

New Negro

A JOURNAL OF
SCIENTIFIC
RADICALISM

SEPTEMBER, 1921.

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The New Negro Ready for The Ku Klux Klan



Reply to Du Bois
on Revolution



GARVEYISM

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Editorials

SOUTHERN BOURBONS IGNORANT

THE N. Y. American writes editorially:

One item in Secretary Houston's recent report of credits extended to foreign borrowers is this:

"Navy supplies to Poland, \$2,266,709.66."

One of Mr. Wilson's intelligent Cabinet secretaries made all Europe snicker, early in the war, by addressing to Switzerland a note requesting the co-operation of the Swiss navy.

"Locating the Swiss navy would probably be no task for a Secretary of the Navy who has been able to find a Polish navy in need of two and a half million dollars' worth of American naval supplies.

"The Senate Committee, while it is looking into the liberal disbursement of our public funds by Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet, might usefully employ a little time in finding out what naval supplies Poland got at our cost, what enemy of the United States Poland employed this credit in fighting, and what particular official in the Administration thus unlawfully spent our money or depleted our public stores under the thin camouflage of extending "naval supplies" to a turbulent and factional government which neither owns a ship nor has a harbor into which a ship could sail."

This is a typical example of the Southern Bourbon ignoramus. The average Congressman from Dixie knows nothing of history or even geography. He is partly justified in questioning the Negro's power and ability for self-government, since he regards the Negro as his inferior, and he (self-assumed superior) is unfit to govern himself. The Southern hogs certainly filled their stomachs full of the financial swill during the Wilson administration. If this is the intellectual caliber of the Southern Texas cabinet officer—is there any wonder that the Ku Klux Klan flourishes here with such prolificness? Weeds will grow without much attention; nobody hoes them. Wild beasts in infancy can beard the forest without injury, whereas a grown man would die. Such is the state of the numbskull Texas ranger.

THE SOUTH AND PELLAGRA

THE South is about to have 100,000 deaths from pellagra. The diet of corn bread and molasses and salt herring is not sufficiently varied. People need the fruits which they cannot get. In a luxuriant and rich fruit-growing country a group of people that dies for lack of fruit which wastes and rots for the want of a taker (as it does in Dixie) is not able to govern anything animate above the cotton boll weevil.

Pellegra is widespread in the South. Surgeon-

General Cumming of the U. S. Health Service and Dr. Livingstone Farrand of the Red Cross, place the number of sufferers at more than 100,000 and fatalities between five and ten thousand.

"The economic situation in the South was shaping along in such a way that we realized the farmers in the cotton-growing states would be subjected to pellagra," said the surgeon-general. "We tried through the health boards of the various states to stave off the situation by pointing out the imperative need of a better balanced diet.

"During the war there was comparatively little pellagra, due to the very high cost of pork. But now, with pork down, the poor classes live on pork, molasses and cornmeal. This diet brings on pellagra."

Here is a country which has three hundred billions of dollars in wealth, with human beings living or rather *existing* on pork, molasses and cornmeal. But such is the price we pay for a social system under which 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth; where the land, mines, factories, mills, means of transportation and communication are the private property of a tiny fraction of the American people.

The South, like every other section of the country is prostrate in the lap of an industrial, agricultural and financial panic. The workers have produced more food than their wages can buy back, and thus, they must starve, they must suffer from pellagra. Cotton is rotting in warehouses for there is no market. Cotton prices broke violently and banks are failing.

President Harding indicates his desire to place the grave situation in the South before Congress if need be. One might also ask: Why doesn't he place the lynching situation before Congress? The South can no more cope with the lynching evil than it can cope with pellagra. Lynching and pellagra are sufficient evidence of the collapse of government in the Southern States.

All Negroes Alike

C. F. Richardson, editor of the Houston (Texas) Informer, has been warned by the Ku Klux Klan to discontinue publishing his newspaper, under penalty of death. The paper has discontinued and Richardson is being guarded night and day, by city authorities. The outcome of the trouble is being keenly watched all over the country. Richardson is said to be worth several hundred thousand dollars.

If this sort of thing continues, the *big Negroes* will understand before long that an injury to one is an injury to all.

CHARLES GARLAND

Buzzards Bay, Mass.—Charles Garland, who a few months ago refused to accept his \$1,250,000 share of his father's estate, has just refused another million, this time from the estate of an uncle. Barefooted, tanned and happy, Garland is leading the life of a farmer here. "Men become great by following their ideals, not by following the lure of wealth. Money kills idealism. Christ preached this. I am a professing Christian."

"A society based on money is the wrong thing," he continued. "All the evils of the world spring from private possession—from the desire of one man to have more than another. The real things—ideals and ideas—cannot be bought and paid for."

We hear radicals sometimes praising Garland and his type as social heroes, but we regard him as a plain "bug." Any one who is interested in the development of useful social ideas should take advantage of every means for disseminating those ideas. The chief obstacle to this so far has been the limited means of the radicals. To reject the means for giving a wider circulation to democratic social opinions is, from the sound social point of view, criminal negligence. It is not laudable intellectual martyrdom; it is not a praiseworthy trait; it is not an expression of sterling character; it is just a symptom of a simpleton—the irrefutable evidence of a mental "nut"!

HENRY FORD AS RAILROAD DIRECTOR

AS a railroad director Wm. G. McAdoo was a novice to Henry Ford. In the heart of a panic Ford has cut the rates on his 500 mile railroad twice—20 per cent each time. At the same time he has raised the wages of his railway workers. This is in striking contrast with the other railroads of the country which have raised rates 40 and 50 per cent and cut wages 20 to 30 per cent.

One naturally asks, If Henry Ford can do that, why cannot the others do it? The answer is to be had in the different conceptions of the railroad business held by Ford and the American Railway owners. Ford, we suspect, expects to make profits out of the *railroad business*, while the other American railroad magnates plan to make their money by *stock gambling*, buying materials at the highest prices from their own dummy companies and then selling them to their railroads and a number of methods we could enumerate.

We note Mr. Harding taking week ends with Ford and Edison. These two American industrial and inventive geniuses might revolutionize the railroad business if given a free hand. Together they might reduce the steel which goes into cars by 50 or 75 per cent, lessen the cost of motive power thereby, and lower transportation costs in that way alone. Mr. Harding would do well to consider this request which first came from the fruit growers' association.

THE TARIFF ACT

THE New York World of August 2nd, says:

"June was the first full month of life under Mr. Fordney's Emergency Tariff Act, which was aimed particularly against Canadian exports of farm products to the United States. The results as now reported from Canada are that this trade underwent some shrinkage along certain lines, such as frozen meat, butter, potatoes and wheat flour."

"But what did the new Fordney tariff do to us? Our exports to Canada of mowers and reapers fell from \$59,136 in June last year to \$25,766 in June this year; ploughs and cultivators from \$253,300 to \$24,698; commercial automobiles from \$502,890 to \$97,313; passenger automobiles from \$1,271,481 to \$703,191; locomotives from \$114,417 to \$3,000; metalworking machinery from \$634,333 to \$69,330; steel sheets from \$605,755 to \$163,804; cotton cloth from \$29,866 to \$156,882; cotton from \$4,421,824 to \$637,748—to note only a few items in a long list."

An examination of this list will reveal an almost uniform falling off of our trade. Despite the pretense of the tariff's protecting American labor and American business the truth is that it destroys both American labor and business. The reason is elementary, though not obvious, viz., you cannot sell where you cannot buy. Commodities and goods have to do the real buying. Besides when you destroy your trade, you destroy your market. When you destroy your market, you destroy the factories, mills and mines which have to supply that market. They close down or go out of business. When they close, labor is thrown out of work,—all kinds of labor, black and white become unemployed.

With these inevitable consequences one would think the American workingmen would learn something about elementary economics. Too, one would imagine that since Negroes suffer tremendously by such unemployment, their newspapers would have some interest in this far-reaching economic question. Instead, however, one would have to use a microscope to find a line in almost any other Negro journal besides the MESSENGER about the Fordney Tariff.

Is Negro journalism intellectually bankrupt?

SUBSCRIBERS

THERE were too many subscription renewals among the MESSENGER readers to name them unless we should desire to give one whole issue to it. Among them were educators, publicists, business and professional men, white and colored men and women. There were whole families that subscribed such as Frances J. Grimke, Archibald Grimke and Angelina Grimke. Then such persons as R. R. Church of Memphis, Roscoe C. Giles, M. D., of Chicago, Mary White Ovington, John Orth, of Boston, Scott Nearing, of everywhere, George C. Bartlett, Rev. John H. Dooley, Algernon Lee, Director of the Rand School, Wm. H. Wilson, M. D., of Washington, Joseph Schaffer, of San Diego, Grace Scribner, H. W. L. Dana, John T. Emlen, John B. Nail, Chas. W. Chestnut, of Cleveland, Geo. W. Coleman, Nestor of the American

forum, Dr. C. Sumner Wormley, Dr. Ernest Mc Donald, Granville Martin, W. Justin Carter, W. P. Dabney, of Cincinnati, Ohio, Sylvester L. Mc Laurin, of Washington, D. C., along with Princeton University, Harvard University and the Library of Congress which demanded two subscriptions.

This is good reading company to be in and hard reading company to have to write for. Nevertheless we are perfectly willing to do the hard writing if you will get into the MESSENGER reading class.

We have in store for our readers some veritable treats this winter. We shall enter discussion in two most interesting fields—domestic relations and medicine. What we shall have to say about marriage, divorce, prostitution and love will be scintillating; whereas our discussion of the fetish of the germ, the drug, vaccination, super-surgery, along with our exposure of the fallacy of most of the M. D. practice and an explanation of etiology will keep the physicians scratching their heads.

So without more persuasion, get in on the subscription list quickly in order not to miss this unusual opportunity to secure such comprehensive education concisely presented.

HOOVER AND RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

MAXIM GORKY, the noted Russian writer, sent an appeal to the American people for relief for the starving children and invalids of Soviet Russia. Hoover replied, proffering aid upon the condition that the Soviet Government would forthwith release American prisoners, prisoners who were apprehended in the act of conspiring to overthrow the Soviet Government.

According to the New York World of August 1st, Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison is reported as saying:

"In October I was again arrested by order of the Cheka (the Soviet Inquisition). I was charged among other things with having come to Russia without permission, with having supplied food illegally to American and British prisoners, and with having been in communication with people hostile to the Government—all of which was true. The examiners were polite, but they made me realize the seriousness of my position."

It would appear from the foregoing report that Herbert Hoover is requesting Soviet Russia to unloose a band of self-labeled conspirators against itself as a condition to its receiving aid from America. Here is a form of counter-revolution via the stomach. In other words, set up the condition for self-destruction, and I will give one million or more for starving children's temporary succor, is the actual meaning of the ultimatum of the Food Dictator to distressed Russia. It is a hard price to pay; but beset by enemies from without and counter-revolutionists from within, what else was to be done save that of bowing to the inevitable.

Hence Soviet Russia agreed. American prisoners are released, and it is reported that supplies are moving into the stricken area. Let us hope that the Relief Force will not be of the stripe of its notorious predecessor, the Red Cross, which fed the hostile armies of Soviet Russia.

It is right and proper that the nations of the world should combine to help the hungry in Soviet Russia; for she is not responsible for her present plight. No country can live without trade. Soviet Russia has been blockaded, and prevented from establishing trade relations with the world. Hoover himself is opposed to selling Russia the very goods which would have prevented the very condition, the relief from which he is now perfectly willing to dole out as charity, providing the Soviet Government virtually abdicates its rule over the wasted sections.

Let the American workers, white and black, Jew and Gentile, combine to drive the gaunt specter of starvation from the confines of the first Workers' Republic! Soviet Russia must live! It is the only hope of a new mankind.

ILLITERACY IN AMERICA

"IT is the world's greatest disgrace that the richest country on the globe has not enough money available to pay red-blooded men and women to teach our children.

"Unless we are willing to pay them more than we pay our janitors and scavengers, the temple of freedom will be destroyed. During the war 26,000 teachers left the profession because the American people would not realize their obligation.

"Only one man in 5,000 in the German army was illiterate, while one man in every four in our army could neither read nor write. Education was the secret of Germany's great power.

"The average teacher's salary was only \$500 a year. We are facing a great crisis, politically, economically, socially and educationally. We have come out into an aftermath far more pitiful than war itself where selfishness is opposed to the idealism and sacrifice of the war. It is true that before the war the United States spent more than any other nation on its schools and there were laws in every State compelling school attendance. But the laws are not enforced. The whole structure has broken down, and only half of the 27,000,000 children required to be in the schools are actually in attendance."

Such is the damaging indictment of American democracy delivered by Dr. John J. Tigent, United States Commissioner of Education.

Of course, it is regrettable that Dr. Tigent's interest in a more literate American populace arises out of his desire to see an American army which will compare with the former German army.

But widespread illiteracy in America is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that out of every one hundred dollars which the Government spends, ninety-three are spent for war and only one dollar and four cents for education.

Think of it! *Only one hundred and four cents* out of every *one hundred dollars* of the people's money for the education of their children. In the South, illiteracy is even greater than the average illiteracy in the country. There also lawlessness is greatest. Illiteracy in America is reflected in the flagrant disregard for civil and political liberties. Witness the rise of such a criminal organization as the Ku Klux Klan, the activities of the American Legion, the kid-

napping of Kate Richards O'Hare, Ida Crouch Hazlitt, the tarring and feathering of Negroes and labor organizers, the emasculation of a free press, free speech, and free assemblage, the ousting of the Socialist Assemblymen in New York.

Such are the fruits of an illiterate public. The combined manufacturers and capitalists of America have robbed the American people of their liberties by stealing the brains of the children and chloroforming the minds of the adults through the school, pulpit and press.

The American people will never educate their children so long as the school system is dominated by politicians who are, in turn, controlled by Big Business which profits from an ignorant, though a literate, proletariat. In fact, the children must be more than literate; they must be educated. Their minds must be informed of the nature of the forces and materials of nature, the social forces, economic, political and social history. Well has it been put that "learned ignorance" is not useful education. The children must be taught to read useful and material knowledge, else they will be nothing more than literate, willing slaves.

STILL THE CRY—AMNESTY!

THE war is over. Harding has signed the peace resolution. The convictions of men who held unpopular political and social views should now be righted. Debs and Haywood, Ruthenberg and Ferguson—all the political and class war prisoners should now be set free. Socialist, I. W. W. or Communist—there is no defensible reason for still imprisoning them. The Civil Liberties Union has submitted a memorandum to Attorney-General Daugherty showing European and post-Civil War action on amnesty. It is drawn up by Morris Hillquit, Socialist attorney, and Albert De Silver, director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The memorandum shows that amnesty has been granted to political offenders in practically all Allied countries, either by amnesty decrees or otherwise. America alone has continued to imprison political and military offenders. It states that it is difficult to perceive any argument against the granting of amnesty here which would not have applied with even greater force in any of the European countries where political offenders have already been released.

"In Italy, by royal decree, dated November 19th, 1918, amnesty was granted to those convicted of disseminating false statements concerning the defense of the state, the military operations, the public order or the national economic situation and also to those convicted of the commission of deeds tending to depress the public spirit or prejudice the national interests. The effect of this decree is to grant amnesty to persons convicted of offenses similar in nature to those penalized by Sec. 3 of Title I of the Espionage Act.

"In France, by legislative enactment signed by the President October 24, 1919, full amnesty was granted in respect to "all offenses and contraventions in matters of meetings, elections, strikes and demonstrations on the public highway; infractions anticipated

by the law of August 5th, 1914, concerning indiscretions of the press in the time of war." Furthermore, provision was made for the re-admission to electoral rights of those who had been deprived of them by reason of their conviction.

"In Belgium, by legislative enactment adopted October 31st, 1919, amnesty was granted with some exceptions to all military prisoners.

"In Great Britain, while no decree of general amnesty for political offenders was granted, within a year's time after the termination of hostilities there were few if any persons in prison in England whose cases fell within the category of political offenders. In practically all cases of persons convicted of offenses similar to those involved in the prosecutions under our Espionage Act, the sentences were for less than a year.

"In Canada, on November 20th, 1919, a proclamation was issued granting amnesty to all persons imprisoned or against whom prosecutions were pending for offenses against the military service act, 1917.

"The memorandum contains excerpts from the amnesty proclamations of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson. In connection with these, the writers state: "It can scarcely be argued that the exigencies of government arising from the late war are at this time greater or more serious than those which followed the Civil War. . . . If amnesty were then deemed to be a policy which could safely be pursued by the government, it surely cannot be said that it would now be less safe. If at that time the necessity of bringing about a return from the bitterness of war to the normal sentiments of peace seemed a compelling argument in favor of the policy of amnesty, surely the argument is at least equally strong now."

The attention of the Attorney-General is called to the fact that the majority of these cases were tried at a time of great public excitement when the probability of injustice was very high; that there was a surprising discrepancy between the sentences imposed in different districts for offenses of substantially the same character, and that these persons were convicted during a state of war which no longer exists in fact.

So on with Amnesty! Let our people go. Away with the demands of the American Legion. It represents neither the soldiers nor the citizens. Unless we pace up a little we shall be justly labeled the most intolerant and reactionary of all the alleged civilized nations.

MOB VIOLENCE AND THE KU KLUX KLAN

THE world reeks with mob violence. The Black and Tans have rendered Ireland a scarlet isle. The Amritsar tragedy of India besmirches perfidious Albion again. Jews in Eastern Europe are pogromed. The Fascisti of Italy rival our American Ku Klux Klan. The American Legion competes with both for their lecherous laurels.

No race line longer limits these activities. White people and colored people are tarred and feathered, flogged and lynched, kidnapped and beaten by the Knights of the Ku Klux. A release from the vigi-

lant and public spirited American Civil Liberties Union before us reads, in part:

Note:—Legislative action against the Ku Klux Klan, which continues to terrorize certain sections of the South (Nos. 1, 3, 9), is urged upon the Governor of Texas (No. 4). Local prosecutions are exceedingly difficult even when the identities of the masked mobbists are known. (No. 5).

A decision having important bearing on the attitude of the courts toward picketing was handed down by the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court this week. (No. 19).

MOB VIOLENCE

1.—*Alabama*—Mrs. Kate Alexander was kidnapped by masked men at Birmingham on July 24th and severely beaten for miscegenation. C. S. Cooley, of Birmingham was flogged by the same group on the same night on a similar charge and ordered to leave town.

2.—*California*—Fifty-eight Japanese fruit-pickers were deported from Turlock on July 20th by American workers. James Shea, president Local No. 8, Fruit and Vegetable Workers' Union and five other Union men were arrested as the mob leaders.

3.—*Texas*—Under the leadership of Representative Patman, 49 State legislators have petitioned Governor Neff to submit to the present special session of the legislature a bill, aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, prescribing penalties for masked mobbists.

4.—*Texas*—J. W. McKnight, mobbed at Timson on July 17th was taken from the custody of a deputy sheriff by masked men at Tenaha on July 19th because he had made complaint against his assailants. McKnight was under arrest for carrying concealed weapons. He was again beaten.

5.—E. H. Peters was taken from a hotel at Chandler on July 19th, gagged and left unconscious three miles out of town. A note signed "Ku Klux Klan" was found in his pocket and \$200 he had with him was missing.

6.—R. A. Scott was tarred and feathered by masked men at Beaumont on July 16th.

7.—G. C. Benson of Dickinson was seized by masked men on July 18th and whipped.

8.—At Lufkin, Sherwood Vinson and Ben Wiley were tarred and feathered by bands of masked men on July 20th.

9.—W. J. Hoopingartner was tarred and feathered at Bay City on July 16th and forced to leave town.

MEETINGS

10.—*Iowa*—American Legion members forced Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett, national Socialist organizer, to suspend a meeting at Newton on July 23rd and leave town.

11.—*Illinois*—Chicago police arrested Robert Hardeen, Garden Owen and Charles Buchanan, Negroes, speaking under the auspices of the American Freedom Foundation on July 12 for holding a street meeting without a permit.

12.—*New York*—In dismissing the disorderly conduct charge against Harvey Stork, arrested at New York City on July 22d for holding a street meeting

and selling periodicals, Magistrate Maneuso rebuked the police for indiscriminate arrests of radicals.

No sex line is drawn! A few weeks ago Kate Richards O'Hare was kidnapped by some chivalrous American Legionnaires in Idaho, driven for miles across two states in her night gown, then dumped into a desert. Here was true chivalry on the part of American white men—taking an American white woman out of the home of a friend, refusing to allow her to dress, and dumping her, after an enforced automobile ride, into a desert! But this was in a less chivalrous part of the country. These were western wild men, say the American gentlemen. The real chivalry is in the South. Quite true. Look again at the release. "Mrs. Kate Alexander (a Southern white woman in Alabama) was kidnapped by masked men at Birmingham on July 24th and severely beaten for miscegenation." Mrs. Alexander was severely beaten by Southern gentlemen of the Ku Klux Klan one of whose tenets is the protection of white womanhood!

In the golden west, too, the gilded hand of the gangster is raised against Japanese workmen. "Fifty-eight Japanese fruit-pickers were deported from Turlock on July 20th by American workers." Here, no doubt, were some of the American workers who refused to condemn the vicious Ku Klux Klan at the American Federation of Labor Convention in Denver a few months ago.

The Dragons drill on. The masked Titans tread on the small post-war vestige of a doubtful democracy. The weird wizards tramp upon our little and limited liberty. The unspeakable Cyclopes close in against civilization. The Negro is damned and murdered. The Jew is contemned and tarred. The Catholic is flogged and feathered. M. Masoliansky, of Houston, Texas, was recently seized and outraged while on his way to the synagogue. Church and state are given over into the keeping of the modern Huns and Atilas while Episcopal rectors like the Rev. Philip Irwin of Miami, Florida, are given forty lashes.

Is it possible that American manhood has sunken so low that we have no remedy for this type of ruthless marauding? Are we helpless before a small organized minority whose activities are winked at by the governing powers? Are men to be flogged, tarred, feathered, murdered without mercy or pity by a lawless group which has set itself up in opposition to constituted authority and in flagrant disregard of the public will?

In this line we wish to commend the medicine properly prescribed by Sheriff Duggan of Butte, Montana. He says: "*Should the Ku Klux Klan attempt any of their time honored activities in this county, they will be shot down like wolves!*" We strongly suspect that such a courageous attitude taken by American sheriffs, police and officials of the law would very quickly drive the Knights of cowardly and criminal character to the tall timbers and retire then to that oblivion and obscurity from which they should never emerge.

Nor are the people wholly defenseless before these vandals and vile vultures. *The law is that a man's house is his castle, that he may use sufficient force to*

repel an attack, and if he has reason to believe his life is endangered, he may kill! Now those white masks are not invulnerable. We haven't tried it, but we honestly believe a bullet will go through them. We don't even credit the wizardly qualities. We suspect that a bullet passing through those masks will produce heart failure. And when the heart fails, following fast upon the force of the gun flash, we will bet the undertaker is the only man who will be needed to take care of the alleged wizard.

Of course, this is the emergency treatment. It is the last resort. It is the first aid pending other more substantial and permanent relief. What ought to be done is to have President Harding go to Congress just as he did on the bonus and railroad questions and present a special message for immediate cleaning up

of this disgrace to the miniature residue of American democracy. We know he is reactionary, but he has some memories of Republican tradition, some regard for decency in civil life which no doubt would move him to arouse Congress speedily to wipe out this damnable and dastardly crowd of cowards, this motley crew of villainous vandals, this unspeakable horde of human bloodhounds, this paltry pack of public pests, this black band of beastly bigots, this indescribable gang of white ignoramuses—white outside but black inside—these weirdly wicked wolves of night—the (K)Nights of the Ku Klux!

For the Negroes, however, the whole situation is hopeful, because when these criminal activities spread to others, it means that others will combine with him in extirpating this murderous menace.

Economics and Politics

DU BOIS ON REVOLUTION

By CHANDLER OWEN

IN the August *Crisis*, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, speaking editorially, writes an article entitled "The Class Struggle" which reads in part:

"The N.A.A.C.P. has been accused of not being a "revolutionary" body. This is quite true. We do not believe in revolution. We expect revolutionary changes in many parts of this life and this world, but we expect these changes to come mainly through reason, human sympathy and the education of children, and not by murder. We know that there have been times when organized murder seemed the only way out of wrong, but we believe those times have been very few, the cost of the remedy excessive, the results as terrible as beneficent, and we gravely doubt if in the future there will be any real recurrent necessity for such upheaval."

For sheer cheap demagogy, for tawdry scholarship, for fragmentary thinking, for sham cerebration and shoddy mentality—this expression could hardly be surpassed. It is on par with the demagogy of the South in dealing with the Negro to pretend that revolution implies human murder. It is worthy of the discredited old Russian emigres in referring to all phases of the Soviet government. It ranks with the forged Sisson papers which were used to disparage the Bolsheviks.

For the benefit of the public we shall now give to our readers an explanation of revolution. By revolution recognized thinkers and scholars mean the change from one system to another and the substitution of the new system for the old. For instance, the change from the geocentric to the heliocentric theory was a revolution in astronomy. Nobody was murdered, but the sun was thereafter considered the center of the universe, instead of the earth. All astronomical thinkers

know what an advance this new and correct conception was and is.

In biology the theory of evolution superseded the theory of divine creation. It constituted a revolution when by its thorough exposition Charles Darwin gave to the world the scientific view of unified rather than multiple origin of species.

In chemistry, the atomic theory revolutionized all chemical opinion. Molecules still remained; elements were not assassinated, and the early chemists were not murdered. Nevertheless a striking impetus was given to the development of chemical thought; the early chemical authorities were not murdered; nor did it prevent the still newer advances to the electronic theory of matter.

John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer were staunch philosophers, economists and sociologists of the *laissez faire* school; they believed in the gospel of competition. A revolution in economics and sociology took place with the coming of August Comte, Lester Ward, Richard Ely, Ross, and other economists and sociologists of the school of social control. As against the competition theory of the older group the newer group of economists and sociologists counterposed the higher concept of co-operation. The old group stood for competitive war; the new group for co-operative peace. It was a gigantic revolution in economic and social thought, still we did not learn of the murder of Herbert Spencer, John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith by Ward, Comte or Ely.

In history for centuries the great man theory of interpretation prevailed. Along came the new school of historians with the ideological interpretation of history, showing how world ideas and conceptions determined the course of events. Later another revolution followed, on the surging currents of whose oceanic

thought came the materialistic interpretation of history, sometimes dubbed the economic interpretation of history. This group showed the significance of physical environment,—wealth, food, land, trade, commerce, trade routes, and spheres of influence. Yet it might surprise Dr. Du Bois to know that Simon Patten, E. R. A. Seigman, Harvey Robinson, Chas. A. Beard and none of the materialistic historians now living have ever murdered the group of historians of the ideological and the great many theory schools of thought. And even we, who combine all the schools as contributory causes, have no idea whatever of murdering any of the authors of the early schools.

Revolution has gone on steadily in social systems. Savagery, barbarism and cannibalism were followed by a revolution which brought on slavery. Slavery, while bad, was a great advance on the previous systems. It was the system by which man passed from savagery to civilization without being annihilated. Another revolution brought on feudalism—less inhuman and more desirable than slavery. A third revolution gave to the world capitalism. Here was a revolution produced by another revolution—the industrial revolution. From hand made products the world went to machine made products as the result of new inventions and discoveries—the invention of labor saving machinery. This was the great revolution of the 19th century. Strictly speaking, it was the revolution from manufacture to machine-facture,—from the hand made article to the machine made article.

To-day we are upon the threshold of a new revolution—the revolution from capitalism to socialism. With it may come the shedding of blood just as the revolution from slavery to capitalism in the United States was accompanied by the mass murder of the Civil War of 1861. Whatever the condition of the transition, the labor and Socialist movement is making every effort for peace. It is engaged in constant education, agitation, organization. It endorses and brooks no violence. No responsible leader, no convention, no responsible group supports any cheap tawdry, petty force tactics. Not even the I. W. W., Dr. DuBois!

Du Bois after making a veritably superficial scholar of himself on the revolution argument proceeds to make himself more ridiculous in trying to rule out the Negro from the proletariat class. His reason is that we are not a part of the white proletariat because we are not recognized by that proletariat to any great extent. This is about as asinine as saying we are not human beings or men because in the South we are largely not so recognized. Is manhood dependent upon recognition? Is proletariat a product of recognition or is it a state of economic position of human beings? Is a Negro not a Negro when not so recognized? Is he a capitalist if the white proletariat does not recognize him as a laborer? As a superficial sociologist and economist Dr. Du Bois still holds his place. Besides, he shows a crass ignorance of the whole labor problem. Of 32 million white workers in the United States, only 4 million are organized. The 4 million constitute the organized proletariat to which Du Bois refers. Are the other 28 million white workers not members of the working class because they are not organized?

Or let us take another illustration. There are 100 thousand Negroes members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. There are ten and a half million Negroes in the United States. Are the 100,000 members to class the great bulk *as not Negroes*, or some such silly balderdash merely because they are not yet organized in the movement?

The next point is also badly reasoned. The Negro race is divided into laborers and capitalists, and their capitalists are of varied shades of opinion just as you find among the whites. Occasionally you discover a liberal and broad scholar among them, now and then public spirited, but on the whole narrow, visionless and reactionary. They charge the highest prices, give the lowest quality, gouge the poor tenants even more heartlessly than the white landlords, not because they are worse naturally, but because they can exploit a fallacious race pride which is little more than a bid for the many to fill the coffers of the few.

Our white professional classes, too, are sons and daughters of laborers at some time in their development.

As to Negroes moving into tenement houses in New York, there is nothing relevant in this whole argument. He says the Negroes moved into Harlem because the white capitalists could get sky high rents—that Negroes would have been mobbed had they gone into quarters where white laborers lived. The answer to this is most properly that the Negroes did live and live now surrounded by white laborers. Again, it is not true of all the laborers. Besides, the white laborers are living in white capitalists' houses also. Neither lives where he wants to but where he must. Nor does the history of this country support the effete and forceless argument of Du Bois. In nearly every section of the country it has been the white capitalist who has fought most vigorously for segregation because of his property values. Witness the present bombing of Negro homes instigated by the Kenwood and Hyde Park Property Owners Association of Chicago. These gentlemen constitute the real estate capitalists who are mobbing and bombing Negroes who attempt to buy property. The Chicago Federation of Labor on the contrary, has frequently protested against it.

The third argument of Du Bois which reveals his much over rated mentality is the confusing of capital and capitalism in his article. He says the Negro would have made a big mistake to fight the \$5,000,000 capital paid on his real estate from 1915 to 1920. What has that to do with the control of the means of production and exchange by a few individuals? We do not fight capital such as the factory, the mill, the machine, money, the mine. We do not desire to burn up or sink the land beneath the sea. Nor would we injure (or murder, to use the Doctor's inappropriate language) the capitalist as a person. We do, however, propose to destroy capitalism—that is, the control of the machinery of production and exchange by the limited few for their private profit and benefit. Under Socialism we shall run factories, mills and mines. Food will have to be eaten, clothes worn, houses lived in, persons and property carried, messages transmitted, work done. But this will be done not merely for

the benefit of a few Rockefellers, Morgans, Schwabs and Carnegies, but for the teeming and toiling millions who today produce food which they cannot eat, make clothes which they cannot wear, build houses which they cannot live in.

In concluding, Du Bois reflects on what might happen in a way to ventilate an ignorance which, if he understood political science, he would have stated not with such an air of novelty and original discovery. He continues:

"The main danger and the central question of the capitalistic development through which the Negro American group is forced to go is the question of the ultimate *control of the capital which they must raise and use. If this capital is going to be controlled by a few men for their own benefit, then we are destined to suffer from our own capitalists exactly what we are suffering from white capitalists today.* And while this is not a pleasant prospect, it is certainly no worse than the present actuality. If, on the other hand, because of our more democratic organization and our widespread inter-class sympathy we can introduce a more democratic control, taking advantage of what the white world is itself doing to introduce industrial democracy, then we may not only escape our present economic slavery but even guide and lead a distraught economic world."

Why, the control of the capital is the only issue! Nobody but a fool wants to destroy it. And this reveals that the distinguished doctor of philosophy is very short of the philosophy of the class struggle in the old days when you were the literary, philosophic and political science are trying to stop the Negro from passing through the entire gamut. It is not necessary for him to suffer all the evils of exploitation by Negro capitalists when he can now adopt the more democratic co-operative methods. And the Negro of New York, in particular, has had enough experience with Negro landlords to be perfectly sure that he is in every respect the equal if not the superior of the white landlord in the exploitation of Negro tenants.

Rest assured, Dr. Du Bois, you are not getting by as easily these days with your scholarship laurels as in the old days when you were the literary philosophic lion. Persons in your own group like John Haynes Holmes, Mary W. Ovington, J. W. Johnson, R. W. Bagnall, Herbert J. Seligman, Oswald G. Villard and others laugh at this discussion of revolution, the proletariat, capital and Negro capital. Unless you convalesce rather rapidly, we shall have to call out the first aid to doctor your philosophy, unless as a doctor of philosophy you can doctor your own.

Education and Literature

GARVEYISM

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

GARVEYISM is an upshot of the Great World War. It sprang forth amidst the wild currents of national, racial and class hatreds and prejudices stirred and unleashed by the furious flames of battle. Under the strains and stresses of conflict, the state power and institutions of the ruling peoples were mobilized. The intelligensia of the Central Powers apotheosized "Mittel Europa," Kultur, the Bagdad Railroad, and hurled imprecations upon the heads of the ungodly Entente. So, in turn, the high priests of morals and propaganda of the holy Allies sang a hymn of hate to the tune of the "Hun."

"Britania, Britania rules the waves, Britons will ne'r be slaves," "self determination of smaller nationalities," "revanche, Italia irridenta," "100 per cent Americanism," "we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy," "Deutschland Uber Alles," "Pan-Slavism," etc., were the psychological armor and spear of Armageddon. Add to this psychic complex of blatant, arrogant and hypocritical chauvinism the revolutionary, proletarian internationalism of the Russian Revolution: "no annexations, no punitive indemnities and self-determination for smaller nationalities," and it is at once apparent how nationalisms, racialisms and classisms, strangled and repressed in the cruel

and brutal grip of imperialism, under the magic and galvanic stimulant of such moving slogans, would struggle to become more articulate, more defiant, more revolutionary.

The Easter Rebellion of Seinn Feinism, in 1916; Mahata Gmandhi's non-co-operative philosophy of outraged India; Mustapha Kemal Pasha's adamant stand at Angora in the Levant, battling for a conquering, militant Pan Islamism; the erratic vagaries of d'Annunzio for a re-united Italy; together with the rumblings of unrest in Egypt and among other oppressed peoples, attest to the manner in which the war quickened the vision of hitherto adjudged backward peoples, and set free forces making for the overthrow of the institutions and the abolition of the conditions that gave it (the war) birth. Indeed, the war was fruitful of paradoxes. Movements grew both for and against the interest of society. Imperialism and revolution faced each other. The Kremlin and the Quai d'Orsay of the worker and capitalist, respectively, seemed to grow in power. Movements grotesque and sound, appear to flourish and decay for the nonce.

All of these varied and variegated associated efforts have their rooting in the sub-soil of oppression and

fear. The oppressed struggle to be freed; the oppressors fear their struggles. Hence, movements for liberation, whether they function through a sound methodology or not, are reactions to age-long injustices; they are reflexes of the universal urge for human freedom.

In the light of these principles, it is clear to anyone that Garveyism is a natural and logical reaction of black men to the overweening and supercilious conduct of white imperialists. Garveyism proclaims the doctrine of "similarity."

To the fallacy of "white man first" Garveyism would counter with a similar fallacy of "Negro first." If there be a "White House" in the Capitol of the nation, why not a Black House also; if there be a Red Cross and an American Legion, why not a Black Cross and a Black or Negro Legion, says the movement. And at the summit of this doctrine of "similarity" stands the African Empire as a counter-irritant to the white empires, monarchies and republics of the world. Out of this doctrine it is, indeed, not strange that transportation should partake of the magic romanticism of color. Why do persons ask, then, why a Black Star Line? And this is not said in a vein of levity, for whatever might be said of the Garvey Movement, it, at least, strives for consistency.

A word, now, concerning the doctrine of "similarity." Upon its face, it would appear to commend itself as a sound and logical course of action. Upon closer examination, however, one is largely disillusioned. It is hardly scientific, too, to make a sweeping condemnation of this doctrine on the grounds of its absolute inapplicability to the highly complex problems of the Negro. The stock argument raised by its proponents is that: "if a given thing is good for a white man, that very same thing is also good for the Negro. By this token of argument the conquest of Africa with a view to establishing an African empire, a Black Star Line, etc., is justified.

The fallacy of this logic consists in its total disregard of the relative value of the thing proposed to those for whom it is proposed. To illustrate: it does not follow that because there are subways in New York City owned and operated by white people that there should also be a subway in New York City owned and operated by Negroes. For in the first place it couldn't be done (the enthusiasts who proclaim the patent inanity that there is no such thing as "can't," to the contrary notwithstanding) and, in the second place, even if it could be done, it would be an economic injury instead of a benefit. The reasons for this are clear. The subways, elevated trains and surface lines are owned and controlled by the same financial interests. They are of the nature of a monopoly. These interests exercise great influence upon the City Administration which grants franchises to public utilities. Hence, a competing public carrier could not secure the necessary privilege; nor would the Money Trust extend the requisite capital, recognizing the inability of such a competitor to secure the same through the tedious and protracted method of small stock sales to an innocent public. Granting, however, that the necessary capital could be raised, a subway so established would immediately be thrown into bankruptcy through the rate cutting of fares by the older concern. The history of American business

is replete with the failures of enterprises that have attempted to buck the big monopolies and trusts. The process has been that either a small competitor is absorbed or driven out of the field by the big syndicates. And when a small business is permitted to exist, it is decidedly against the interests of the public, because being unable to do large scale buying, to engage in extensive advertising, to employ the most highly skilled technicians of hand and brain, and to institute the most modern and scientific methods of economy, it is forced to sell its services or goods to the public at the highest price obtainable. In other words, a business which sells to 1,000 persons a day can sell at a lower price than the one which sells to only 100, because it buys more at a lower price. Such is the great advantage of the monopoly or trust over the small business. Of course, the trusts are robbing the people because they have the ability to raise prices at will. But they are the most efficient institution for producing and marketing goods and services yet devised.

What is true of transportation within cities is also true of transportation between cities. No sane business promoter would think of advising anyone to invest in an enterprise to construct a railroad to compete with the great Pennsylvania, or Grand Central railway systems. Such a venture by people of color for people of color, in the circles of experienced and intelligent business men, would only be regarded as a joke. Obviously, from a business point of view, such aforementioned undertakings are unsound. If they are unsound business enterprises, by what stretch of the imagination and race patriotism could they be justified as a phase of the solution of the Negro problem? Certainly, an intelligent person would not advocate an admittedly unscientific and inefficient plan of action in industry, business or finance, on the highly questionable grounds, that Negroes should have such an enterprise of their own and for their own. *For, palpably, no benefits can flow to a people from the adoption of a program which the collective intelligence of society has discarded.* Again while it is sometimes true that one profits from failures; it is also true that one may be destroyed by failures. Nor is it sufficient to counter with the argument that one must go through certain experiences in order to learn. *There is abundant evidence to show that experience is the most expensive and inconvenient method of acquiring knowledge.* No one will contend that it is necessary to take bichloride of mercury in order to ascertain whether it will really cause death or not. The purpose of scientific research is to place, at the convenience of society, a body of knowledge which will make it unnecessary for every one to go through the same painful and protracted process of discovering and organizing the same.

The accumulated knowledge of business economics, if consulted, would convince anyone of the folly today, of trying to build a new business with limited capital and limited brains, in a highly trustified field such as the railroad and shipping industries.

In the "Annalist" of August 15th, 1921, S. G. Riggs, writing on the subject "Past Experience Gives Shipping a Gloomy Outlook," says, "that only one-fourth of the Governments ships are in operation, and there is about 33 per cent of the tonnage tied up

in the world." He further makes this significant statement: "On June 30, 1914, there were 45.4 million gross tons of steamers in the world; today there are close to 54.8 million tons, a 20 per cent increase. On the other hand, the quantity of cargo moving is one-fourth less than in 1913, as has been proved by a compilation of imports and exports of twenty leading countries. A number of fine crafts are being laid up and many more will have to follow, for at the figures at present ruling many voyages do not pay actual outgoing expenses, leaving nothing for interest and depreciation. [A citation of editorials during the years from 1897 to 1900 which he uses as typical of editorials of the shipping journals today.]"

In conclusion, he says, "that shipping is facing a long, severe depression with little chance of an upward movement for years."

Such is the sober opinion of an expert of the shipping business.

In other words, today great shipping interests backed up with unlimited capital, with fleets of ships, (not makeshifts nor apologies) are hard put to it to make ends meet, on account of the supply of ships being greater than the demand. It is safe to say that no expert in the shipping business would advise even one with unlimited capital and skilled operators, to begin a brand new shipping business today, or to continue one if it is possible to stop without incurring a greater loss than by continuing.

In view of the foregoing facts, it is difficult to understand how any group of alleged intelligent and honest Negroes can continue to hold out the hope to well-meaning but misguided Negroes that they will build a great fleet of ships, plying between America, the West Indies and Africa, carrying Negroes and their cargo.

The shipping business is controlled by a Shipping Trust.

It is about as possible and necessary to maintain a fleet of ships for *Negroes only*, as it is to build and maintain a railroad alongside that of the Pennsylvania railroad for *Negroes only*.

This is the excuse for the Black Star Line according to Mr. Garvey, as reported in the Negro World of Aug. 20, 1920:

"You know of the insults heaped upon Negro passengers on the steamships of other lines when those Negroes were able to secure passage on them. You know of the weeks and months they have been compelled to wait to secure passages from one place to another. The Black Star Line aims to remedy all this, but we must have ships, more and bigger ships."

It might not be unkind to ask how many Negroes do or can make use of ocean travel?

Now as to the matter of empire.

First, what is the status of Africa today?

According to the International Relations Series, edited by G. Lowes Dickinson, the area of Africa is about 11,500,000 square miles, and its population about 170 millions. "By 1914 the whole continent, with the exception of Abyssinia (350,000 square miles and eight millions population) and Liberia (area 40,000 square miles, population two millions), had been subjected to the control and government of European states," writes Dickinson. The following figures show what shares the various States took in this partition:

	Area	Population
France	4,200,000	25,000,000
Britain	3,300,000	35,000,000
*Germany.....	1,100,000	12,000,000
Belgium	900,000	7,000,000
Portugal	800,000	8,000,000
Italy	600,000	1,000,000
Spain	750,000	200,000

*(Now in the hands of Great Britain)

The foregoing figures will indicate just how much vacant, available territory exists in Africa today.

Since, then, there is no unclaimed land in Africa, the logical question to ask is: how does one expect to build an empire there?

Here again, we will let the chief spokesman of Gareyism speak. Says he, on August 20, 1921, according to the Negro World, its official organ:

"It falls to your lot to tear off the shackles that bind Mother Africa. Can you do it? (Cries of 'Yes! Yes!' You did it in the Revolutionary War; you did it in the Civil War; you did it in the Battle of the Marne; you did it at Verdun; you did it in Mesopotamia; you did it in Togoland, in German East Africa, and you can do it marching up the battle heights of Africa.")

At this point it will be logical and sane to examine the relative power of the forces that control Africa and of those that propose conquering it, in order to ascertain the folly or wisdom of the enterprise.

The aforementioned powers are equipped with big dreadnoughts, submarines, aeroplanes and great armies. In modern warfare Lewisite Gas is said to be capable of destroying entire cities. Aeroplanes have been built that can carry a half-ton gas bomb. Modern artillery was instrumental in producing a deathlist in the great world war of nearly 10,000,000, together with nearly 30,000,000 wounded. The imperialists nation in Africa control all of the death-dealing engines of power.

The very fact that the great European powers have fought to conquer Africa, is pretty good evidence that they don't intend surrendering it to the cry of "Africa for the Africans." Thus, it means war to the death against the formidable armies and navies of the great powers in Africa. The Garvey forces haven't a single fighting craft. They have no military organization; no military or naval leadership. How then can Negroes conquer Africa? Someone says, "We will take the arms from the white man." This, I submit, is not the most reassuring and delightful task.

But, it is apparently understood that the Negroes' conquering Africa is a mere dream. For proclaims the leader:

"All of us might not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African empire so strong and powerful, as to compel the respect of all mankind, but we in our lifetime can so work and so act, as to make the dream a possibility within another generation."

Loss of hope appears in the distance.

A word about the value of Gareyism to Negroes today. It has done some splendid things. It has inculcated into the minds of Negroes the need and value of organization. It has also demonstrated the ability of Negroes to come together in large masses under Negro leadership. Of course, the A. M. E. Church has done as much; so have the Negro Secret

Orders. Garveyism, also, has conducted wholesome, vital, necessary and effective criticism on Negro leadership. It has stimulated the pride of Negroes in Negro history and traditions, thereby helping to break down the slave psychology which throttles and strangles Negro initiative, self-assertiveness, ambition, courage, independence, etc. It has further stiffened the Negroes' backbone to resist the encroachments and insults of white people. Again, it has emphasized the international character of the Negro problem. As a propaganda organization, at one period of its history, it was highly useful in awakening Negro consciousness to the demand of the times.

But its business-operations, as exposed by Dr. Du Bois, to which I have not as yet seen a convincing reply, have not been conceived altogether in harmony with approved, modern business economics. That Negroes should develop business enterprises is correct. To this there can be no intelligent objection. But the kind, at certain times, seems to me to be highly material. Also, that Garveyism has stimulated Negro business initiative, no fair-minded person will gainsay.

But the crux of Garveyism is the redemption of Africa, the building of an African Empire. This can not be defended as an immediate program of the Negro, in the light of modern world politics. The slogan "Africa for the Africans" no Negro, or for that matter liberal white man, will oppose; but "back to Africa" for the conquest of Africa is a different song.

The white mobocratic South, with its Tom Watsons, Cole Bleases, and John Williamises could not wish for a better ally than Garveyism, at this time. How is that, you ask?

It has been a recognized form of strategy of the ruling class in every country that whenever the discontent of the working people became a menace to them (the ruling class) that they (the ruling class) either started a war of aggression or invited a war of invasion. This was done to divert the attention of the masses from the causes of their poverty and misery at home to some imaginary foreign enemy. Witness the old Nobility of Russia today urging an invasion of their own country by foreign powers. During the Revolution in France 1789 to 1793, the old Feudal aristocracy invited the invasion of France by foreign nations.

In America, the problem of the Negro is a labor problem. Negroes constitute a laboring element. Unrest is widespread among them, even in the South. Radical white labor groups are reported to be calling to them. Washington, Chicago, Arkansas and Tulsa race riots show that Negroes are discontented and are ready to strike back. The increasing demand of Negroes for the abolition of the jim-crow car, disfranchisement, lynching; the insistence of a small minority for every right, even social equality; the trend of Negroes into labor unions; the activities of Negroes in the Socialist movement—all indicate the birth of a new consciousness.

Now to divert the Negroes' mind away from these fundamental problems is to weaken them and strengthen the Bourbon forces of the Negro-hating South and the exploiting capitalists of America.

This is why there is no opposition to the demonstrations of Garveyism, either in parades or public mass meetings in the Armory or Madison Square Garden.

Negro Socialists, on the other hand, are thwarted in their every attempt to conduct public educational meetings, and parades would be out of the question. The cry would go up: Anarchists, they want to overthrow the government by violence! Such is the smoke screen used to suffocate real radicalism.

The whites in America don't take Garveyism seriously. They dub Garvey a "Moses of the Negro" in order to get Negroes to follow him, which will wear them away from any truly radical economic program. They know that the achievement of his program, the redemption of Africa is unattainable, but it serves the purpose of engaging the Negroes' brains, energy and funds in a highly nebulous, futile and doubtful movement so far as beneficial results to Negroes are concerned.

Think of the solution of Garveyism for the present wave of unemployment!

Says Mr. Garvey in a recent speech, according to the Negro World:

"If you are employed by white men and they choose to dismiss you because of color tell him, 'Brother, you remember the last war; all right, another one may come.' That is your trump card. You are not begging for jobs; you demand jobs because you made it possible for them to live in peace (Cheers), otherwise the Germans would have been at their door. You have a fair exchange for the money that is given to you. Let them know this: that your future service depends upon their present good treatment."

This is doubtless a rejoinder to the charge brought against the movement, viz., that when Negroes applied at certain business, or industrial plants for work, they were told to go to Mr. Garvey, the Negro King.

While it is absurd to charge Garvey with the plight of the Negro in the country today; yet what individual with the slightest conception of industrial problems, would accept the foregoing statement of Mr. Garvey as a remedy for the Negroes' unemployment? It is not only childish, but it accentuates, and complicates the Negroes' difficulties by making the question of unemployment an issue as between white and black men, when, in fact, it is a product of the capitalist system which brings about overproduction at certain cycles, and consequent unemployment of workers regardless of race, creed, nationality or color. *In very truth, a strikingly anti-white man doctrine is both unsound and dangerous. For it is false to assume that all white men are agreed upon a program of opposition to Negroes.* The dominant groups in America, as in other parts of the world, are class groups. All white men are not in harmony with respect to human action and human institutions. The Great World War demonstrated that. Debs in jail is also proof as strong as "holy writ." Strikes and lock-outs on the industrial field indicate a difference of class interests within the same race. Also the fights between Negro tenants and Negro landlords show that even Negroes may have different interests. In fact, the interests of a Negro tenant and white tenant are more in common than the interests between

white tenants and white landlords or Negro tenants and Negro landlords.

Thus, Garveyism broadens the chasm between the black and white workers, and can only result in the creation of more race hatred which will periodically flare up into race riots.

However, with the elimination of the African program, the "Negro First" doctrine, the Black Star Line, the existing organization of Garveyism may be directed into some useful channel.

The Negro public is facing so serious a period that it should demand that the different schools of Negro thought come before it and present their programs. The programs should be examined and criticized by the Negro public so that it might accept or reject according to the merits or demerits of the different schools.

It was, indeed, astounding to read the following part of a resolution adopted on the Pan-African Congress meeting in Paris, at a public meeting of the U. N. I. A.:

"That we believe the motives of the congress are to undermine the true feeling and sentiment of the Negro race for complete freedom in their own spheres and for a higher social order among themselves, as against a desire among a certain class of Negroes for social contact, comradeship and companionship with the white race.

"We further repudiate the congress because we sincerely feel that the white race, like the black and

yellow races, should maintain the purity of self, and that the congress is nothing more than an effort to encourage race suicide by the admixture of two opposite races.

"That the said W. E. B. DuBois and his associates, who called the congress, are making an issue of social equality with the white race for their own selfish purposes and not for the advancement of the Negro race."

Now, certainly, no one will accuse the MESSENGER of any bias in favor of Dr. Du Bois. But here the Negro is faced with the rejection of a principle which has been the ardent hope of the South since Reconstruction—the principle of social equality. Can Negroes accept the stigma of inferiority upon the pretext of keeping the stock pure? By the way, no anthropologist, worthy of the name, would advocate the purity of ethnic groups by preventing miscegenation.

Further, to reject and condemn a principle on the ground that some one is using it to selfish ends, is as sensible as it would be to oppose the teaching of writing to Negro youth, because it has been used for forgery or that those who lynch Negroes use it. The issue is the value of an instrument for the achievement of certain ends. To reject social equality is to accept the jim-crow car, disfranchisement, lynching, etc. Without social equality the Negro will ever remain a political and economic serf.

Garveyism is spiritual; the need now, however, is a Negro renaissance in scientific thought.

Open Forum

A MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE

By WALTER T. NEF

TO Whom It May Concern:—

I wish to bring to the attention of the people who may be interested in the matter of getting a square deal, the following facts:

Will state that I was indicted September 28, 1917, in connection with the I. W. W. case, and was on trial before Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, at Chicago, from April 1, 1918, to August 17, 1918, and found guilty along with ninety-nine other defendants on a charge of obstructing and trying to obstruct the United States of America in its war program and military service law.

Will briefly review my case in this connection:

I have been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World for ten years, which is no crime. Nor is it a crime to take an active part in its program for Industrial Democracy; that is, democracy in industry as well as exists in the government politically.

The Industrial Workers of the World are against all wars, and they have so stated their position at the last National Convention at Chicago, Ill., November, 1916, when a resolution was passed favoring a gen-

eral strike as a remedy against war. Similar resolutions were passed by the United Mine Workers of America in 1914, or 1915, and by the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore, Md., during 1916. Many A. F. of L. bodies passed resolutions along the same lines. All this occurred before war was declared and before even a state of war existed between the United States and Germany.

The resolution of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, at which I was present as a delegate, was passed on a principle in contrast to the position of the Socialists at the International Congress of Socialists, refusing to go on a general strike in the belligerent countries or monarchies trying to start war. The general strike of the workers as a method of preventing war was declared by the socialists of Germany at the respective congresses of Copenhagen and Basel.

Honorable Judge K. M. Landis stated to all defendants before sentence was passed, that we had the right to pass resolutions and even prepare a method

of preventing going to war in times of peace, so the above is no crime.

The convention of the Industrial Workers of the World adopted a new and better method of organizing the workers into Industrial Unions, embracing an entire industry, which is more up-to-date and in line with modern production than local unions or localism. The tendency of modern production is for uniformity in an industry over the whole country, therefore the workers should be organized into an industrial union embracing the entire industry. Manufacturers of timber are organized together over the country to regulate the marketing of lumber and production of lumber. They also are trying to regulate the wages for the workers; that is, maximum wages. So the workers are of necessity forced to do the same—to organize on a national or industrial basis rather than local plant of an industry.

This was adopted by the convention of the I.W.W. in November, 1916, and the General Executive Board sent out organizers to organize the locals in an industry into an industrial union embracing the whole of the industry, consolidating local unions into an industrial union for the purpose of unifying conditions in the particular industry for the benefit of all the workers in the industry.

The Agricultural Workers' Organization of the I. W. W., which was organized in Kansas City in 1915, and grew to an organization of 220,000 in 1916, paved the way for the new form of organization and gave us the lesson that we had to organize on broader lines than heretofore in order to bring about closer co-operation in an industry.

The Agricultural Workers' Organization, No. 400, of the Industrial Workers of the World, had embraced the lumber workers, as the Agricultural department of the I. W. W. is composed of all farming, forresting, fisheries and anything that is living or cultivative. The Department is to be composed of three sub-departments: 1. Agriculture; farming. 2. Lumbering. 3. Fisheries.

The Agricultural Workers' Organization, No. 400, had, as I stated before, 22,000 members at the end of 1916, of which a good part were lumber workers. In order that the lumber workers could better regulate the affairs in the lumber industry, Industrial Union of Lumber Workers, No. 500, of the I. W. W., was organized, which was in line with the new method of organization.

At the November convention of the Industrial Workers of the World the Marine Transport Workers' Locals asked for organizers and the convention decided in favor of sending organizers as soon as possible. There were already locals in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, New Orleans, Boston and Providence, but with no central office of the industry. With this end in view I was asked by the newly elected General Executive Board to try and organize the workers engaged in Marine Transportation into an industrial union on the Atlantic.

I had agreed and left about the middle of December, 1916, for the East with the above object and arrived in Philadelphia and established an office for the purpose of getting the workers together for better living conditions in the marine industry principally.

On February 22, 1917, a convention took place in

New York of delegates from locals of the I. W. W., of seamen and firemen, and it was agreed to get together in the new proposed form of organization. At that convention I was retained as secretary-treasurer pro tem, for the new form of organization until a general convention would be called.

There was no war resolution adopted nor proposed at this convention of Seamen and Firemen of the I. W. W., nor even a remark made by any delegate for one. The minutes of this convention were published in a bulletin and sent to all branches on the Atlantic coast and copies should be on hand at the Federal Building, in the office of the Department of Justice, among the Bulletins of M. T. W. No. 100, or in the miscellaneous file.

The next point I wish to make is that the I. W. W. on the Atlantic refused even to associate themselves with anti-conscription propaganda, and as far as I know there were no slackers among the I. W. W. although there were a great many people arrested for being slackers.

The papers, "Industrial Worker," and "Solidarity" were distributed among the longshoremen and seamen of the I. W. W. at the hall and there were no slackers among these workers that I know of. The slackers in Philadelphia were from the uptown part of the city where no "Industrial Worker" or "Solidarity" ever got to.

There were no raids on the I. W. W. halls or offices in Philadelphia, although other places were raided for anti-war literature and men arrested for circulating same, and those arrested were not members of the I. W. W.

I was asked by several individuals to take part in the anti-conscription meetings and refused to have anything to do with it, and urged all members I came in contact with to do the same. All members registered on June 5, 1917, except those who came on ships after the fifth and these firemen and seamen registered under the military service law when they came into port. I have not resisted or urged any member to resist the draft, and so I cannot understand why I should have been declared guilty of this crime. Nor did I solicit funds for any slackers.

A circular letter was sent to the M. T. W. office from Seattle for an opinion on a general strike in June and I personally wrote a letter, a copy of which is on file in the Federal Building, Chicago, discouraging it and declaiming it as suicide for the organization. The reply was addressed to Henry Wilson, I think, or some one. The letter or copy of it is in the miscellaneous file and can be found. So much against any general strike of all industries.

Regarding war, there is a letter from Ray Fanning to me, written in March, and my reply written on April 3, before the declaration of war, stating that the I. W. W. as an organization was opposed to all war but that we could not stop this war as the workers were not organized in this country nor any other country—meaning that the workers would have to be organized in all countries before a war could be stopped. The French workers tried to get the German workers to co-operate to prevent the war in 1914, but they had refused and Jean Jaures was shot before war was declared for trying to prevent war.

(To be continued)

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The MESSENGER is of exceptionally high standard. That it marks the entrance of the Negro problem upon a wholly new period of development, is not altogether unlikely.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* * *

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* * *

A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths, and have a *brilliant mouthpiece* in the MESSENGER.

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* * *

We rely upon the MESSENGER for light on the Negro question.

P. FONTANA.

French Minister of Education.

* * *

I've been intending to write you for some months expressing my appreciation of the thoughtful and vigorous work you are doing and of the help I have derived from your paper in understanding the Negro and his problems.

Part of a letter from PROF. WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, of the University of Wisconsin.

* * *

The MESSENGER is a very excellent publication, with splendid articles on general political and economic problems written by able journalists.

NEW YORK JEWISH DAILY FORWARD.

I want to express to you my pleasure at the publication of a magazine, edited by colored men, that makes its cornerstone the solidarity of labor, and the absolute need of the Negro's recognizing this solidarity.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

* * *

The editors have a thorough knowledge of the economic history of the United States. Some of the best studies in economic history have appeared in the MESSENGER, studies that are worthy of a wider reception among white workers as well as among Negroes.

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* * *

You both write clearly, forcefully, in diction that is fine, and with ample knowledge and grasp of your theme. One may dispute your opinions, but not criticize with much success your presentation.

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* * *

The work which the MESSENGER is doing is vital.

SCOTT NEARING.

* * *

May the MESSENGER continue the noble work it has undertaken to enlighten the colored worker in this country upon his being exploited by the master class.

PETER MONAT,

Secretary-Treasurer,

New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

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It is edited by two as well read, well educated and competent Negroes as there are in the United States.

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* * *

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* * *

I am all admiration of the unique style and high standard of your magazine. Every Negro who appreciates clean journalism should be proud of it.

CLAUDE MCKAY.