation.

It stands for the election of a Negro president. If this was not tragically inane, senseless, foolish, absurd and preposterous, it would be humorous and childish. It is certainly almost inconceivable that in the 20th century, alleged intelligent, young colored men could take such obvious, stupendous political folly seriously. But such is the case.

The leaders of this political vaudeville have been practically everything on the political map, Republicans, near-Republicans, Democrats, near-Democrats, Socialists and near-Socialists, and having not become anything in everything they have entered, they have finally decided to become what only they could become --nothing.

Of course, everybody knows who knows the leaders of the movement that they are after the political shingling-shekels. They are simply trying to create a political market for themselves, so that they can sell out. But, in order to sell out, one must possess something which some one else wants. This economic law will sentence this movement and its loquacious, irresponsible and ignorant leaders to instant death. Nobody wants the Liberty party, hence nobody will buy it. Lincoln uttered a wise saying: "You can fool some of the people some of the time; you can fool some of the people all the time; but, you can't fool all the people all of the time."

Now, if a group of leaders are sometimes a Republican, sometimes a Democrat and sometimes a Socialist, the people are justified in distrusting such a crowd of leaders on the grounds they don't know what they want to be themselves, and consequently, are unprepared to advise others what to be.

Besides, the Negro would be cutting his own political throat by organizing and voting for a Negro party. There is no Irish party, Italian, German, Russian, English, Jewish or Polish party in America. Why a Negro party?

Other intelligent racial and nationality groups realize that their problems can best be solved through the instrumentality of non-racial political organizations.

It is sensible and logical for Jewish capitalists to join and vote for the capitalists' parties—Republican and Democratic. It is also to the interests of Jewish workers to join and vote for the Socialist party—a working class political organization. Now, the same logic applies to Negro capitalists and workers.

Now, this Liberty party stands for neither the capitalists nor the workers. It stands for nobody. It only hopes to be permitted to stand for somebody, sometime, somewhere, for something; of course, it is not particular about what the something is.

Of course, we rely upon the Negro's sense of humor to know when to appreciate a joke. The only unfortunate thing about it all is, that the appearance of this affair, makes the Negro become a joke in the eyes of the intelligent public.

It is certainly to be lamented that a group of young Negroes have gone the Old Crowd Negroes one better as the political clowns of America.

The growing intelligence of the people bids fair to drive all charlatans, fakirs and scheming and po-

litical tricksters into political oblivion from which they will never be permitted to emerge.

The MESSENGER would give a tip to the young, ambitious breed of Negro politicians: There is no liberty in that Liberty party either for you or anybody else. It were well that you repudiate it before it repudiates you.

Only Socialism can save the Negro; only Socialism can achieve liberty. This Liberty party is a political trap. Negroes, watch your step!

THE NEGRO WOMAN VOTER

AT last women have the vote, at least, the Susan B Anthony Amendment, granting them the right of suffrage, has been ratified by the required number of states, and it has become a part of the Federal Constitution. However, from all reports from the South, Negro women, like Negro men, in that section of the country, have the right of suffrage only in name. Already, subterfuges and tricks are being employed to deprive the Negro women of their constitutional right to participate in the government which their taxes maintain.

The MESSENGER is not at all surprised at the attitude of the South toward the Negro woman voter. Could any one be so foolish as to believe that the South would enfranchise Negro women, while disfranchising Negro men? The so-called chivalry of white Southern men is a hypocritical farce. They are not even chivalrous to their own women. Why, haven't they got their women working in the fields and factories? Is this chivalry? It is reported that the worse form of child labor in America exists in the South, and it is not black child labor either; it is white child labor.

The bourbon capitalists of the South don't want white working men to vote, to say nothing about black men.

It is reported that only 17 per cent of the white population of voting age, votes in the state of Virginia. White men are disfranchised by poll taxes.

What will Negro women in the North, East and West, who have the right to vote, do to help their Southern sisters?

Will they vote for the Republican party which has winked at the disfranchisement of Negro men in the South for the last 30 or 40 years? If they do, they are no better than ignorant Negro men. Their right to vote, is merely the right to keep themselves in economic, political and social serfdom. Negro women ought to be able to profit from the political record of Negro men. What is it? Here it is. Negro men have in every campaign voted for the Republican party, only to be rewarded with one or two political jobs for some hat-in-hand, me-too-boss Negro leader, whose stock in trade is to sell out for a mess of political pottage.

It is, indeed, pathetic to note the resignation of young, intelligent Negro women to the ignorant leadership of the Old Crowd Negro women.

The MESSENGER calls upon the young, virile, aggressive, courageous, and intelligent Negro womanhood to repudiate and condemn this growing band of discredited, easily flattered, childish, well-meaning, but stupid, hand-picked Negro women political leaders.

It is an unpardonable crime against the children of this and coming generations that Negro motherhood shall be dragged down and debauched by shameless and disgraceful schemes and tricks of cunning, unscrupulous, wicked and corrupt Negro and white Republican and Democratic politicians.

Already the slavish grin and hee-haw laugh of old, decrepit Negro women, when addressed by so-called big, rich, respectable white men and women politicians, are creating disgust and shame in the hearts of the New Negro men and women.

(Continued on page 147)

NEGRO LEADERS' ADVICE ON HARDING

NEGRO leaders are advising Negroes to vote for Harding. The *New York Age*, a sheet which might have been published in the Stone Age, so far as its opinions are concerned, has been carrying a symposium on: Why Negroes Should Vote the Republican Ticket.

Needless to say that all of the articles appearing urged the Negro to "hit the eagle on the tail." Most of the writers, who are more to be pitied than censured, aver that the Republican party is the party of freedom, of Abraham Lincoln, or in the historic phrase of Frederick Douglass, "The Republican party is the ship and all else the Sea." The Negro ministry is largely represented with its views, some of whose spokesmen are credulous, gullible, well-meaning but ignorant and misguided; others venal and unscrupulous. The Negro preachers have, as a rule, audiences composed of washwomen, cooks, maids, teamsters, mill-hands, cotton pickers, elevator runners, longshoremen, carpenters, brick-masons, or teachers, post office workers, lawyers and doctors; in short, their members are working people. They can not live without food, clothing and shelter, and they work for these things. They own very little property, stocks, bonds, securities, etc. They control no railroads, coal mines, or great banks. Still their spiritual leaders are advising them to vote for the party which represents their bosses. One would think it strange to find a group of landlords financing and voting for a party which represents their tenants who want to pay less rent, because any one with an ounce of brains, knows that the landlord's interests are opposed to the interests of the tenant class. If landlords give their money to and vote for the Republican party, it is solely because the Republican party represents their interests, by favoring legislation protecting their right to gouge the tenant class of extortionate rents.

But what do Negro Republican leaders know or care about the relation of the Negro tenant to the Negro landlord? All the Negro Republican leaders care about is: getting a few dollars out of the campaign or a job in the event the Republican party wins.

They care absolutely nothing about the welfare of the rank and file of Negroes. They are not interested in legislation which affects child labor, the women in industry, more and better schools, higher wages, shorter hours of work, reduction of the high cost of living, the lowering of rent, cheaper carfare, and the question of world peace. All of these questions are at the heart of the Negro problem. To solve these problems is to solve the Negro problem.

But, if one were to take a high powered microscope and examine the speeches and writings of all of the Negro Republican leaders, including Judge Terrell, Henry Lincoln Johnson, W. H. Lewis, Emmett Scott, Chas. W. Anderson, Fred R. Moore, Robert Russa Moton, John R. Lynch, Harry Smith, James Cobb and William Monroe Trotter, it would not be possible to find a reference to the aforementioned questions, although they are leaders of a race of workers.

Indeed, future historians will marvel at the political contradiction of a race of tenants and workers accepting political leaders selected by landlords, bankers and big capitalists. This is the case of the Negro.

He is told, by his leaders, to vote for Harding, when it is to his interest to vote for Debs. He is advised to vote for landlords, while he is a tenant. He is urged to vote for a party which boosts the high cost of living, while he needs a low cost of living. He is asked to vote for war, although his chief reward is crepe on the door and the high cost of living.

Harding is the tool of big business; he serves capital, not labor. The financial bosses of Harding are not interested in the Negro problem, they are interested in the working of labor, black and white. Harding is only allowed to give out vague statements on the Negro which might be interpreted to mean anything. Negroes gain nothing in choosing Harding over Cox, for both have one and the same master—Big Business.

The white politicians, including the so-called big ones such as Harding, Cox, Lodge, Penrose and their ilk, are no more independent than the little Negro politicians. They are not free to act; they are only free to obey, to listen to their masters' voice. Their masters are J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, the owners of the coal mines, railroads, traction interests, packing houses, banks and land. They finance the Democratic and Republican parties, and hence, they own and control them. Politicians are their lackeys. They hire them to fool the working people, upon whose backs the industries of America rest. The workers produce wealth and they, the capitalists, take it. And they flatter the workers with charity.

Every Negro who votes for Harding, votes for the continuation of lynch-law, the Jim-Crow Car, and disfranchisement. He votes for the high cost of living, high rent, low wages, long hours of work, peonage, widespread ignorance and superstition, race riots and wars.

The Negro leader who advises Negroes to vote for the Republican party, is advising them to vote for political, economic and social slavery. For fifty years the Negro has followed the advice of his leaders and voted the Republican ticket. What have they got? They are still lynched, still jim-crowed, still disfranchised. How did Harding vote in the Senate when the jim-crow car issue was raised by Representative Madden? He did not vote for the abolition of the jim-crow car. Will Mr. Harding state why? Will his Negro sponsors state how they expect the Negro to benefit from the election of Harding when their candidate refused to vote for the abolition of the jim-crow car—our national disgrace? If Harding failed the Negroes in the Senate, what justification have they that he will not fail them in the presidency.

Is not the record of the Republican party sufficient? Its record is replete with promises, and it is no less full of failures to fulfill its promises.

No, there is absolutely no hope for the Negro in voting the Republican ticket. Of course, the Democratic party is no better. They are two political peas in a pod; two souls with a single thought.

They constitute a political trust against labor, the Negro, smaller nationalities, freedom, justice and brotherhood.

Mr. Negro Voter, Socialism is your only hope.

DEBS AND THE NEGRO

DEBS is the modern Abe Lincoln of the workingman.

He is also the modern emancipator of the Negro, for the Negro is essentially a workingman.

Debs is the greatest political sun in whose refulgent rays, the Negro, an oppressed and disinherited race, has had the opportunity to bask since Abe Lincoln.

But Debs is greater than Lincoln. Debs is the spokesman of the great struggling working-class of all races, nationalities, creeds, sexes. Lincoln was the spokesman of the rising capitalist class of the North, who viewed the emancipation of Negro slaves as indispensable to the development and triumph of the manufacturers and bankers of the industrial North, East and West over the slave-holder of the South.

The emancipation of the slaves was not the object of Lincoln's historic career. He often stated that the preservation of the Union was his sole aim. At one time he said: "That if he could save the Union without freeing a single slave, he would do it; if he could save the Union by freeing half of the slaves, he would do that; but, if, in order to save the Union, he was compelled to free all of the slaves, then, he would do that; but, that his whole object was to save the Union."

In fact, Lincoln was the tool of a class that required wage-slaves instead of chattel-slaves. Chattel-slavery had become an obstacle to the growth of capitalism. And capitalism was the next order of the day throughout the world. The invention of labor-saving machinery had made the continuance of chattel-slavery unprofitable, and, hence, impossible. So that the inevitable decree of social evolution was that slavery should pass. It had outlived its usefulness. It would have passed if Lincoln had never been born, or the Civil War had never come; for it contained the seeds of its own destruction, viz., the education of the slaves to handle labor saving machinery, and the recognition on the part of free white workers that their condition was made worse by the slavery of black men.

Lincoln merely nominally freed the bodies of Negroes; we say nominally because they are still in peonage in the South. Postmaster Albert Sidney Burleson, according to the *New York World*, maintains a peonage farm in Texas.

But Debs would free the bodies and minds of Negroes. Debs would not only abolish the right of one man to own another; but he would also abolish the right of one man to take the bread which another produces. For as long as one man is permitted to take the bread which another produces, he is the master of the worker, and the worker is his slave. For

the power over a man's bread, is the power over a man's life, and this is all that slavery amounts to.

Now a word about the character of Debs.

Debs has suffered unspeakably when he might have lived in pomp, splendour, peace and prosperity. He elected to languish in prison rather than sacrifice his opinions. He spoke out when others, out of fear, chose to keep silent. He bearded the lions of war, fighting the cause of the workers of the world.

Debs is a lover of humanity. In Atlanta, when scheduled to address a big indoor meeting, he refused because Negroes were not allowed to enter. Could the most generous admirer of Harding and Cox imagine them taking such a stand on the Negro?

We can expect these champions of 100 per cent Americanism to mouth beautiful phrases about the Negro, but as for action in his interest, that's a decidedly embarrassing question to these distinguished gentlemen.

Of course, Number 9653 of the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, in the circles of polite society, is not a gentleman, and hence can be relied upon to break all rules of social etiquette and speak out, and, too, act for the hated and despised of all races.

In this presidential election, the Negro can teach America its greatest lesson, by voting for the standard bearer of the Socialist Party. He, the Negro, can force the country to enact a federal law against lynching, abolish the jim-crow car and to enforce the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, thereby insuring the right of the Negro to vote. The ruling class of America, as represented by Wall Street, will grant the Negro, their only hope against the triumph of labor, anything in order to keep the Negro out of the Socialist Party and organized labor. Hence, the logic of the situation would dictate that the Negro churches, press, secret societies, Negro Republican politicians, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, come out openly and advocate that the Negro vote the Socialist ticket from top to bottom in every state, city and hamlet. This thing would produce pandemonium in the sacred recesses of the Union League Club and Wall Street. Efforts would be made immediately to placate Negroes. They would be requested to state what they want. The abolition of the jim-crow car, lynch law and disfranchisement would be a mere bagatelle. For what is this slight concession to the Negro to losing complete control over the government! The Negro worker and the Negro voter is the balance of power in the industrial and political life of America. He can turn the scales either way.

WHY NEGRO REPUBLICANS SHOULD VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET

THIS is doubtless a strange subject to the average voter. One naturally feels that if he is a member of a certain political party, he should vote for that party. That, of course, is true, if it is to his interest to do so. One's interests should always determine his actions, and they will do so, if one is intelligent.

Now what are the interests of Negro Republicans? Now most Negroes are Republicans, because of tradition and ignorance, nothing more. Most Negroes

are also working people; all Negroes are consumers. They suffer from high rent, the high cost of living and low wages. This, of course, is true of all working people. Since the Republicans represent the interests in America that profits from high rent, the high cost of living and low wages, it follows that, it is to the interests of Negro Republicans who work for a living, rent houses to live in, and are under-nourished when living cost is high, to vote for that party whose program will remedy these evils, and the only party which is regarded as the opponent of the system which produces these anti-social conditions, is the Socialist Party.

Moreover, the Negro Republican politicians should vote the Socialist ticket, and secretly, if not openly, advise all Negroes to do the same. Why you ask? For this reason: The larger the Negro Socialist vote is, the more alarmed will the Republican bosses become, and hence, they will begin to inquire what can be done to stop Negroes from voting the Socialist ticket. They will do anything to allay the discontent and unrest reflected through a large Negro Socialist vote.

Now, if political jobs are what Negro Republican leaders want, this is the surest way of getting them; if money is what they are looking for, and money and job are certainly what they are looking for, this is the most effective way of getting both. This will be a fine piece of political strategy on the part of Negro Republican politicians. There is, as a matter of fact, nothing too big which Negro Republican politicians can demand, which will not be readily, willingly and hastily granted them, in order to wean the Negro from the hated and despised Socialists.

Why even the Democratic party will combine with the Republican party, and vie with it in giving Negroes political recognition, as a means of keeping them out of the arms of the Socialists. For, even to Hoke Smith, Vardaman, Tom Watson, the Negroes are shining angels of light to these Socialist devils, who want a workers' government.

For, after all, the boss of the Republican party is also the boss of the Democratic party. They simply hold different apparent positions, on the Negro, in order to make the Negro believe that it is a question of a choice between two evils, while, in fact, both are evils. It is a solemn compact between the Republican and Democratic parties that such shall be the case with respect to the Negro. Because, if Negroes once found out that the Republican party was no different from the Democratic, and shifted his political power to the Socialist Party, it would mean the end of the rule of both the Democratic and Republican parties; because the Socialist party is opposed to both. Thus, in order to save themselves, not out of any change of heart on the Negro, the two big parties would combine in favoring the Negro in order to regain and retain his political support.

Wall Street would not allow the South to continue in its brutal lynching, jim-crowing and disfranchising of Negroes if it thought that such practices were driving the Negro into the Socialist Party and labor unions. It must be already understood that Wall Street owns the South, it holds the whip hand over the Negro baiting cracker senators and representatives.

It controls the Southern state legislatures, for it owns the land, lumber mills, railroads, cotton plantations, coal mines, traction interests, etc. The Money Trust of Wall Street, headed by Morgan, dominates the national and state legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government. Wall Street permits lynching, Jim-crowing and the disfranchisement of Negroes to go on in the South merely because it is profitable, in that, it acts as a wedge in dividing the black and white working dogs, and keeps them fighting instead of unionizing against one common enemy—the capitalists who rob both.

Since the Republican party is the chief political spokesman of Wall Street, the Negro Republicans can bring it to its knees by voting the Socialist ticket. Any fool can see that the Republicans and Democrats are the same on the Negro, labor and Socialism. Now, this is the logic: If A and B are the enemies of C and D, then it is sensible, logical advantageous and beneficial for C and D to combine against A and B. And it can be relied upon that A and B will at all times combine against C and D if they are intelligent. In this illustration A and B represent the Republican and Democratic parties, and C and D represent the

Negro and the Socialist Party. It is known that the Democratic and Republican parties are opposed to the Socialist Party; it is also a matter of record that they have done nothing for the Negro. So, that it is logical to assume that if the Negro begins to make common cause with the arch enemy of the Republican and Democratic parties, that they will do everything in their power to prevent the same. And since the Negro needs certain things which these parties have the power to give, the Negro can exact them by holding the sword of Damocles—Socialism and Unionism—over their heads.

Not only that, but by voting the Socialist ticket, the Negro Republicans will be definitely ushering in a better day for the white worker as well. They will be the means of accelerating the period of industrial, political and social democracy in America. They will stop war, protect Mexico from the imperialist robbers of America, guard the public from rent gougers and food thieves. In short, by voting the Socialist ticket they will stay the bloody hand of the lyncher, paralyze the fingers of the political pickpockets, seal the mouths of pious liars and bring about a new day, a day of political, economic and social equality.

Economics and Politics

By THE EDITORS

THE INTERNATIONAL DEBACLE

THE world is not only not settled, but it is becoming more unsettled. War is not only not over, but new wars are looming upon the international horizon. The League of Nations has not only failed to function, but new miniature leagues or secret compacts are being formed that bid fair to overshadow the "League of Versailles." Great Britain has negotiated a secret compact with Persia, and is seeking to effect one with Japan, America, France and Great Britain, and ere the League of Nations has shuffled off its swaddling clothes, formed a secret triple alliance for their mutual benefit.

In short, the League of Nations is not trusted by even those who made it, to resettle the world.

So the world keeps lumbering on distressingly unwitting of its way.

Germany has been strangled by the bloody fingers of a ruthless crowd of desperate and wilful diplomats at Versailles. Wilson, Makino, Orlando, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, in their efforts to save the crumbling edifice of capitalism for the bankers of New York, Paris, London, Rome and Tokio, have pulled down the house on their masters' heads. What they sought to conserve, they have destroyed; what they sought to destroy, they have preserved.

The working people of Russia simply would not stay put, and one fine day, they discharged Czar Nicholas of all the Russias, brought peace to the people, and gave the land to the peasants and the fac-

ories to the workers. This was, indeed, passingly strange. The capitalist world was aghast, a picture of consternation and despair. For what an example the workers of Russia have set for the workers of England and America, France, Italy and Japan! What the workers of one country have done, the workers of other countries can do, and, what is worse, they are likely to think of following the example of their Russian cousin. This contemplation is not the occasion of pleasant dreams of the masters of the coal mines, railroads, the bankers and landlords of the civilized countries of the world. Hence, Soviet Russia is blockaded, Generals Korniloff, Kolchack, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel—the "White Hopes" of bankrupt Capitalism, have been unleashed to do their darndest. They went to Soviet Russia, they saw; but they did not conquer.

Finally, Poland, under the leadership of the music master, Paderewski, was recruited and anointed to start a holy crusade against the impious band of violators of Capitalism's code of Righteousness: the right of the capitalists to say to the workers, "You make bread, and we will eat it; you fight wars, and we will make them and profit from them."

But the upturn of Russia would not have forboded such dreadful omens, were it not for the unimaginable sympathetic attitude of the workers of England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and America toward the Soviet Republic of Russia.

The workers of England organized the Labor Coun-

cil of Action, a new invention in labor structures, for the purpose of preventing Lloyd George from sending munitions and soldiers to Poland to fight the workers of Russia. This struck such terror into the hearts of the lords, earls, dukes, marquises, oil, coal and transportation kings of England, that the question was immediately raised: Who shall rule Great Britain, the Labor Council of Action or Parliament? Nor are the British workers contented with prices or wages. The coal miners and transport workers may yet produce an impasse for Lloyd George, and wreck his ministry. At least, the present government is not sure of the extent of its life, so long as British labor is recalcitrant, and presumes to say to the King "ne plus ultra".

Again, Ireland is not the calmest spot on the British map. Sinn Feinism will not down, the British Empire is loth to accord independence to the "emerald isle." Hence, civil war proceeds apace, thirty thousand British bayonets are pointing at the hearts of determined Irishmen and women, while the Lord Mayor of Cork mocks the British crown with a hunger strike in Brixton prison.

And the flames of nationalism continue to burn at the base of the empire of "perfidious Albion" in India. Anritzar, like Banquo's ghost rises ever and anon to haunt His Majesty's Highness. Meantime the Gadar party prepares for the final overthrow of British rule in India.

And according to the trend of events, England may yet clash with her erstwhile ally, America. The American capitalists need oil, and England has gobbled up the available oil resources of the world. Oil bids, in the near future, to become King. It is the chief motive power on land and sea. It is reported that, in the next five years, if America is not able to rob some weaker peoples of their oil, she will be paying five billions a year to England for the precious fluid. This explains the reason for America's itching palm for Mexico.

Italy, too, is in the throes of a revolution. The metallurgical workers have seized the factories, raised the red flag, barricaded themselves with machine guns, and announced to the world that: no longer will they be robbed and exploited by the pious thieves of Italy. Even the Pope may yet be forced to abdicate his throne to calm an enraged and outraged populace. Signor Gioletti is struggling to effect a rapprochement between the workers and owners of the factories. He has demanded the confiscation of war profits. His policy is: that it were better to give up some than lose all. This is done to pacify the workers. But the workers still cry: long live the Soviets! All power to the workers! and proceed to vote their allegiance to the Moscow Third International.

No man dares predict the next step of the workers of the Mediterranean.

At the same time, France, England and America sit taut, ready to blockade a Soviet Italy.

Also, the wily capitalists of Nippon manifest their fears of an awakened and aroused working class Japan. A panic has already shaken the financial and industrial fabric of the country. The lot of the workers is becoming worse, while they threaten to

challenge the sacred tenure in power of the Elder Statesmen.

Recent dispatches from Germany indicate a change in the political complexion of the country. In the industrial centers, the Independent Socialist party is being captured for the Third International. The spirits of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg seem to be guiding the Sparticides to victory. Will Germany go Bolshevik? is the question that haunts the diplomats in Downing Street, the Quai d'Orsay, and the Hotel Crillon, and our own Wall Street. Each day will witness new changes in Germany. The German worker may yet revise the Peace of Versailles. The Fates may have reserved the German workers the task of striking the final blow to European capitalism, and finally to world capitalism.

Nor will American capitalists believe that the flood of the proletarian revolution, begun at the shrine of the Czar of Russia, will not leap the dikes of three thousand miles of distance and engulf the land of the free(?) and the home of the brave.

Besides, the workers of America are not in love with their own prices and wages. Houses are scarce and becoming scarcer. They, too, show signs of unrest. They threaten to vote for Debs; they are opposed to war over in Soviet Russia; they announce sympathy for a free Ireland, and even indicate a change of heart on the Negro question.

Then, too, 15,000,000 Negroes declare they have grievances to redress; and the young, intelligent Negro is looking askance at Socialism. In fact, five Negroes have been nominated on the Socialist Party ticket, and it is rumored that the Negroes are thinking strongly as to whether or not Socialism will solve their problem.

Yes, the times are pregnant with change. Nothing escapes the God of Metamorphosis. Even empires rise and fall. Kings are deposed, Kaisers exiled and Czars banished. Presidential candidates speak from prison, and elected representatives are expelled from legislatures. Men and women are deported from countries for the opinions they hold, and a working-class government has actually been established in the world.

And the end is not yet. The mills of the Gods grind slowly, but exceedingly fine. The workers appear to be at the mills this time, grinding out a new world as a workers' world; at least the high priests of capitalism, Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George and their ilk are not impressed with their present control of world affairs. This international debacle, indeed, passeth their (the capitalists') understanding. Only the workers hold the key to its solution.

Subscribe for THE MESSENGER

Study Socialism

Swat the Republican Fakirs

NEW YORK STATE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES



JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN
Lieut.-Governor



MORRIS HILLQUIT
For Congress, 20th District



ALGERNON LEE
For Congress, 14th District



JOSEPH D. CANNON
Governor



DARWIN J. MESEROLE
Attorney General



These are the standard bearers of the Socialist Party in the State of New York. They will make their fight in the interest of the workers. They demand that the State build homes for the people as a means of solving the Housing problem. The Negro is the chief victim of high rent. They demand the reduction of the high cost of living, the preservation of our civil liberties and the maintenance of representative government. The Negro will benefit from every measure from which the worker benefits. Hence Negroes should vote the State Socialist Ticket because they are workers.



Besides, Negroes are represented in the State ticket of the Socialist Party. This is the greatest recognition they have had in their political history. A big reason why Negroes should vote for Socialism!



JUDGE JACOB PANKEN
U. S. Senator

Senator Warren G. Harding, believes in Negro-Equality—with reservations—just as he believes in the League of Nations—with reservations.

But the Socialist Party believes in genuine Negro-Equality—its preservation, as shown by the five Negro candidates on its ticket in the State of New York.

See opposite page:

1. Chandler Owen, Candidate for Assembly from the 21st Assembly district is co-editor of the MESSENGER magazine, President of the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes, and one of the founders of the Friends of Negro Freedom.

2. W. B. Williams is candidate for Assembly from the 5th Assembly district. He is the only Negro in the Socialist Branch which nominated him. He is also a prominent member of the Scenic Artists' Union.

3. Miss Grace Campbell is candidate for Assembly from the 19th Assembly district. She is the first colored woman to be named for a public office on a regular party ticket in the United States of America. She is well known for her pioneer social service work for colored girls.

4. Frank Porec is candidate for State Senator from the 18th Senatorial district. He is the first Negro to be named for this office in New York on a party ticket. He is also prominent in labor union circles.

5. A Philip Randolph is a candidate for Comptroller for the State of New York. He is the first Negro to be nominated for the fourth highest office on a state ticket of a regular party since Reconstruction Days. He is co-editor of the MESSENGER magazine, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Association for the Promotion of Labor Unionism among Negroes, and one of the founders of the Friends of Negro Freedom.



No. 5



No. 1



No. 3



No. 4



No. 2

N. A. A. C. P. POLITICAL LOGIC

IN the September *Crisis*, Dr. Du Bois attempts to advise Negroes with respect to the coming election through an editorial entitled: "How Shall We Vote?" Much of the matter, the factual content of the editorial, is accurate, but the interpretation is pitifully poor.

Du Bois says: "The Republican party has for 25 years joined the white South in disfranchising us; it has permitted us to be "Jim-Crowed," deprived of schools and segregated. It has partially disfranchised us in its party councils and proposes practically to eliminate us as soon as this campaign is over. It has encouraged and recognized the "Lily-White" factions and nearly driven us from public office. In addition to this the Republicans represent reaction and privilege, the abolition of freedom of speech, the punishment of thinkers, the suppression of the labor movement, the encouragement and protection of trusts, and a new protective tariff to tax the poor for the benefit of the rich."

This is splendidly stated, accurately set forth, lucidly and tersely presented. With every clause we heartily agree.

Du Bois continues: "The Democratic party stands for exactly the same things as the Republicans. Between their professed and their actual policies there is no difference worth noting."

Very good, indeed! *The Crisis and the MESSENGER are together once—so far.*

The Crisis proceeds: "There are two other parties, the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist. Both these parties speak out bravely in our behalf. Neither of them can win and because of our defenseless position the triumph of one of the greater parties without our aid might be the signal for further aggressions upon our rights as citizens. Our one clear path is this: Whatever vote we cast for president, let our vote for Congressmen be clear and decisive: vote for friends of our race and defeat our enemies."

Here the *MESSENGER* and the *Crisis* reach the "Great Divide." We reach this divide on intellectual and principled grounds, too, not out of narrow partisanship or petty meanness.

Du Bois has some queer quirk of reasoning whereby he believes the Congressmen—including representatives and Senators—are not and have not been as responsible for Republican betrayal of the Negroes as the presidents. He believes there is some basic difference between the legislative and administrative branches of the parties. He believes the Republican party can be rebuked for its perfidy and breach of faith to the Negro by electing its congressmen and defeating its president. He apparently believes that the several Congressmen, hailing forth from their respective and widely separated bailiwicks stand on quite different platforms and are actuated by different principles from the president. This idea must also carry with it a belief that the funds by which Congressmen are elected are different from those by which the president is elected. Again a corollary would be: that those interested in the election of the president are not also concerned about a congress which will elect him.

Any student of political science knows full

well that the laws are actually made and enforced by all three branches of the government—the administrative, the legislative and the judicial. In theory they are separate; in practice their functions overlap and constantly invade the fields of the other. The courts are known to make law through interpretation and much if not most of their work is administrative. Presidential orders and decrees frequently constitute legal enactments, and laws may be nullified or initiated in administration. Congress, too, may assume the role of administrative functions almost at will. It may appoint committees or enact laws for the formation of commissions which shall have administrative and quasi-judicial powers like the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Tariff Commission, and various similar ones.

Our readers want to understand clearly this spurious advice of Du Bois. It is mere rot to believe that your congressmen will differ from the presidential candidate on the same ticket. Both the president and the congressmen are tools. Neither has in fact original initiative in the government. Banks, railroads, trusts and syndicates are giving a fund for the election of the president and the Congress. These fund givers constitute the party machine. The machine stays in the back ground. It is not paraded in public. It constitutes the invisible government of the party. The various candidates are simply small parts of the machine and as parts of the machine, they must move *with* (not against) the machine or else they will be crushed. The Republican machine crushed Theodore Roosevelt when he moved against it and the Democratic machine of New York crushed Governor William Sulzer when he bolted that machine.

You have all seen a ventriloquist with a little boy on the stage. To any one unacquainted with the magic of the ventriloquist, it would appear that the little boy is speaking. The fact is, however, that the little boy is only appearing to be talking. 'Tis the big voice from behind—the voice of the man—the voice of the ventriloquist which actually speaks. In many respects there is a true analogy between the political party machine and its candidates, and the ventriloquist with the little boy. The government is supposed to be in Washington. To the superficial Washington is its seat. To the political scientist the government is in Wall Street, New York, the Pittsburg Steel districts, the West Virginia Coal Centers, the Chicago packing houses, the Minneapolis grain exchanges, the Elgin, Illinois, egg and poultry exchanges, the Lawrence, Massachusetts, Woolen Mills, the Lynn Shoe and Leather Centers, the American Sugar Refining Company, the Standard Oil board of directors, the Detroit automobile manufacturers. The president, congress and courts represent simply the little boy on the knee of the ventriloquist—and the government's ventriloquist is "*the combined manufacturers and capitalists who have erected upon the forms of democracy an invisible empire.*" Woodrow Wilson said that was true before his time and we say it was and is true.

Again, put your trust in the party not in the man. The man may die overnight, but not the party. Now for the stupidity in electing the Republican Congress and defeating the president. Our reactionary constitution was designed by capital with checks and bal-

ances. They can check the president with Congress, Congress with the President, and both Congress and the President by resort to the Supreme Court's usurped power of declaring unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

Let us analyze Du Bois's observation on the Republican party. He says "the Republican party has for 25 years joined the white South in disfranchising us." How? And why? Congress would not use its power to enact the appropriate legislation, a right given Congress in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Moreover, no Republican president would recommend that it use that power. No message contains a slight intimation even that such power should be used. Du Bois complains, "it (the Republican party) has permitted us to be Jim-Crowed." Who? Congress? The President? The Courts? Why, all. The South enacted Jim-Crow legislation. The Supreme Court supported it, Charles E. Hughes, Republican candidate for president in 1916, rendering the decision in 1915. Congress once enacted the Sumner Civil Rights Bill. The Republican Supreme Court, however, declared it unconstitutional, Justice Bradley rendering the decision. But, you ask, how about the presidents? The same applies to them. Roosevelt, Taft, McKinley—all of them—had control over West Point and Annapolis. What did they do? They shut out Negroes as tightly and completely as Woodrow Wilson ever did. Du Bois claims, "the Republicans have deprived us of schools and segregated us." Congress or the President this time, Doctor? Taft suggested segregation in his inaugural address, we know, but did Congress protest against it?

Du Bois next makes a grave charge. He says the Republican party "has partially disfranchised us in its party councils and proposes practically to eliminate us as soon as this campaign is over." This is a grave charge. We don't know whether Harding plans to eliminate us from the party councils or whether the Congressmen will help. We rather think these gentlemen will be found working together. And when a party proposes to eliminate you from its councils altogether, for no other charge against you than that you have supported it faithfully for fifty years—unselfishly, too, since you got nothing all that time—can a sane group of people answer by opposing its presidential candidate, but supporting its congressmen.

Lastly Du Bois says "the Republicans represent reaction and privilege, the abolition of freedom of speech, the punishment of thinkers, the suppression of the labor movement, the encouragement and protection of trusts, and a new protective tariff to tax the poor for the benefit of the rich." Very well; that's true. The Republicans surely represent all of those things. But does the doctor think Harding represents reaction and privilege any different from the average Republican Congressman? Again, on the abolition of freedom of speech, does not doctor Du Bois know that this abolition of freedom of speech means just certain kinds of speech, that that speech is anything against reaction and privilege? Is he not also aware that the Republican and Democratic parties are combining wherever a candidate on the Socialist ticket bids fair to win on the issue of free speech? Next, Du Bois says, "the Republicans believe in the punishment of thinkers." We pass over this rather cursorily

because it would not affect any number of the Negro leaders. Nearly all would be exempt; placed in Class 5 of the *thinkers draft law*. That's our worry, not yours. These cursed Republicans, the Doctor discovers, also favor "the suppression of the labor movement. That's a problem for the Negro workers, of hand and brain. Yet, in the name of common sense (not so very common) how can a race of workers vote for a group of Congressman all of whom represent privilege and reaction. And certainly no Republican or Democratic Congressman can dare let it be known that he stands for the labor movement, for the machine would take up the labor of his movement from the party. Next, Du Bois says, "the Republicans encourage and protect trusts." What does he mean by that? Doesn't the doctor trust a trust? Is Du Bois opposed to the principal, and not the agent? Opposed to the master mind, but not the tool? The trusts select and elect the president and the Congressmen. The trusts are the principal; the congressmen and president their agents. The trusts are the Republican master minds; the congressmen and presidents their tools. And the doctor has his eye on the future. He sees the Republicans planning "a new protective tariff to tax the poor for the benefit of the rich." Doesn't the doctor believe the protective tariff will protect the Negro? That would be no more naive than most of his political interpretation.

We pass over the fact that the Democratic Party is the same as the Republican in actual policies, because there are no Negro Democrats. There are just a few hog-trough job hunters and pie-counter Negro Democrats who couldn't muster a corporal's guard.

Finally, we come to the Doctor's closing advice. "*Both the Farmer-Labor and the Socialist parties speak out in our behalf. Neither of them can win and because of our defenseless position, the triumph of one of the greater parties without our aid might be the signal for further aggressions upon our rights as citizens.*"

Can you beat this? *Because your enemy has the power to win, you must help him. It would be quite as logical to argue that because Tom Watson will be elected to the Senate, the Negroes of Georgia should vote for him, and this will probably soften that blatant demagogue's heart.* Or to give the policy wider application: because the Democrats will win throughout the South, Negroes should vote for them—John Sharp Williams, Tom Watson, Cole Blease, Hardwick, Pat Harrison, et als. Nor is any part of this deduction true. The Republicans will not respect or help Negroes because Negroes support them. Fifty years have demonstrated that to anybody but a *Century Man*.

(A *Century Man* is one who requires the trial of a thing for a century before he will be convinced.)

The true psychology is that Republicans will begin to make concessions to Negroes when they begin to go into the Socialist party. Then the Republicans will do a little something—not much—for Negroes as a means of stopping any more from leaving and in the effort to induce the defections to come back.

Another rare bit of N. A. A. C. P. political logic emanates from James Weldon Johnson. Mr. Johnson made a big survey of conditions in Haiti. He clearly showed the economic interpretation of American imperialism there. He very properly and schol-

ly assigned it to the National City Bank of New York. He showed that the voice of Mr. Farnham, Vice-President of the National City Bank, was the most powerful in Washington on Haitian policy. Yet the National City Bank of New York is supporting Harding for President. It is a large contributor to his campaign fund. And if it is responsible for making Haiti a hell hole through the Democratic administration, does it not seem that it wants to exploit Haiti more through the Republican party?

This N. A. A. C. P. group has a queer quirk of mind. It's political creed is frequently a vicious partisan screed. Powerful invisible forces must hold them in check because we do know that James Weldon Johnson knows better, and even poetry does not necessarily warp the mind of the author. Pope and

Shelly wrote poetry without destroying their reasoning powers.

Negro voters, don't follow this polyglot, petty political advice. Vote the ticket which means freedom and liberty. Vote for the party whose emblem is the arm and torch—the arm of labor and the torch of the light of education. The star and eagle represent a light leading you astray in order that you may be preyed upon while on your lost political journey. The emblems of Democratic and Republican parties are the donkey and the elephant, respectively. They are good emblems for those parties, but neither the jackass nor the elephant ever liberated any people. Vote for Debs and Stedman.

From N. A. A. C. P. political logic, Good Lord, deliver us!

Attractive Strikes

STRIKES are usually unattractive. The public is seldom sympathetic with them because of the inconveniences experienced, on the one hand, and the increased price which is passed on to the consumer, on the other. No other attitude is possible considering the selfishness of all human beings. Even the sympathy of one labor union for another, on strike, is based upon the likelihood of needing the striking union's aid at some future time. How then, can this striking be made attractive to the public?

The British miners have struck the keynote in the demands for the strike first set for September 27th. They voted a strike to enforce their demands for a reduction of \$3.54 per ton in the price of household coal and a wage increase of 48 cents a shift. Now since nearly everybody uses household coal, the reduction of \$3.54 per ton in that commodity produced a general sympathy for the miners. The same selfish interests make this feeling inevitable on the public's part.

The miners allege that profits on British coal for 1920 will be \$330,000,000. Out of these profits there is no difficulty to pay a wage increase and, at the same time, lower the cost of coal to the public. Heretofore labor has definitely alienated the public by its narrow vision. It would tacitly agree for the employer to increase the price, provided the wage demand were paid. Some reactionary labor groups, like Shonts' "industrial democracy" union of the Interborough Rapid Transit in New York, have actually colluded with the employer to raise fares, and the like. This apparent indifference to the public's interest has kept the public in the following frame of mind: "Why every time a strike is won, says the public, the cost of living has gone up." All of which was true but nevertheless unnecessary. We stated this position in our February 1920 issue. Let us quote what we then said:

There has been much contention about whether operators could pay the increase out of their

present profits. The operators and the government claim that the employers cannot pay the wage demands of the miners. The miners maintain that the profits of the operators are extortionate. What is the evidence on this point? Let the *New York World* answer. In its issue of Nov. 25th it says: "At this point former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo appears as a voluntary and extremely helpful witness. In a telegram to Fuel Administrator Garfield, Mr. McAdoo says that income tax returns for 1917 showed that many mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal; that before deduction of excess profit taxes these returns showed earnings on capital stock ranging from 15 to 2,000 per cent, and that earnings of 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon." Urging a close examination of these returns for last year he believes "they will prove that the operators can and should pay living wages without change in the fixed price of their product."

"We submit that this testimony comes from an extremely conservative man, all of whose sympathies are naturally on the side of the coal operators. The only reason that he gives this testimony is because the profits of the mine owners are so enormous and extortionate that he is unable to keep silent. This is further evidence in refutation of a common fallacy: The public must pay whatever increase is granted to labor. While this is true as society is presently organized, it need not be true. To illustrate: when the coal operators are making 500 million dollars a year profits, and the miners ask for 100 million dollars increase in wages, it is perfectly obvious that 100 million dollars can be paid out of 500 million without increasing the price of coal to the public. Even the most conservative individual, who stands strongly for a "fair profit," will recognize that his theory may be put into practice without increasing the price. The more accurate statement of fact is, that whenever an increase in wages takes place the employers and capitalists will impose an increase upon the public unless the

public has sufficient intelligence and organized power to combat its exploitation."

We must comment on the limited position which we took last February. We showed clearly that the wage increase need not involve a price increase. We did not develop, however, what is perfectly clear, that out of 500 million dollars profits, not only can 100 million dollars be paid in wage increases, but a few hundred million may be distributed in price reductions as well.

We urge labor unions to take a tip from this lead of British labor. Hereafter accompany your wage demands with price reductions. And when you do, this single innovation will override all newspaper agitation about "striking against the public interest." Don't print so much about your lower wages, how long your hours are, and the abominable conditions under which you work. Neither the employer, the public, nor your fellow workers care anything about your troubles—and especially true is this if your troubles bid fair to impose more troubles upon them by way of increased prices. A few individuals of soft hearts, but negligible numbers, will respond. They will not be able to effect any powerful changes however, any more than William Lloyd Garrison, Lovejoy and

Philips were able to touch the surface of abolition. Yet when you hold out a reduction in the cost of living—definite and certain—the public, out of sheer enlightened selfishness, will surely respond.

This principle of attraction is the most powerful social force when in function. It represents the superiority of inducement over coercion. For instance, in trying to drive a cow down the road you use up a great deal of energy and often she will dodge by you and go back the opposite direction. With a lump of salt, tasted now and then, you may lead the cow with ease. It is not easy to drive a drove of hogs, still with a few ears of corn you may lead them to slaughter without difficulty, by dropping a few grains here and there. The child will rise early Christmas morning in expectation of presents, while the threat to whip the same child, if late in getting up, may result in its oversleeping just the same. In short, love is a more powerful force in society than fear. It is easier to do a thing because we like it than it is because we fear punishment unless we do. Herein lies the tremendous power of the bribe.

Attractive strikes are simply bribes of the public by the workers.

THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

WITH election approaching, the Japanese question in America is approaching boiling point. Far flung banners inscribed "*The Yellow Peril*" are unfurled to the polluted breeze of American race prejudice. Anti-Japanese epithets are hurled. Unreasonable rumors float in the air while lecherous lies rustle on the wings of hysteria. The dirty dykes of Americanism have been opened while the dark waters of race hatred pour in on our Western shores. The "Red" movement of the Nation has turned yellow in the West and black in the South. With the Western and Southern politicians seeking political power, we may look for Hiram Johnson and Phelan of California to join hands with Tom Watson and Hoke Smith of Georgia. Thus shall we experience a backwash of civilization, where from newer and higher ideals will come an appeal to older and lower instincts. The uncivil tongue of *Confederate Americanism* will be, as usual, loquacious, inaccurate and indiscreet.

What is this Japanese problem? Is it really acute? Does it lead to war? Is it actually based upon race or color? Are they unassimilable people? Why so much ado just at this time?

So much, yet so little, of value, has been said about the Japanese problem that we need to examine its real content. Analyzing it carefully, we find the whole thing growing out of the capitalist system. As we recall it was about 1914 when President Wilson hurried Bryan to California to prevent Governor Hiram Johnson signing a certain objectionable bill. Since then things in the "Yellow World" of California have lain fairly dormant. The real bathmic forces, however, which now push the issue forward like a *vis a tergo* have been moving at an accelerated rate during the last six years.

During the World War Japanese capitalists were second only to the United States profiteers in piling up

wealth out of munitions, silks, and various supplies. And just as Woodrow Wilson says, "*The masters of the Government of the United States are the combined manufacturers and capitalists of the United States*"—so the masters of the government of Japan are the combined manufacturers and capitalists of Japan. The Japanese government, taking advantage of the lack of strength of the United States and England really took Shantung, while France, England and the United States simply assented to it to save their faces because they could do no better. In full view of their weakened condition Japan seized the Saghalien Island, which is immensely rich in oil and minerals. She has also forced certain treaties with China which actually establish a Monroe Doctrine for the East, Japan this time holding the same place in Asia that the United States holds in the Americas. Again, the Japanese merchant marine increased tremendously during the war years. While England and America were wasting away, Japan was taking on new sea life.

The end of the war therefore leaves Japan with powerful financial capital, Shantung and the Saghalien Island rich in coal, iron and oil, practical control of the chief spheres of influence in China, a huge merchant marine rivaling the Anglo-American carrying power,—and back of all this a gigantic army and navy practically unimpaired even slightly.

Capitalists will combine to fight a common enemy. They will also combine to fight each other.

This means that they will further dissolve to fight each other. Those who are students of World politics know the place which coal and iron hold in the production of wars. They are the motive power and the structure of the war machine. Iron makes the implements; coal drives them to their deadly goals. The significance of coal, however, is simply its fuel

value. This value has been steadily declining, giving way to oil as fuel. The deposits of oil are narrowing down to four countries—England, the United States, Japan and Russia. Russia has her own territory and the Baku oil wells. England has part of the Chinese concessions, the Pearson oil interests in Mexico, and part of the South American concessions. The United States has part of Mexico, its own rich fields in Oklahoma and elsewhere here, part of the Chinese concessions, and some South American concessions. Japan has the Shantung, large Chinese concessions and the Saghalien Island. Certainly capital trembles about investing in Russia, having no hope of success in extensive profiteering in Soviet Russia. Three great oil, coal and iron owning nations then, stand face to face, fearful of each other and hating each other.

When people hate and fear each other, they are not far removed from war. The psychology is to be afraid and to fight. We are now in the period of preparedness for that fight. The stage has to be set. Opinion must be moulded. These devilish Japanese who were our allies a few months ago are really the Huns.

It happens that the Japanese are of a different race and color, while the British are white. Of course, we don't like the British a whit better for holding this oil, coal, iron and shipping control, but it will be more difficult to appeal to the subway prejudices of race and color in their case. Now just as America was not "fighting to make the world safe for democ-

racry", nor England for the rights and protection of smaller nationalities, so the United States will not be fighting Japan because she is yellow in color and different in race.

This, however, will serve powerfully to fascinate the light. It was ever so. *Differences create a difference.* A brother has rights not common to his sister because she is a girl and he is a boy. Elders arrogate to themselves privileges because they are older. It is held alright to disfranchise women because of their different sex. It is considered just to disfranchise Negroes because of their different race and color. Foreigners are different from natives. Bourbons are different from common people. All of which explains this diligent effort to show how different are these Japanese from Americans. The papers very shortly will show how different Japanese are from Negroes.

During the Seattle general strike, reliable reporters tell us that the Japanese walked out with their white and black working class brothers. Why not? Capital imported the Japanese here to flood the labor market. It carried on agitation to divide them from the whites afterwards. It hoped to keep them fighting not because they hate each other, but they hate each other because they are fighting each other.

Even this talk about leasing and buying land is based upon American capitalists fearing Japanese capitalists' domination or competition in the fruit and gardening industry. The opposition probably is emanating from the American Fruit Co. Such is the Japanese problem.

Education and Literature

A New Negro and a New Day

By W. A. DOMINGO

A NEW spirit is abroad in the world. Ancient wrongs and oppressions are melting before the rising wrath of the masses of the entire world. This new spirit is a direct result of the war which destroyed millions of lives and enormous quantities of the products of labor, besides intensifying the sufferings of toilers everywhere. Just as the world war embraced all the races of mankind so have its consequences, typified by the new spirit, permeated all peoples. None is free from its influence; all are making demands for the democracy and justice that were eloquently mouthed by those who had and still have the power to make those words living realities. For the first time in human history have the lowly workers of the world asserted themselves and given intelligent expression to their needs. Subject races, small nationalities and oppressed workers are realizing their kinship. The white workers of Russia, the yellow coolies of Korea, the brown ryots of India and the black toilers of Africa, the West Indies and the United States are

making similar demands upon their oppressors, although they and their masters in many instances are alike in race, color, language and religion. The former speak the language of the oppressed; the latter the language of the oppressor. Labor is the common denominator of the working class of the world. Exploitation is the common denominator of oppressors everywhere.

Many oppress because they profit from it, or think they do. There is a community of interests between oppressors. The real beneficiaries of exploitation are a small minority. They maintain their position because they control the machinery of government and the vehicles of public information—the school, church, stage, press and platform. These agencies support similar institutions. They defend present economic conditions, defame the working class, white and black, and abuse the Negro race as a whole.

As a considerable part of the American working class, Negroes have grievances against those who

profit from the present system which operates against the interest of all workers. As Negroes they have specific reasons for desiring the downfall of those who manipulate public opinion for the creation of race prejudice which in turn divides the black and white workers of the country into warring camps. The workers of both races suffer from this vicious propaganda and it is to their interest to change conditions which make it possible. The reason for this propaganda and its resultant division of the working class is to rob them of the product of their labor. And the robbery of the workers of the product of their toil is sanctioned by our present system of government. Even if the black and white workers unite industrially, as they are slowly but surely doing, they will still be robbed of some of the product of their toil unless they unite for working-class political action. To stop present robbery and remove the cause of most of our racial friction it is necessary to change the system which legalizes the robbery.

In our present society most human being must work to live. They must have access to a job. The private owners of land, factories, railroads, mines and machinery have in their power to deny their fellows work. And without work a man and his family must suffer. Because of the developments brought about by inventions a man can produce more than is necessary for the consumption of himself and his family. But because the things produced do not belong to the producer but to the owner of his job the former finds wages, which represent a small portion of the things he has produced, insufficient to keep himself and his family in a reasonable degree of comfort. The owners of jobs have common interests and pay only as much wages as they are forced to pay. Their interests are opposed to those of their employees. And color or race makes no difference. Jews underpay Jews, and Negro employers rob their employees regardless of race or color. The interests of all workers are alike. Many workers do not realize this and work against their own interests. They refuse

to join labor unions or exclude some workers because of their color. They also vote to strengthen the political chains which enslave them.

This is true of the Negro worker who votes for the Republican party which is frankly the party of Big Business. It is the party of the landlord and banker, black and white, Jew or Gentile. But most Negroes vote for the Republican party because it was the party of Lincoln and because he had freed their fathers. Whatever debt Negroes owed the Republican party has been paid long ago. Besides, it is the Republican party that delivered the Negro into the hands of the South in 1875 when Hayes was seated on condition that he withdraw federal troops from the South. For nearly fifty years the Republican party has been in power, controlling the Army, Navy and Supreme Court and during that period the oppression of Negroes has been cumulatively increased.

The only party that can make any appeal to Negroes that is based upon mutual interests is the Socialist Party. It is composed of enlightened workers who repudiate the DuBois-Gompers tactics of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." These workers realize that the chain of labor is as strong as its weakest link and from the standpoint of class consciousness Negroes are, through no fault of theirs, the weakest link.

If Negroes would be free then they must unite with others who are struggling for freedom. And it is the Socialists who are striving to free America from the throes of wage slavery. The slogan "those who would be free must themselves strike the first blow" gains added importance in the present political struggle. If Negroes think themselves freer than white workmen then let them vote for Mr. Harding and the Republican party which represent the forces of reaction; if they feel themselves less free than white working men then let them vote with their fellow workers of all colors who repudiate both the Democratic and Republican tickets and vote for Eugene V. Debs, freedom and progress on November 2.

The League of Nations

By THE EDITORS

THE Republican and Democratic Parties have agreed to make the League of Nations the issue in this campaign. Their tools—Harding and Cox—have been carrying on a national farce comedy over this alleged issue. The Republican party claims that it favors a league of nations with reservations. (We believe that Mr. Harding is now opposed to a league of nations and now favors "an association of nations"—a distinction without a difference.)

Concisely and simply stated, Harding asserts that Article X of the League Covenant gives foreign governments the power to order out our army, navy and air service, to demand our money and munitions.

Without discussing the merits or demerits of this contention let us observe the Russo-Polish War as a

means of getting some light on whether this is an honest difference of opinion among the Republican and Democratic parties. War is going on right now between Poland and Russia. The aviators aiding Poland are chiefly American aviators. Our army has been helping every reactionary opponent of the Russian people—including Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Wrangel. When the Russian army approached Warsaw part of our navy was ordered to the port of Danzig. Our Government has loaned Poland about \$200,000,000 upon bonds which no sane business man would loan \$200. Our munitions and supplies left from the American Expeditionary force have been freely at the disposal of Poland, while in nearly every port of the United States we have been shipping

munitions, food and clothing, unless labor prevented such shipments. In other words, our army, navy, aviators, money, munitions, food and clothing supplies have been right on the job assisting the junkers of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Poland to crush out the people's government of Soviet Russia.

What has the Republican Party done and what is it doing now to stop this actual operation of the League of Nations? Nothing. Why is the Republican Party apparently opposing the form of the League of Nations, but not its *functioning*, its *operation*, its *tangible reality*, its *pragmatic existence*? Because it has no power to stop it? Hardly that, because the Republican Party controls the Congress. It has a majority in both the Senate and the House. Congress also has power to declare war. It controls all appropriations of money. It has exclusive control over these two—*war* and *appropriations*. By withholding the money, the sinews of war, the means by which it alone can be carried on, it could stop President Wilson's private war with Russia in a week. It could have made this war, undeclared by Congress, die still born. Why then, you ask, does it not do this?

The answer to this question involves a clear understanding of the objects, aims and purposes of the League of Nations. The League of Nations is not a league of the peoples in the different nations. It is a league of capitalist governments banded together to exploit the people in their respective countries, along with all other weaker, undeveloped peoples. No Socialist nation would be eligible, nor could it afford to unite with such international wolves. If the Czar were on the throne of Russia, the Kaiser on the throne of Germany, and Francis Joseph on the Austrian throne—then all three of these nations would be eligible. The Hohenzollerns, the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs are all eligible to the League right now. The one condition to ineligibility is being too democratic.

The Russian Revolution bearing a new promise of democracy made the league of nations inevitable. The epidemic spread of this revolutionary spirit—not unlike the flu to capital—created the necessity of haste. It meant that the League must begin to function for capitalist governments even before its form could be settled. Russia herself was rich in undeveloped resources. American capitalists desired concessions there. Fuel and oil were there in abundance, not to mention platinum and wheat. Moreover, Bolshevik ideas were permeating China, and China has among the richest coal and oil deposits in the world. It is estimated that one mine there alone has sufficient coal to supply the world for two thousand years. Russia had also given up any spheres of influence in Persia. Besides, she had taken Baku with its rich oil wells.

Now in all of these, financiers, capitalists, investors and concessionaires of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States were much interested. The United States Government too was interested in the investments of its financial imperialists.

Again, as is well known, the chief industrial captains of the United States are Republicans. To be sure, there are ample Democratic financial magnates like Belmont, Ryan, Cleveland Dodge, Thomas La-

mont and Bernard Baruch. All of these men had interests to be protected. And "*where interests are common, alliances are advantageous.*" Hence not a whimper has come from the Republicans against the war on Russia any more than from the Democrats. (Senator Johnson of California is the exception, not that he had any difference of opinion from the others on Russia, but because he feared that the weakening of Russia would strengthen Japan, and the Japanese question supplies a spurious political issue for Western politicians just like the Negro question supplies an issue for Southern politicians.)

Another point: It was not possible for the Republican party (in a presidential year, too) obviously to accept a treaty, league or anything of the least value or significance, if that thing had emanated from the Democrats, because it would appear that the Republican Party was then following the lead of the opposition party—which is unthinkable to the American practical politicians. This meant that if the Democrats say, yes, the Republicans must say, no. And so we have a national political vaudeville where two presidential candidates are the comedians. Whenever Cox says it is, Harding says it isn't.

Lastly, take this lesson from history. In Europe, France led the fight for political democracy. The French Revolution came. The Jacobin societies organized to disseminate revolutionary ideas. The more reactionary governments of Europe feared France. Germany, Austria, Russia, England and Italy, therefore combined for a quarter of a century to crush the French Revolution. They feared those ideas—and justly so, for they seeped through Southern Germany, drove Metternich from power in Austria, unloosed the British hold on its poverty-stricken wage slaves, permeated Italy, made their impress upon darkest Russia of the Czar. Out of the fear of the French Revolution grew the Holy Alliance—simply a league of nations. Out of the Great World War—the fear of the Russian Revolution, along with world revolution has come the British, American-French-Italian-Japanese League of Nations.

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Who's Who

TOM WATSON

MOST people in America who read at all have heard of Tom Watson of Georgia. He is an unusual character. A writer and thinker of rare ability, he is a most dangerous demagogue. For many years he has been known for his variegated politics, his opposition to Negroes, his prejudices against Jews, his anti-Catholic views. He typifies misused ability—a powerful anti-social instrument.

A few weeks ago Watson was nominated for United States Senator from Georgia, defeating Hoke Smith, the incumbent. His campaign was made largely on the issue of the League of Nations. Watson claimed he was opposed to the League on the ground that foreign governments could call out our army. Georgia people were bitterly opposed to the draft. Watson supported their opposition and fostered it, too. In his campaign he also held out to the voters the likelihood of their being again drafted if the League of Nations were joined by the United States. This was a powerful appeal to the present sentiment in Georgia against war. The Negro problem was

not so much to the fore this time, but the anti-Wilson issue. This shows that Watson and other southern political demagogues simply use the Negro as a convenient slogan when no other effective issue is available.

There seems to be some alarm over Tom Watson's going to the Senate. Negroes share the apprehension. We wonder, however, just why Negroes could have any fear about who entered the Senate in the place of Hoke Smith. 'Tis not possible for Watson to be worse. Of course, we recognize a more powerful demagogue and a much more agile controversialist in Watson. Rabid and rancorous, anti-Negro and anti-Jew, anti-Catholic and anti-social—there will be many united forces to stay Watson's mad rampage in Congress. Moreover, he may expect to be disturbed frequently by sharp shafts of criticism, subtle satire and bold analysis from the 'New Negro.' He will be the constant victim of their trechant pens, their undaunted courage, their unremitting advocacy, their relentless and cold resolution. The New Negro will watch Watson and give him rough riding on his dirty itinerary.

THE NEGRO WOMAN VOTER

(Continued from page 131)

Now, the editors of the MESSENGER are tolerant, but they are impatient of ignorance and servility. Of course, we are not surprised at the present trend of Negro women in politics. What else could be expected. They are the wives, sisters, mothers and sweethearts of credulous, ignorant, infantile Negro men who boast about voting for the grand old Republican party, while they are mobbed, burned, lynched, jim-crowed and disfranchised in the South.

The political ideals of Negro men are a back-stairs, messenger boy's lackey job as a reward for a beer and sandwich, buck and wing, crap-shooting campaign they have carried on for some weak, colorless, insipid, designing, compromising, time-serving, criminal white capitalist Republican and Democratic politicians.

We want Negro women to stand up and fight as the political, economic and social equals of their white sisters.

The MESSENGER editors know Negro women who are the equals in intellect, courage and responsibility, of any white women. They are in every state, city and hamlet of the country. They have come out of the country. They have come out of the best schools and colleges of America. They are ready, willing and able to assume the leadership of their people, but they are cowed, brow-beaten, intimidated, discouraged

and elbowed aside by old, ignorant, lickspittling, scyophant, slave-psychology Negro men and women who have been bought and paid for by the money-power of the country, which profits by keeping the Negro marking time.

We appeal to the forward looking radical Negro womanhood to show their true colors, show their brains by breaking away from a leadership which gets you nowhere.

This is an age of thought, of progress. Don't be deceived by the political tommy-rot of Negro and white political hirelings who are paid to lie. Let us not mark time; let us catch up with the political vanguard of mankind.

All women, black and white, will benefit from the defeat of the Republican and Democratic parties, for these are the parties that foster, and perpetuate the shameless trade of prostitution. They drive young tender girlhood upon the public highways to sell their souls for gold, by protecting the capitalists who rob the black and white working girls in the factories, on the fields, and in the mills.

In this campaign, you can strike a blow for the freedom of your class, your race and your sex by voting for Debs, and the whole Socialist ticket.

The Open Forum

HOW WILL YOU CAST YOUR VOTE?

By J. MILTON SAMPSON

THE Negroes will probably vote the Republican ticket in large numbers in Richmond this November. The sentiment of the business men and the laboring men alike seems to point in that direction. The principal reason seems to be that since the Republican Party freed their fore-parents from slavery, it would be ingratitude not to support it. But what is the truth about this party to which we owe eternal and unflinching gratitude?

In the Civil War the Union forces were in a hard place and in order to get more help and soldiers, and win the war, the Negroes were freed. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address states that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed, and the Emancipation Proclamation itself terms the emancipation an act of justice warranted by the Constitution *upon military necessity*. These facts, along with the fact of nearly three centuries of unrequited toil, seem to me to even up the score just a little. The Negroes helped to win the war for the Republican or Union Party, and the Party freed them that they might do it as soldiers. The Party also seemed to think that it owed the Negroes something, for it passed the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Amendments. After that it proceeded to forget its helpers, allowing the South to do its will. Without any strong action, it has stood by and allowed the rights of the Negroes to be nullified and has not even attempted to punish the criminals. If the Republican talk were backed up by deeds, then indeed we should pay the coin of gratitude.

If the Republicans were so good to the Negroes, they could

1. Pass and enforce a law against lynching.
2. Cut down the representation of the Southern States.
3. Punish the State organizations which shut out the Negroes.

The Republicans had control of the last Congress, and did not make any of these three moves. At its National Convention, it told the State organizations to "be good children and meet where the little colored folks could come," and gave seats to no delegation in which there was not a white man.

Harding had a good chance to tell where he stood when the *Crisis* sent him a letter asking him about his views on the Negro question. He answered, "I will stand for what the party stands for." He had no opinions until after the convention. Then he loved the Negro in his acceptance speech. He was not even opposed to lynching until the party put a 'splinter' about it in the platform, hoping thereby to catch

the Negro vote on another promise. Republicans want votes now. They want Negro votes now, and if mere bankrupt promises will win them, promises will be made.

The Republican Party, in control after the Spanish-American War, winked at the Southern Jim-Crow laws, segregation, and the infamous grandfather clauses. It took a Democratic Supreme Court to pronounce the last two unconstitutional, again under the influence of unsettled war conditions. It would be just as reasonable to be grateful to the Democratic Party. The Democrats boast of being our enemies, but throw us a crumb or crust occasionally. The Republicans pretend to be our friends, and give us a swat kick at least every four years, and oftentimes between times to increase our gratitude. There is one good thing about the Republican Party, however, it cordially detests the Democrats.

All right, colored friends, vote for Harding and Coolidge if you want to. There are not enough Republicans in Virginia to carry the State, so it won't make any difference, nationally, whether you vote Republican or not. As for me, I am tired of supporting a party which has not done anything for my people since 1875. My gratitude is not so deep on the Republicans, probably because I was not born until 1890. I am going to vote for a party that won't carry Virginia either, but which is not now and has not been hypocritical on the Negro. Me for Debs and Stedman, Socialists, men who will go to the penitentiary rather than be hypocrites. Are you with me?

—The Richmond Voice.

Oct. 13th, 1920.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
2305 Seventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Although not a Socialist, I have decided to cast my vote for you for Comptroller of the State of New York at the coming election. In reaching this decision I have been influenced by two considerations, namely: First, I believe you to be competent to discharge the duties of this important post; and secondly, the Socialist Party has honored the race in selecting you as a candidate for the highest State office ever tendered to a Negro by any party.

You have not solicited my support directly or indirectly. I have been moved solely by the considerations above mentioned, and you have my best wishes for a successful campaign.

You have my permission to use this letter in any way your judgment might dictate.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. HAYES.

Pastor Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, New York City

Why Negro workers should join the Journeymen Bakers' and Confection- ers' International Union of America

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

Harlem Office of Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' Union is in THE MESSENGER office, 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York. Phone Morningside 1996.

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Harding leaves Negro to tender mercies of the South. Will not revive Force Bill which was used to crush Ku Klux Klan after Reconstruction.

The Republican Candidate's exact words are:

"THE RACE QUESTION IS A SOUTHERN QUESTION TO BE SOLVED BY SOUTHERNERS. THE FORCE BILL HAS BEEN DEAD 25 YEARS, AND AS A NORMAL AMERICAN CITIZEN I COULD NOT RESURRECT IT IF I WANTED TO."

—Senator Harding in Oklahoma, October 10, 1920.

The MESSENGER staff wants to know how intelligent Negroes can support the Republican fakir for president after the above statement.

The Socialist Party and the Negro

In reply to a letter sent to him by the editors of THE MESSENGER, Seymour Stedman, Vice Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Party, wrote as follows:



SEYMOUR STEDMAN
Vice-President

DEAR COMRADES OF THE MESSENGER:

It is a genuine pleasure to me to be permitted to speak through THE MESSENGER, a herald of better times—the advocate of the cause of the most oppressed, robbed and outlawed race of mankind.

When age-long slaves begin to speak for themselves, without servile supplication, but with a fearless consciousness of their rights as men, the light of coming dawn streaks the east.

The Negro problem is, first and above all, an economic problem. The race question is a far second and subsidiary. Lord Macaulay said that a Norman at the time of the Conquest was as reluctant in considering an Englishman his equal, although both were white, as the Virginia plantation owner was an octoroon. The refusal to permit Negroes to vote is an attack of the propertied class against the property-less, the Haves against the Have-nots. And in the final test, the wealthy Negro will be accepted by his white brother capitalist as a companion against the proletariat, that is, the working class of both colors.

The hostility of the white worker toward the Negro

has been stupid but consistent with his resistance to everything that threatens the security of his employment. When machinery was first introduced, factories were sacked and the machinery was destroyed by riotous mobs, who believed that the machine would take from them their means of livelihood. Later when women began to enter industry, the hostility of men toward their sisters was exceedingly bitter. And this prevails up to the present time, and the expression is still common that women are taking the jobs of men, and that a woman's place is the home. This antagonism is further illustrated by the antipathy of the Irish to Negroes and Italians, who as unskilled workers came into competition with the Irish who predominated for a long time as common laborers.

It is only by slow degrees that the workers are realizing that the greater number of persons engaged in productive pursuits, the greater amount of wealth there should be for everyone; and that the reason the producers do not have a larger amount of the increased production is because it is taken from them through rent, interest and profit by the capitalist class. It is the mission of the Socialist Party to unite the workers of every creed and color in a common cause; to teach that we cannot have industrial freedom, and the workers cannot have or secure in full measure the social value of their labor so long as any part of the workers are exploited. The white worker can never receive his share of the world's production so long as the Negro is exploited. Neither can the Negro receive his share so long as any part of the white working class is exploited. They have a common cause and identically the same working-class interest. Neither the white nor the black will be free until capitalism is wiped out. Both must realize that the work of everyone is a contribution to the total wealth produced, and therefore, each is interested in and must desire the highest amount of production from the other.

The hue and cry against social intermingling, against racial and religious differences, are weapons used in the hands of mischievous, lying and designing capitalists to divide the workers so that they may more easily be robbed of their product. The Socialists extend the hand of comradeship to all producers, to all workers of every race in every land. When they are sufficiently conscious of their common purpose and needs, they will unite industrially, and they will unite politically, and by this means they will raise their standard of life, and they will capture the political power of the state and use it to establish the social ownership and the democratic administrative means of production.

The Negro has much to forgive, much to overlook in order to come to the white worker and make common cause with him. The white worker has prejudices which spring from ignorance to wipe out. But all this must be done, for we can only enter into the new order, shoulder to shoulder. Every Negro and every white, inspired by a love for humanity, will unite at this election in casting a vote for the working-class of this country by supporting the Socialist ticket.

May God speed THE MESSENGER and the rise of the American proletariat!

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.