

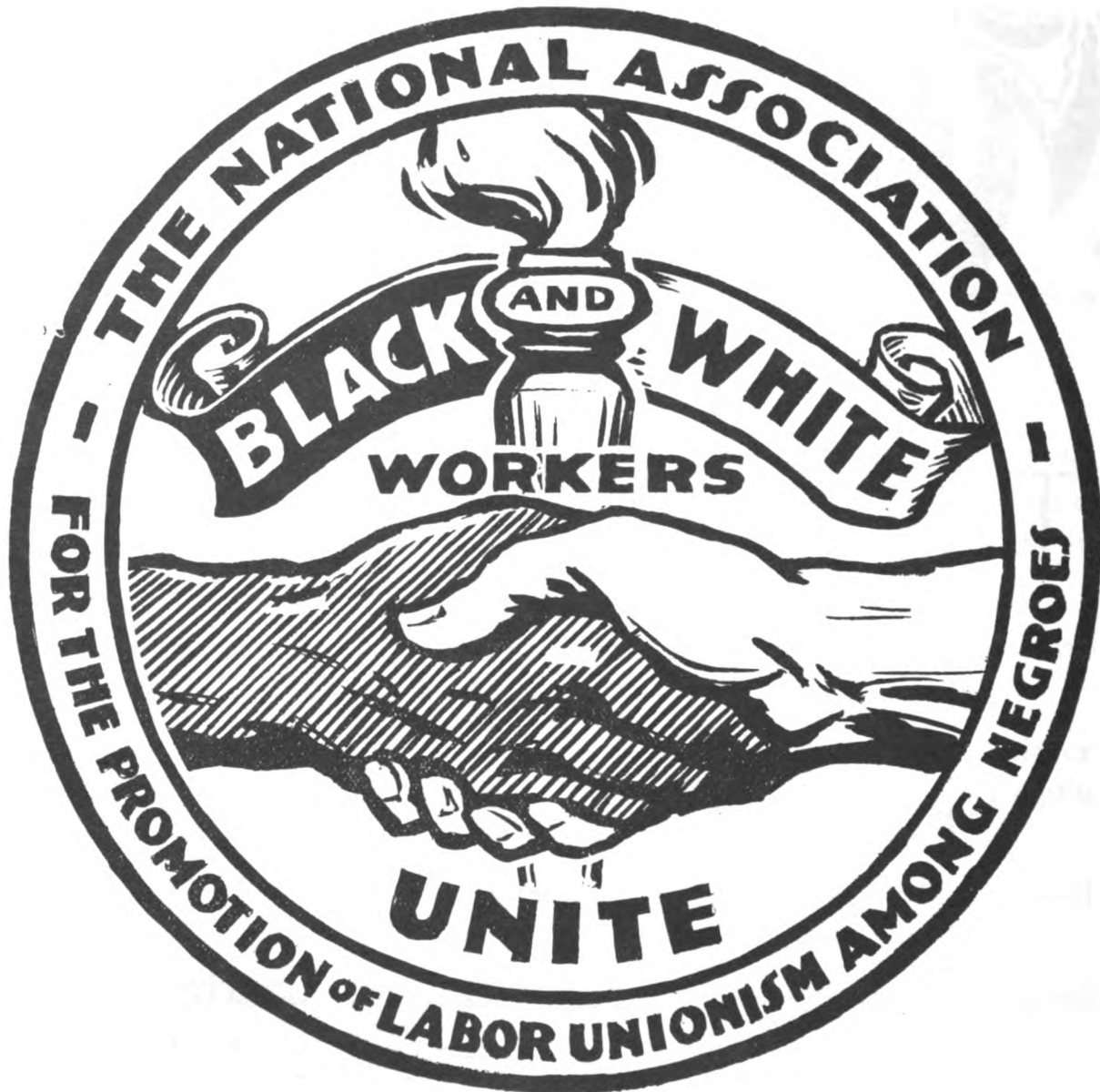
The Garvey Movement—Promise or Menace?

Should Negroes Be Socialists?

Economic Interpretation of Leadership

The International Debacle

A Negro Party



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Editorials

On account of limited space and pressing current questions we are compelled to defer our installment on the *Invisible Government of Negro Institutions* to the next issue.

HAITI .

FROM all accounts it seems that the National City Bank of New York is the government of Haiti. James Weldon Johnson is running in the *Nation* a series of articles which are illuminating in regard to the conditions of Haiti. The *Nation* is well worth reading at all times and we wish our readers would follow this entire series as a means of getting better acquainted with that journal. Send for the cost of the series of articles by writing the *Nation Publishing Co., 20 Vesey St., New York City.*

DEMO-PUBLICANS

THE Democrats and Republicans have fused in all New York districts where the Socialists bid fair to sweep in. "*Where interests are common alliances are advantageous.*" The two old parties are just wings of the same fowl (foul) bird. The fight is rapidly narrowing down to a contest between the *Socialists* and the *Demo-Publicans*. The emblem of the *Demo-Publicans* is the head of a donkey linked to the tail of an elephant—as much brains in the one extremity as in the other.

LABOR-PARTY AND THE NEGRO

WE wish to announce that the Farmer-Labor Party took a straight, unequivocal stand on the Negro question. At our last writing we did not have a platform and were uncertain what was done. We are glad to be able to correct the erroneous opinion conveyed in our last issue.

HARDING, COX, DEBS AND CHRISTENSEN

HARDING, Cox, Debs and Christensen are the candidates of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties, respectively. The first two, Harding and Cox, are two manikins manipulated by the same ventriloquist—Wall Street. They stand for the same joke. They are simply carrying on a sham battle. One says it is; the other says it isn't. Both agree that labor wants too much. Both agree on giving the Negro the same thing—nothing. Debs is the *Heart* of the campaign. He represents the hope of the oppressed of all races and classes. He is the spokesman of the disinherited. He will poll nearly five million votes. He will awaken America. Christensen is the liberal candidate. He

represents less than Debs but more than Harding and Cox. He will not receive many votes, for he is unknown, and the Farmer-Labor Party is weak.

GENERAL WRANGEL

IT seems that the Bolsheviki have turned on General Wrangel and the immediate result has been to put his army in a *general wrangle*. We knew this would be done in due time. We would advise wily Lloyd George, the imperialistic Millerand, and the vacillating Woodrow Wilson to begin to pick another horse on which to place their money. General Wrangel can do them but little more good because the Russians have him in a *general wrangle* and in the inextricable Gordian knot of a military tangle.

SICK PRESIDENTS

THE sick man of Europe joins hands with the sick man of America. Both Presidents of two great Republics (?)—France and America—are sick. Deschanel of France and Woodrow Wilson of the United States are sick. Some say in mind and body, but we *know* about the mind. Deschanel has lost France's loans to the Czar of Russia while Wilson has lost his dear League of Nations, sometimes known as the *Plague of Dam-nations* or the "League of Nations." It's enough to make anybody sick.

THE NEW YORK CALL DEFEATS BURLESON

BRAVO! The *New York Call*, the organ of the workers, black and white, has put Burleson to shame. Judge Hitz's decision was a stinging rebuke to the stone-age policies of this thought autocrat. And yet, he is so devoid of the power of rational cerebration, that he announces his intention to repeal the decision. However, it can be relied upon that the Supreme Court of the United States will uphold Judge Hitz's decision. This has set a good precedent for the MESSENGER which is the only *Negro publication that has ever been denied, and is still being denied second-class mailing privileges in America.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

AT last Woman Suffrage has been achieved. And a Southern State was the one to give the final vote. But very recently it attempted to revoke its decision. So backward and unprogressive is the South that it cannot stand to move forward, and when it does, it moves back to its old stand of reaction. Now Negro women have the right to vote everywhere. Let us hope that they will not follow in the footsteps of the Negro men who have been voted like cattle by wicked, ignorant and corrupt Negro and white Republican ward heelers. Negro women must realize that Republicans and Democrats represent their enemies—the exploiting landlords and employers.

COOPERATION

THE cooperative movement is the solvent key to the high cost of living. It eliminates the middle men. The principle of cooperation is the only immediate remedy for profiteering under the existing system of capitalism. Gigantic businesses have been built up in Europe on this plan. Recently, in the clothing trade, the Cutters of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, have opened up a cooperative tailoring establishment which is saving the workers money, and, at the same time, organizing the economic power of the workers at the point of consumption. This ought to be a good example to the workers everywhere. By cooperative buying, it is estimated that the average housewife could save from 20 to 25 per cent. In the coming months, when a panic strikes the country, the workers, with starvation wages will not be able to tide over without the help of cooperation. It is the one kind of cooperation which should interest Negroes, for they get low wages, and the high cost of living hits them hardest.

THE WINTER'S HOUSING CRISIS

THE winter is almost here. Houses are few. Rent is high. Landlords are waxing fat. Tenants are growing lean. This condition is not local; it is countrywide. But there is no national policy on housing. The government cares nothing about the welfare of its citizens, that is, its working class citizens. Their rights are chiefly, the right to starve; to be jailed when they strike for a living wage; to be dispossessed; to freeze to death; to fight wars for the coal, oil, cotton, iron and land kings of the Christian countries. This has been the case in all times. The rulers have always disregarded the rights of the people. Just before the French Revolution, when the people called for bread, Louis the XVI told them to go eat grass, and it was not long before he was lying beneath the grass, unwept, unhonored and unsung. Today, old rich women are organizing for the protection of dumb animals. Dogs are provided with diamond collars, and automobiles have their garages, but a common, ordinary workingman has nowhere to lay his head. And yet, when the 100 per cent Americans want to use the workers as cannon fodder, they rant about patriotism. The workers have no land if they own no land. Not until the government takes over the land will the people get houses. Meanwhile, the city and state ought to build houses and rent them to the people at cost.

HARRY SMITH OF OHIO GETS 61,000 NEGRO VOTES

THE Negro press has made much ado about nothing. Harry Smith of Ohio has received 61,000 Negro votes. What of it? That's nothing to history for the Negro. It will demonstrate the attitude of A. Philip Randolph, candidate for Controller on the Socialist ticket of the State of New York, will get. Randolph will poll 5 votes to every 1 vote received by Smith. Besides the large majority of the votes will come from white men and women. We predict that for the first time in the history of America, a Negro will poll over a quarter of a million (250,000) votes. This will make new political

tude of Socialist white men and women to a Negro running for the fourth highest office of the greatest state in the world. It will also drive the Republican and Democratic parties to make more and larger concessions to the Negro, because it will indicate unrest.

IRELAND AND LORD MAYOR MACSWINEY

LORD Mayor MacSwiney of Cork is dying in the Brixton prison. Ireland is in the clutches of civil war. Lloyd George is silent. Troops rule Belfast, and martial law is declared. England seems to be hopelessly incompetent to solve the Irish problem. Even British labor has no effective remedy. Sinn Feiners say, if MacSwiney dies, they will charge Lloyd George with his murder. Unquestionably it will not make the solution of the Irish problem easier. But the Irish have resolved, and justly too, that Ireland must be free. At the port of New York, the Irish longshoremen struck against loading a British ship as a protest against the British attitude to Ireland. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the Negroes struck with them. Long live the solidarity of labor! Only labor can free Ireland.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

THE war is over, but the political prisoners are not yet free. They are still languishing in dungeons of dirt, disease and death because they dared to express opinions with which the profiteers and *payrioteers* disagreed. Every other country has released its political prisoners, except America. When will the workers resolve to release political prisoners? There is no use pleading with Wilson. He put them there, but the workers must take them out. Besides, the workers must stop building prisons, because nobody is put into them but the workers themselves. Think of Debs being in prison for saying the very same thing which Woodrow Wilson said, and the latter is in the White House. Such is the decree of our "even handed justice."

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE DECIDES THAT NO NEGRO SHALL ADDRESS WHITE AUDIENCES

THIS was to be expected. The yellow hill billies of the South are moulding the policy of the Republican Party on the Negro. The capitalist North, East and West are silent, because it is not *politic* to interfere. In the Socialist Party the editors of the MESSENGER, Owen and Randolph, are engaged to speak chiefly to white audiences. Socialist speakers are selected upon a basis of ability, not of color or race. What have the hat-in-hand, me-to-Negro Republicans to say to this slap in the face?

RAND SCHOOL

THE Rand School of New York has instituted a correspondence course in Cooperation for the coming school session. This is one of the most important measures which the people can learn. It strikes directly at the high cost of living. Thousands of our readers ought to avail themselves of this information immediately. Write the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, and secure particulars.

INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

THE Interchurch Committee has at last made its report on the steel strike. It is one of the best jobs the church has done in many years. Later we shall review the report for our readers. It has done much to resuscitate the rapidly dying respect for the church about which most thinkers are skeptical at best. We wonder how many Negro ministers have read this report.

SUBSCRIBERS

WITHIN the last months we have had a few complaints about subscriptions. Frequently we have referred to the files immediately and found the correct name and address. Sometimes, however, we have no record of the subscription. We want to urge all persons who have subscribed and not gotten their magazines to write their complaints directly to this office. Sometimes a name may be missed by accident and sometimes the local postoffice is at fault.

Again let us urge all readers to try the three month's 40 cents trial subscription to the MESSENGER. Next month's issue will be the Debs' number. Unless you get your order in early, you may not be able to get copies at all. Send at once, 40 cents for three months, or \$1.50 for one year, to the MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., 2305 Seventh Ave., New York City.

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NEGROES AND IRISH

A FEW days ago 250 Negro longshoremen in New York struck for Irish freedom and for the release of Mayor McSwiney of Cork, who was dying. This is a high sense and a desirable sense of racial and class solidarity. Later on, Negroes will be having their Irish brothers strike for Negro freedom. Who knows?

RUMORS

RUMORS are in the air. It has been rumored that the MESSENGER was going to suspend. We, however, knew nothing about it, *though far on the inside*. Persons tell us that they regarded the rumors authentic because they got their information from the inside of the firm. Capital is not asleep. It is using every effort to destroy the dissemination of radicalism among Negroes, as well as among

whites. Only recently spies have been discovered in the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council of Seattle, in the office of the Butte, Montana, Bulletin, the Revolutionary Age and other radical publications. The MESSENGER could not hope to be an exception.

But the appearance of the MESSENGER is its answer. For the benefit of our friends and enemies we wish to state that neither treachery from within nor opposition from without can destroy this magazine. Even the government, through the use of Burleson of the Post Office and Attorney General Palmer of the Department of Justice, has not succeeded in crushing us, so certainly no plots, conspiracies or intrigues of Negroes can do it. The MESSENGER will be published as long as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen—or either of them—is living. Rumors are unreliable and this latest one is no exception. The wish was father to the thought, and opinions based upon desire are not trustworthy.

BRITISH LABOR COUNCIL OF ACTION

THE Polish-Russian conflict has created a situation quite similar to the anxious days of 1914 just prior to the Great World War. Again we find ourselves on the polemic precipice. Without doubt, at this very moment, England, France, the United States, Japan and practically all countries which participated in the Great World War, would now be actively engaged in the present conflict were it not for *Labor*.

As soon, however, as British labor noticed symptoms of another imminent world catastrophe with its train of suffering and misery, the various labor unions of all shades of opinions and ideas—conservative, liberal and radical—immediately called a convention which elected and formed what is known as the Labor Council of Action, composed of responsible labor representatives. Its duties are to keep in constant touch with all diplomatic and military movements which tend toward war against Russia, and upon the discovery that Great Britain is entering or about to enter such a war, to call a general strike which shall permeate every nook and corner of Great Britain. To prevent Britain from entering this war against Russia, the Labor Council of Action will paralyze the entire national industry. It will see that labor does not make or move an ounce of ammunition and not a cent will be given by labor for the prosecution of the war.

This Council of Action of Great Britain represents a new political-science invention. It marks the active entrance of labor into national and world diplomacy. It is an example which ought to be followed by American Labor were it not so narrow, backward and reactionary. Instead of an American Labor Council of Action, however, we have the chief labor movement of the country pledging its support to war on Russia—a national and international disgrace to labor solidarity.

If in 1914, every country of Europe had had a labor Council of Action, the Great World War would have died still-born in the imperialistic womb of world capitalism.

RAILROAD RATE INCREASE

RAILROAD highwaymen have held up the people. The Railroad Bourbons control the circulatory system of the nation. The railroads are as essential to the life blood of the nation as the blood vessels, veins and arteries are to the life blood of the human body. The one carries the food, clothing and fuel upon which the other subsists. In raising freight rates 40 per cent, passenger rates 20 per cent, and pullman rates 50 per cent — the railroad plutocrats have placed an embargo on the people. The people can neither come nor go. They must stay where they are, and the prices of freight being so high, it is next to impossible to get food, fuel and other supplies to them. This stops the mobility of labor, checks the migration of Negroes; in short, prevents freedom of movement almost as effectually as if a law had been enacted and enforced to that effect. It raises again the question of slavery. In chattel slavery the slave could not move from place to place without the consent of the master. In feudalism the serfs were bound to the soil, subject to the wishes of the feudal barons and lords. But names are not material. 'Tis the substance that counts. So long as a great basic industry like the railroads of the United States is controlled and owned by private individuals, the people will be slaves to that industry, at least. And when all other industries are dependent upon that one, for the toiling masses returning serfdom looms in the near distance.

LABOR AND THE MOVIES

IT is said that fifty million persons attend the movie shows each week. Every field is utilizing this graphic form of presentation. Religion, politics, science, are all reaching the public by way of the screen. One may not feel like reading but he may listen to the music and look at the picture. Herein lies the facility and ease of this medium of communication.

Civilization was a powerful anti-militaristic and pro-Wilson reelection picture. *The Birth of A Nation* was a vicious race-prejudice-breeding production. Picture after picture has misrepresented Soviet Russia. But all of these pictures were expressing what the owners desired to express.

From this labor must take a tip. In order to get the truth about labor before the public, labor must own its film companies. Just as the owners of the press determine what is expressed in the press, so the owners of films determine what is expressed in such films as they control. The Labor Film Service, Inc., has been organized to present life and light on the screens without prejudice or prepossession. Color race and creed shall not be permitted to do injustice to any person or element of society. It is selling shares of stock at \$10.00 per share and we advise any of our readers who are able, to buy at least one share. One day we may see the Labor Film Service present the achievements and struggles of the Negro truly, free from the general buffoonery and stigma which usually are attached to capitalist productions in which the Negro appears.

Write to Labor Film, Inc., 31 Union Square, New York City.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION ENDORSES COX

OF course, it came as no surprise to us that the Gompers' regime endorses Cox. The silly and asinine policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, adopted by Gompers, really results in rewarding enemies and punishing friends. It is, indeed, pathetic and ridiculous that 4,000,000 workers can be deluded, duped, hoodwinked and deceived by an old, outworn, decrepit fossil like Gompers into supporting such a rotten, disgraceful, reactionary, labor-heating administration like Wilson's. It is the same Wilson who gagged Germany at Versailles and robbed her of her independence. It is the same Wilson who was silent while Japan raped China of Shantung. This is the Wilson who played fast and loose with pompous phrases, such as, "we are fighting to make the world safe for democracy," which phrases now stand to indict him, in the words of Trotsky, as the "arch-hypocrite in Christendom." It is the same Wilson who issued injunctions against the strike of the coal miners and threatened the railroad workers. It is the same Wilson who piously prated about the red terror of Soviet Russia, while his own section, the South, with its disgraceful record of lynchings and burnings, stands as a specimen of indescribable infamy and shame. American labor should revolt against Gompers — the Gompers who supports Cox, who as Governor of Ohio signed the unspeakable criminal-syndicalist law which has been used to gag and throttle labor.

THE PACKING INDUSTRY

DESPITE vegetarians to the contrary, men still insist upon meat, and there is a lurking suspicion that there is some value in this meat diet. During the war the demand was specifically made that the soldiers must have meat. In such an emergency as war, no foolishness can be tolerated by the war lords. They want the soldiers to be in the best condition to fight for them. Hence, the demand for meat.

In the United States it is commonly thought that the packing industry controls the meat. It does. But that is not all. It controls along with meat, 775 other food products and commodities according to the Federal Trade Commission.

This industry is second only to the railroads and coal mines in the need of being nationalized. It must be taken out of the hands of Armour, Swift, Cudahy, Wilson and Morris. It is too large and integrated to be in the control of five families. It makes for the worst form of industrial autocracy, constantly giving rise to such social outbreaks as the Chicago riots.

NATIONAL PARADOXES

ON August 7th, the *New York Call* making a partial report of the Baku conference, quoted Das, an Asiatic Socialist of India, as follows:

"As an Asian Das knows that Asia is in subjection because the people of Europe are better armed. His attitude toward the government, is the attitude of Asia today, which is convinced that racial antagonism is harbored by the white race and is as determining a factor as the economic.

"The calling of the Baku conference comes just as the Council of Action is taking form, in England, Das declares.

"Speaking frankly,' he stated, 'I believe that British labor's stand against aid to Poland is a move to save the British empire. It amounts to the support of Lloyd George's policy of coming to an understanding with Russia in Near Eastern matters. It will mean an agreement whereby Russia will have peace, but whereby she will withdraw from the Near East and Asia.'

"We challenge British labor to show real idealism, real internationalism. Why, if it loves justice, why, if it believes a government has a right to its own manner of living, has it not put its Council of Action into action in regard to Ireland, which lies right at its door? It is easy to be idealistic about a country far removed from England, a country which menaces the British empire.'

"Why does not British labor refuse to ship arms and men to Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, India and the Near East? Why has it not been aroused about Ireland, Egypt and India? It uses its economic power for countries outside the British empire. It does not use it for nations within that empire. In fact, Mr. George Lansbury, considered one of the leading English labor radicals, in a conference with Lenine, made definite proposals that British labor would support the recognition of the Soviet Republic by England provided Russia would not carry on an active anti-British policy in the Near East and Asia.'

The present Baku conference and the unity of Asian peoples which it represents, are the result of definite, historical events, according to Das.

Das undoubtedly is making some timely observations which are more fruitful in what they suggest than in what they openly state. We are convinced that this observation is fallacious on the question of race and color being "as determining a factor as the economic." In asking why has not British Labor's Council of Action been put into action in regard to Ireland," Das unwittingly concedes the fallacy of his color argument, for the Irish are white, not colored.

What then is the explanation of British labor's interest in Russia taking precedence to its interest in Ireland, Egypt and India? The sociological explanation would seem to confirm that nearly all people, individually and collectively, suffer from the illusion of the near. They are also victims of their environment. Instances in proof are by no means difficult to marshal. In America we can hardly restrain our poor lachrymal ducts over the wrongs of the Turks upon the Armenians, yet we cannot see 15,000 howling, dervish-dancing, clay eating Texas crackers who gather at a picnic in Waco, Texas, to witness the burning at stake of a fourteen year old Negro boy. President Wilson was shocked at the three class Prussian electoral system, but blind to the 13 class American electoral system whereby one man's vote in Mississippi is worth 13 men's votes in Kansas.

Reforms and revolutions are always popular if they are far enough away. It enables pretenders to get credit for virtues which they do not possess. Again, one gets into the habit of a thing which he constantly

sees, of a condition which continually surrounds him. And habit acts without the conscious attention. We get used to the lynching of Negroes, disfranchising, segregating and maligning them. Even large numbers of Negroes have developed more interest in freedom for Africans than they have in the abolition of the proscriptions and injustices from which they suffer at home.

English workers are either indifferent to or actually prejudiced against Irish, Hindu or Egyptians. American white workers dislike or disregard just demands of Negroes while intensely interested in Ireland and India. Able and broad visioned men like Joseph Schlossberg, James H. Maurer and Nearing have held huge meetings for Indian freedom, while apparently oblivious of the menace which Negro scabs and Republican voters threaten to the American labor movement. Australian workers hate Japanese. Turks hate Armenians. The Russian moujik, ere the rise of the Bolsheviki into power, massacred the Jews. Austrians oppressed Slavs. Germans oppressed the Poles. The Poles oppressed the Lithuanians. Working Frenchmen maintained the imperialism of the Rothschilds while reading on every hand, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*,—the great French national slogan handed down from the Revolution.

It is easy to see the fault in another man's country. By condemning such fault elsewhere you may continue it in your own. You avert suspicion by condemning the thing you are doing yourself.

Capitalism has fostered national conceit to such an extent that the workers do not like to criticize their own masters. It is so comforting to note that someone else has a worse boss. And the lowest servant class group in every country is always bitterly hated by the bourgeois, more highly favored, servant-class. In slavery, the body servant, and the house servant,—faithful trusties—always kept the master informed on recalcitrant slaves. In turn, the master praised and coddled them. So with the enslaved workers of a nation. An appeal on the basis of nationality, race or color is sufficient to divide them until they awaken as they have in Russia. Then there will be no more pogroms, massacres or lynchings of one group of workers by another. And for the master-class Nemesis will be at hand!

THE INTERNATIONAL DEBACLE

THE world war is over, but peace has not yet come. Indeed, the heritage of the great war is civil wars, nationalistic wars, imperialistic wars, revolts and revolutions. The titanic social and economic forces unleashed in 1914 still run riot, uprooting and destroying ancient and historic kingdoms and empires.

What seer would hazard his good name in prognosticating how long the Great British Empire will last? Ireland is seething with revolt, as the life blood of McSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, ebbs away. But this is not all. India, the base of Briton's imperial structure, quakes in the throes of a revolution, while British labor disputes with Parliament the right to rule the country. Labor votes to nationalize the mines, and issues its ultimatum against British arms and men assisting Poland against Soviet Russia. All of this is aggravated by nationalist uprisings in the Middle East.

Revolutionaries under Mizra Kutchuk challenge the right of Lloyd George to rob Persia of her petroleum wells.

And from dispatches that elude the censor, all is not well in France. Already the British Labor Council of Action has attempted to establish a rapprochement with French labor. This struck such terror into the heart of French bankers, that the French Government forthwith deported the British labor delegates from France. In desperation, M. Millerand has struck a blow at the very life of organized labor in France, in seeking to dissolve the General Confederation of Labor—an organization of the nature of the American Federation of Labor. The rulers of France are affrighted by visions of the Guillotine, which like Banquo's ghost, bobs up ever and anon to haunt their every act of oppression of workers at home and abroad.

Italy is insolvent. The Government of Signor Nitti—the strong man of Italy, fell under the burning fire of relentless criticism of the Socialist Party—the party of opposition. Signor Giolitti has risen to power for the nonce. Meanwhile Italian Socialists demand peace and the recognition of Soviet Russia. The workers have seized the metal factories and mines. It is the beginning of the establishment of an Italian Soviet state—a state of the workers, by the workers and for the workers.

Of course, it excites no surprise that the existing bourgeois, democratic government of Germany is riding the storm of hectic and incipient revolutions. It is well nigh a matter of common knowledge to students of world politics that the present government

will not only pass, but that its successor must represent either the right wing of extreme Junker reaction or the left wing of revolution—Communism.

Japan is now in the midst of a panic. Her Stock Exchange has closed down for two or more weeks. Big manufacturers and banks have failed, and the workers are restive and rebellious.

Revolution will act as the receiver of bankrupt Poland. The Soviet Army can be relied upon to supply this receiver. Poland is the last remaining hope of capitalist imperialism. Hence, Great Britain, America and France are struggling frantically to save her.

But, signs of the times indicate that America, France and Great Britain cannot save themselves. For America, though removed from the scenes of revolution, civil wars and revolts, is not at peace. Strikes are pandemic. The high cost of living will shake the country in the coming months. It would have overthrown the Wilson government long ago if it had had any democratic character with which European governments are endowed.

Yes, the world is in chaos. Nothing is normal. Revolutions are in the making everywhere. No government is sure of weathering the gathering storm of workingclass discontent. Only Soviet Russia seems to be gathering strength as the days go by. A new social order is being born within the shell of the old. It is attended with a division of counsel among the master class. England, France, America, Japan and Italy cannot agree on Soviet Russia. How the present state of things confirms the scientific prophecy of Marx: "That Capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction. It is its own grave digger."

Economics and Politics

A Negro Party

POLITICS is the science of government. A government is an instrument of control used by one class for the oppression of other classes. In a democracy a people are theoretical sovereign citizens. They are masters of their fate and captains of their souls. By the simple process of casting a ballot they can order their own destiny. Acting upon this theory many persons who are like-minded organize a party. They work for it, vote for it. Its success is supposed to achieve positive good for them. Men do not engage in politics for negative results. They support a party because through it they hope to gain something definite. A party may be small at first, but its principles are expected to make it larger—a majority. A party that has no hope of becoming a majority has no justification for independent action; for it can never hope to be of positive benefit to its supporters.

The Liberty Party founded by an ex-Tammany Hall spokesman, claims to be "the only Negro political party in the world. This in itself is nothing meri-

torious; one can be the only crook or the only fool in a community.

The new "Negro political party," according to its declaration of principles, is not a racial organization although it intends nominating a Negro for the Presidency. It has the wonderful vision to realize that it is not possible to elect its candidate. Still it justifies its creation upon the accommodating slogan of "Race first."

The great protest of Southern Negroes is their elimination from politics by force and fraud. They are anxious to participate in politics because they realize that those who make laws can decree slavery, or confiscate wealth. Northern Negroes have guarded the franchise as if it were a vestal fire. The Liberty Party, with no possibility of becoming a majority to do positive good, would have Negroes who can vote virtually disfranchise the entire race by voluntarily eliminating themselves from effective, intelligent and practical participation in politics.

If, as its author says, both the Republican and

Democratic parties are enemies of the Negro, the race should be concerned in doing injury to both parties and not to any particular one. Voting for a Negro party would hurt the Republicans and aid their rivals in strength—the Democrats. But Negroes are not interested in aiding the Democrats. They are interested in hurting those who have alternately had the power

but failed to stop lynching, disfranchisement and jim-crowism.

To hurt the Republican and Democratic parties; to kill two birds with one stone; to help put in a "good" party and keep out two "bad" ones, Negroes should vote for the party that is next to them in strength—the Socialist Party. Besides the interests of white Socialists coincide with the interests of Negroes who are above all else—workers.

Should Negroes Be Socialists?

By THE EDITORS

Negro Elective Representation

FOR a long time, the Negro has been begging the Republican Party to give him an opportunity to elect a Representative to Congress, but the Republican Party refused him. In 1917, in the Special Election, John A. Bolles, Candidate for Congress from the 21st Congressional District on the Republican Party's ticket in New York City, went into the courts, and had the petition of Rev. Ransom (a Negro) thrown out and, prevented him from running in the Republican primaries. So Ransom ran independently. This same man, Bolles, a white, reactionary, Republican politician was the opponent of George Frazier Miller, a Negro Socialist candidate for Congress. And the old, wicked and corrupt Republican Party machine supported him.

NOW, WHICH WILL YOU HAVE?

The Socialist Party is the only party which has given the Negro an opportunity to elect one of its race, A. Philip Randolph, co-Editor of the MESSENGER, for the fourth highest office in the great Empire State of the country, New York—as State Comptroller. Of course, the Negro hating, Negro baiting Democratic Party would not think of putting a Negro on its ticket.

Now, who stands for Negro Elective representation or the principle of self-determination, the Republican, Democratic or Socialist Party?

Mr. Negro Voter, you are the judge and you have the facts. Which party are you conscientiously obligated to support?

When Two Negroes Are Running in the Same District

The question has arisen, time and again, as to what Negro voters should do where two Negroes are running for the same office, in the same District. Obviously this is a case where the choice is not to be made as between two races, but a choice which is to be made as between two parties. For the reason that when two parties nominate men of the same race for the same public office, the men, in question, can only benefit their constituents in proportion as the principles of their parties stand for the class to which their constituents belong. To illustrate: If the Republican Party which is supported by the real estate interests, nominates a Negro for the Assembly from a District in which Negroes are largely of the tenant class, who desire low rents, and the best services obtainable, and this Negro is elected to office, and a measure in Legislature intended to abolish the law

of dispossession is raised, the Negro legislator, in question, undoubtedly would oppose this measure. Now, Why? The reason is simply this: A man will not oppose his benefactor. Since the Republican Party is controlled by the Real Estate Interests, and the Real Estate Interests benefit from the "law of dispossession" which gives them the power to eject tenants when they fail to pay their rents promptly, this Negro, who is a nominee on the Republican ticket, could not and would not oppose the "law of dispossession" of which his benefactor—the Republican Party—is the beneficiary. Now today, the Democratic and Republican Parties are both the servants of the property owning class. They obey the dictates of this powerful combination of real estate interests, consequently they cannot, and dare not, attempt to protect the tenants, the class which their masters rob through high rents. Besides a member of a party cannot successfully oppose the policies of his party. The party machine always rules, and when the machine and a member of the machine come in conflict, the machine crushes him. This was amply demonstrated by Roosevelt's failure to buck the Republican machine. He organized a Bull Moose Party; it had more "bull," however, than the principles of progress. And the people saw that the "Bull" was ahead of the Progress, so they refused to follow the "Bull"; hence the Moose died. Ex-Governor Sulzer of New York, who was impeached for going counter to Tammany Hall, is another instance in proof of the impotency and utility of a member of a party opposing the machine tactics and policies, and at the same time remaining within the party. Consequently, Mr. Negro Voter, your task is one of selecting the party which will represent both your interest as a race and your interests as a working-man.

Just a word now as to your race's interest. You desire to abolish lynching. You desire to have the right to vote. The Republican and Democratic Parties have refused to give you the slightest consideration, by way of remedying these evils, notwithstanding the facts that they both have had the power and the opportunity, by virtue of their control of the Presidency, Congress and the Supreme Court, to recommend and to enforce a Federal Law against lynching, and to secure the enforcement of and the democratic administration of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, thereby giving the Negro the right to vote.

What about the Socialist Party? We speak of parties because you can get nothing except through

parties since voters constitute parties, and parties control the government, and the Government enacts laws which affect both your interests as a race and your interests as a working man. Now, the Socialist Party is the only party, which in its National Platform, has recommended a Federal Law against lynching and demanded the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Besides, what is vitally material and important to you, Mr. Negro Voter, is, that the Socialist Party is the champion of the working class, and 99 9/10 per cent of your race belong to that class. The Socialist Party stands for the principle that the worker is entitled to the full product of his toil. It also stands for the reduction of the high cost of living. It would put milk within the reach of the babies of the poor; it would reduce high rents from which Negroes particularly suffer. It can reduce high rents because it receives its funds from the rent-payers, who are interested in paying less rent. It can reduce the high cost of living because it receives its funds from the working class consumers, who are interested in getting better food and paying less for it. It can increase wages and reduce the hours of toil because it receives its funds from those who suffer from overwork and underpay. Consequently, Mr. Negro Voter, the Socialist Party is your party, because you are the victim of every injustice which it opposes, and will ere long abolish. The Republican and Democratic Parties can do you no good, because they serve the very interests who rob you through high rents, the high cost of living, by working you long hours and by paying you low wages. Thus, Mr. Negro Voter, in a district where two black men are running for the same office on different tickets, it is for you to select the party which stands for removing the injustices from which you suffer, the party which can render you some substantial social benefit. Now, for example, let us say, there are two districts in which such a case obtained. In the 1st Assembly District,

A, a Negro, is the opponent of B, a Negro. A is a nominee on the Socialist Party's ticket. B is a nominee on the Republican Party's ticket. As to the qualifications and character of the men in question, let us grant that both are qualified. However, permit us to inform you that that is not chiefly material. Because even if a Negro with splendid parts, courage and character was the nominee on the Republican ticket, the fact that he is the creature and tool of the machine, and the fact that the machine serves interests which are against the interests of the constituents whom the Negro, in question, is presumed to represent, are sufficient reasons why he will be absolutely powerless to use his office in the interest of the Negro. Therefore, you see, the question is not one of whether a man is good or bad, but one of whether the party he represents stands for principles in the interests of the constituents which he is supposed to serve. For instance, a good man can do no more with a gun than a bad man. A good man can do no more with a threshing machine than a bad man. The instrument will operate according to its construction. The chief question is: "Who controls the instrument?" Because, he who has control over the instrument will determine the use to which the instrument is put, and the use to which the instrument is put determines whether it is good or bad, in other words, its social value. To illustrate: The same wind which wrecks the ship upon a rock, may waft it safely into harbor, bearing cargoes to satisfy human wants and to alleviate human suffering. Now, then, the point is this: that the enemies of the working class control the Democratic and Republican Parties, and consequently, you cannot expect anything from them; but the Socialist Party is controlled by the working class, the class to which you belong, and consequently, it is from this party alone that you can expect a square deal. So that in the election, you have only one duty to perform, and that is: to vote for yourself, by voting the straight Socialist Ticket.

Economic Interpretation of Leadership

By THE EDITORS

LEADERSHIP, like most things, has an economic interpretation. It is best expressed in the clause, *the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will*. Herein lies the crux of the whole problem. Those who employ will determine what will be done by those whom they employ. This is true of the church, the school, the press, the stage and the screen.

The church is usually the tool of the ruling class. It is a mental chloroform with which the masses are lulled to sleep. It is the instrument for the creation of apathy, lethargy, inertia—contentment with one's lot. In this respect, it is acting in the interest of its employers.

The church teaches "*Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.*" The ruling class wants the earth, but it knows no meek people ever inherited it, or held the earth after it was inherited. The meek people of the earth are the Africans, the Hindoos, the Chinese, and the working class humble and lowly

people, everywhere. But they hold no earth; they are in poverty. They have to pay high rents upon the land held by others who are not meek, but have inherited or hold the earth. The earth has been gobbled up by the arrogant Englishman (never accused of being meek), the proud German (not often known to be so humble), the shrewd Frenchman (whose ruling class has grabbed more African territory than even John Bull), the boastful and aggressive American (whose symbol is the eagle, a symbol which surely typifies him if *preying* is a trait of that foul bird).

The church tells the people "In the world you shall have trouble, but in the end you shall have peace." The people could verify their trouble in the world, but peace in the end could not be proved or disproved so easily. How fine for the ruling class to secure the acquiescence of the people in their suffering from lack of food, clothing and shelter in this world on condition of peace in the end, that is, peace at death! The

priests further stated, "He that is faithful over a few things, will be made ruler over many." The satisfaction with a little bit on the part of the people would enable the ruling class few to get away with a lot. Hear the priestcraft further on this issue: "It is as hard for a rich man to get into heaven as it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle." What poor misguided soul would not shun riches when by gaining the whole world he may lose his soul. An accurate economic statement of this case might be, *it is as hard for a poor man to get rich as it is for a camel to get through the eye of a needle.*

The priests further exhorted: "*Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven where moths do not corrupt, and thieves do not break thru and steal.*" In some churches the priest makes this exhortation just as he is about to ask the congregation to lay up treasures for him on earth, with the *implied willingness* to take a chance on the corruption of moths and the stealing of thieves. Finally, the song arose: "Take the whole world with its gold and silver, but give me Jesus." This was for the people to sing, and the Negroes sang it more than anybody else. The ruling class—the economic interests—readily exchanged their Jesus for the common people's gold. They accepted heaven on earth, and took a chance on hell or heaven hereafter. The white masters took the Negroes gold, made sure that he got hell here, and left him with the same chance on heaven or hell hereafter, just as they left the common white people with this chance.

Now, there was a definite economic purpose behind all this agitation and teaching. The funds of the church were paid by economic classes. The nobility, the landed aristocracy, and the clergy were united in France, England, Spain, Germany, Italy and the United States. In early history as now, the nobility and the landed aristocracy paid the priests to promulgate a philosophy favorable to their interests. No exception will be found in any country or with any religion. Asceticism and stoicism were always stressed in each one. It is as true of western religions as it is of oriental religions. The purpose was always the same—the desire to center the attention of the people on spiritual things, on eternal things, in order that the ruling class might have control of the material things. The leadership of the church, on the whole, was and is crassly economic. *Spirit is sold for gold, because gold is more desirable to the sellers than spirit.* No institution, however abominable, will be without the support of some clergy, if somebody will pay the clergy. The Methodist Church split on the question of slavery, dividing into the north and south Methodist Churches. The southern churches blessed and praised the cotton plantation, lumber and turpentine interests of the south, because those interests financed the southern church. The northern Methodist Church lauded and anointed the industrial and manufacturing interests of the north, because the manufacturers, bankers and northern capitalists paid the clergy and maintained the churches in the north.

The schools are also under a leadership, economically controlled, whether private or public schools. The public schools are administered by persons appointed, selected or elected by funds contributed by corporations, banks, railroads and big business. The latter have an economic-political control of the public school

system, which is held in their grip by hoops of steel. The private colleges of the country are owned and controlled by millionaires. These direct the teachers what to teach, determine the text books, shape the lectures, and dominate every ramification of the educational system of the colleges. This is as true of the white schools as it is of the colored schools. It is as true of Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cornell and Pennsylvania Universities, as it is of Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Union, Fisk and Atlanta. Morgan, Rockefeller, Schwab, Carnegie, Dupont and Rosenswald own Tuskegee and Hampton, and they also own Columbia and Harvard. They have bought and paid for Yale and Columbia as truly as they have bought and paid for Howard and Fisk. They put Scott Nearing out of Pennsylvania, and Dana and Cattell out of Columbia. If Booker Washington, Moton and Scott were to have taught anything radical in Tuskegee or Hampton—out they would have gone. Neither white nor colored professors can give democratic political, economic and social information to the students of their respective schools, and stay in those schools. The professors are hired to teach a certain thing, and the hirer controls the hirelings, be he white or black.

The press has also a definite economic interpretation. Those who advertise in, pay for, or own, the press, control it. It is free in no sense of the word. Big business controls the white press and little business the Negro press. (Big business is not necessary here). On the whole, Negro papers are little campaign sheets for the Republican Party. They have no circulation, hence advertising is hard to get. They simply dicker for campaign funds, sell their questionable services for state printing, legal notices, or similar purposes. The editors are usually ignorant, and the papers, therefore, give neither news nor opinion, neither information nor interpretation. The editors, too, are generally near the poverty line, and opinions grow penurious and weak near the poverty line. Hence a hundred dollar bill has considerable force in swerving journalistic opinion among the Negroes, just as the thousand dollar sums, given either through ads or for direct editorial or news service, swerve and control opinion among the whites. The principle is the same, however, in either case.

The stage and the screen are no exception to this rule. Whatever pays will be done. The Negro on the stage has been a most effective instrument in degrading, stigmatizing and debasing his race. He has been there portrayed as a clown, menial and sycophant. Bert Williams, for instance, probably the best paid Negro actor in the world, has been engaged for a decade in lowering the Negro in the eyes of the country—not that he intends to do so, but because that is a condition to getting his pay. Those who see Bert on the stage shooting crap and drinking liquor get to believe that this is the Negroes' chief avocation or sport. But this makes no difference to the actor. He gets paid for this. In other words, it is the economic interpretation of the stage.

The white stage is no better. Few white actors play any shows calculated to serve the social welfare. The screen is the same. Most of the motion pictures are against the public interest. Few are of any positive value. The truth is, that it is seldom that one can find a show or a picture of any democratic

worth. No widespread presentation of *Ibsen's 'Enemy of the People'* would be permitted by the theatrical promoters today. Butler Davenport's splendid productions such as *A Doubter's Faith, Justice*, and other worth while productions will be tabooed as long as the present ruling class controls the theatres. The rule of the stage will be: *What pays and propagates, at the same time*, in the interests of the owners of the stage and the country will be shown, and nothing else.

The leaders of the school, pulpit, press, stage and screen, are controlled, dominated, tied, bought and paid for, white and black—here and elsewhere.

The poor politicians are bought outright, so that

no argument is necessary to convince most persons of that. Corruption goes with the idea of politics. Fooling the people, raiding the Treasury, adopting legislation for pay by predatory interests who will benefit from the legislation—all of these ideas are associated very properly with most politicians of the old parties.

Such is a brief history of economics of leadership. Those who pay the fidler will call the tunes. Those who pay will control those whom they pay. Those who are paid will be controlled by those who pay them. As Carlyle says, "*Men commit crimes not because they lack principles, but because they lack potatoes.*" Truly the power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will.

Education and Literature

WHY NEGROES SHOULD STUDY ABOUT RUSSIA

By HENRY BORST, *Florida, (Caucasian)*

THESE are many points of similarity between Slavs and Africans. Both have been subordinated for centuries to other more powerful races. While in Africa the colored race has been under bondage to the Egyptians, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Belgians, the French, the Germans and the English; the Slav races in Europe were under the control of the savage Mongolians, the Normans and Turks in ancient times, and under the scientific leadership and exploitation of the Germans and Swedes more recently.

Both Slavs and Africans have marked traces of docility as peoples. Both are musically gifted. Both are strong of body and naturally good natured. Both races have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for ages past. Both races are naturally agricultural people, though living far apart in climate. Both races have developed practical cooperation in a rude way out of their several conditions, chiefly assisting one another in farming, the chase and in developing tribal councils. Both races have been robbed unmercifully of their substance and labor for centuries. Both have been kept down for ages by superstitions. Both were freed about the same time, the serfs in Russia in 1861, and the remaining slaves in America in 1865. Both peoples are now a great thorn in the flesh of the ruling classes, who find the era of their domination drawing to a close.

The Russians are unfortunate in having had their intelligence throttled by a great church organization, the Greek Catholic church. This church is merely an offshoot of the autocratic Roman church, and has for ages helped to serve the ruling classes to keep many otherwise progressive, liberty loving people under the lash of "divine right" kings. While the more intelligent Europeans, like the Swedes, Germans, Scotch and English, cut loose from the blighting curse of Romanism about 400 years ago, the Irish, Spanish, Italians, French, Greeks and Russians were not so fortunate.

Four hundred years of liberation of the mind has produced some wonderful changes in Europe. It is important for Negroes to know just how much difference there is between the different peoples of Europe. The difference is best expressed in comparisons of illiteracy statistics. The writer is now quoting from memory, but sufficiently accurate for the present argument.

About 25 years ago the Teutonic people of Northern Europe showed illiteracy vary from *one tenth of one percent in Germany* to ten and eleven percent in England. The Swedes, Dutch, Swiss, Danes and Norwegians had all less than two percent of illiterates, in most cases less than one percent. England's rate was so bad because free schools were not established in the cities of England until 1870, and roughly speaking in the country districts until 1885, when the previously partly free schools were made wholly free. Anyway, the fact is, that in England about 25 years ago, ten percent of the men and eleven percent of the women, on being married, had to sign the marriage registry by making a mark, as they could not write. That is probably the chief reason why the liberty loving English still retain a king, and have even now no voice in their parliament as to declaring war.

The Catholic countries of Southern Europe about 25 years ago showed that 48 per cent of the Italians could not read and write. The Irish were about half illiterate. Of the proud Spaniards only 35 percent could read and write, leaving 65 percent illiterate. Turkey was then about 85 percent illiterate and Russia even 90 percent.

With these facts at hand it is easy to see why millions of Europeans were bound in chains of ignorance and superstition under their churches and political rulers, or rather "Misrulers." And the chief reason why Europe was disgraced with a war at all in the wonderful, progressive Twentieth Century, was because out of the 450 millions of peoples in Europe only about one third could read and write in 1914!

In other words the farmers, and many of the city workers of Europe, white people at that, were about as badly steeped in ignorance and superstition as our own

American Negroes, only two generations freed from actual slavery. And they allowed their rulers to make war because they were tied hands and feet in bonds of superstition by the rulers of church and state.

And this then, is the reason why I am urging my colored friends to study Russia, and learn how this brave people are now liberating themselves at the same time from the curse of the czar's political tyranny, the robbery of the capitalistic blood suckers, and the blighting mental curse of superstition from the great Greek Catholic church.

As their task is a three fold one, it requires three times as much energy and constructive thinking as any ordinary revolution, in which usually only one class of tyrants is overthrown. You will remember that in the French Revolution, the chief idea was to throw off the choking clutches of the aristocratic leeches. This happened in 1789, in the next year after the American constitution went into effect. But the brave, intelligent French people did not succeed in throwing off the clutches of the Roman Catholic church leech until more than a century later, in 1905.

Our American colonists began to develop ideals of religious liberty in 1607 and 1620, when they first landed on these shores. Hence by 1775 they were already secure in the possession of mental freedom, and political freedom became an easy matter, although it took seven long years of defensive warfare to break the strangle hold of the British red-coats, murderers for pay.

The Russian workers have known for a long time, that their church was doing the dirty work of the czar and his hired murderers, but unfortunately most of them were steeped in ignorance and superstition, and the czar was held up to them as second in authority to the Almighty, and any kind of questioning of the czar's power was declared to be blasphemy. That sort of nonsense worked for a while, but it ceased to work when thousands of Russians were buried on the battlefields, other thousands were brought home crippled and insane, while other thousands died the slow torture of starvation and epidemic disease at home.

The other important factor in Russian life was that whiskey was so cheap and easily distilled out of their plentiful grain crops. Thus the poor Russian farmer, called "moujik", literally drank himself into stupefaction after his hard work in the fields was done. And therefore he had not mentality enough left to listen to the voice of the student agitators, who told him about liberty in other lands.

But a great change came in 1914, when the czar called his vast armies together to do battle with the Germans and Austrians, as he had bound himself in the secret treaties of 1905 to do, with the rulers of France and England. The reason for this was that Russia was then at the mercy of the international bankers of England and France, from whom she had borrowed vast millions for half a century, the last of which was spent in the disastrous war with Japan in 1902-1904.

During 1915 an enormous nation wide revolution took place for the overturn of the government in Russia. It failed, but about a hundred thousand patriots were killed.

The great change that came in 1914 was this. When the czar ordered his chief officers to call the army

together, it was found that they would not and could not be assembled, because most of them were drunk with whiskey. As most of them could not read and write, it was no use to summon them by proclamation in the newspapers. Finally, in desperation in the early part of August 1914, the czar, by his unlimited power, decreed nation wide prohibition. Thus the army became sober enough to be assembled. Then they fought against the Germans and Austrians and Turks till the winter of 1916 to 1917.

By this time they were sober enough to see how the land lay. They found that thousands of the shells were filled with sawdust instead of powder, and vast stores of supposed food turned out to be trash. This was due to the dishonesty of army contractors. Then the people back home organized more supervision over shells and food supply. Meanwhile several million of the Russians were taken prisoners by the superior tactics of the Germans under Von Hindenburg, and by March 1917, the Russian people decided that their chief enemy was not the German, but their own czar. Hence he was first disposed and afterwards killed.

This led to the formation of the temporary Kerensky government, in which the attempt was made for about six months to patch up some sort of a democracy and still keep in the war on the side of the English and French imperialists. But the people finally revolted, through the medium of their Workers' and Soldiers' Council of 2,500 delegates. The choosing of this council was characteristic of a free people. It was decided at the time of the overthrow of the czar, by the new leaders that each factory in the country and each regiment of soldiers should send one delegate to a great common council. The Russian name for "council" is SOVIET. Hence this organization came direct from the people, the only source of authority for governments anywhere on earth.

This supreme national council finally put Lenin and Trotsky in power in November 1917, AND ARE KEEPING THEM IN POWER. And they are keeping them in power because they are doing the peoples' bidding. They are slowly and steadily bringing order out of chaos in this vast country of 175 million people, establishing industries and farming on a vast scale, and organizing the country on a productive peace basis, at the same time while they have successfully fought off all the hired murderers which England and France and the United States, I regret to say, have sent against them. The latest blood-thirsty gang to invade Russian soil were the Poles, operating for the benefit of Polish barons, who pretended that they owned vast tracts of the rich farming lands in the Ukraine region, (around Kief in Southwestern Russia.)

This Polish offensive was backed secretly by the British, openly by the French, and even our own government, a supposed republic of liberty-loving people, ranged itself on the side of the French banking house of the Rothschild family, in order to help them collect the debt from the working people of Russia which the czar borrowed thirty and forty and fifty years ago.

All these outside aggressions by the imperialists of London, Paris and Wall street only served to solidify the Russian people. It is just as if the Mexicans, in-

The French and Racial Intermarriage

By PROF. J. MILTON SAMPSON of Virginia Union University

THE American white man assuredly has few superiors in the art of spreading the propaganda of race hatred. He took his propensities with him to France, and even as he played the role of crusader under the banner of democracy, he preached the gospel of class hatred. He was not satisfied to try his skill against his German enemy, but zealously tried to poison the minds of the French against his Negro comrade. For that reason and the additional one that misinformation is more baneful than ignorance, the Negro soldier had to fight the impression that he was a constitutional raper of women. But everywhere he went he won that battle, confounding his paler compatriots.

These efforts ever against the demonstrated facts fomented much thought among the French concerning the big American problem so-called. Therefore when a certain novel entitled *Romulus Coucou*, of which the hero was a mulatto and the heroine a Frenchwoman, put in its appearance, it attracted wide attention to its author, Paul Reboux. Accordingly he sent a set of three questions to thirty-three eminent Frenchmen and women of different walks of life, whose answers were serially published recently by the Paris *Eve* in the form of a symposium. The questions:

1. What is your opinion of the way Negroes are treated by the Americans?
2. What do you think of marriage where different races mix.
3. If a man, distantly descended from Negroes, no longer shows characteristics of an apparent kind, if he is pleasant, tender, faithful, do you think that he could be loved and even married by a white woman?

In analyzing the answers care has been taken to count as favorable or unfavorable only those clearly so, **since some did not commit themselves** and few discussed all three questions. There was almost unanimity in the decisions of those who discuss the first,

stead of fifteen million poor people, had a population of 150 millions with vast war making industries, and if Canada, instead of six million of liberty loving people, had sixty million of marauding imperialists, and if Japan had the greatest battleship fleet on earth. If under such circumstances the Mexicans and Canadians and Japs were to attack us at the same time, we in the United States would promptly forget about being democrats, republicans, socialists, Baptists, Methodists and Catholics or freethinkers. We would immediately become AMERICANS, and fight off invaders, till the last one was kicked off our territory.

And this is just what the Russians are now doing and have been doing for over two years and a half. And by understanding Russia the workers all over the earth, white or black, can see through the capitalistic war making game.

19 harshly criticizing the present treatment of Negroes and only one defending it. They were very unlike, some seeking the cause, some making invidious comparisons between white and black savages, as for instance M. Abel Faivre an artist who says, "If some white men have been roasted in Central Africa, it was to be eaten. The Americans have not that excuse." And in a different direction M. Level who says "For my part, I am ready to esteem as highly the race from which the three Dumas were born as that to which we owe M. Wilson." Others point out the inconsistency of withholding the full fruits of culture and then denying the capability of the individual ostracized. M. Duvernois expresses this thought very clearly thus, "I think of those people who have horses, who leave them for hours half-blinded by eye-flaps, choked by straps, bruised by barbarous curb-bits and who then talk about the stupidity . . . of horses."

But all this is subordinate in interest to the discussion of the second and third questions. When one thinks of the hypocritical American social-inequality doctrine and equality-practice, it is refreshing to read honest expressions of French opinion, be it pro or con. Using the same care to count only decisive replies the writer finds 17 favorable to intermarriage and 7 against it. Ye gods and little fishes! some of them women! Trotter was even prohibited from speaking on the subject in Richmond. One of these Frenchmen tells us "there is no difference in the music of love, which like genius whispers where it will." But apart from mere literary answers like the above, there are given more solid reasons. One is the gratitude of the French for the service rendered by black troops. Some shudder to think of a possible slight to Dumas on such flimsy grounds. One on the ground that science does not recognize the multiple origin of humankind regards the Negro as a brother of arrested development, who should be accepted, if not encouraged. Another is opposed to intermarriage, but does not relish a law prohibiting it. Still another thinks that as a woman he would rather marry an amiable mulatto than President Wilson, who would not be so funny in the intimacy of everyday life. But so much for the intellectuals.

After this symposium the editor offered prizes for the four best letters from lady-readers in answer to the question, "Would you marry a colored man?" Out of 2,040 answers, 1,060 answered "No," and 980, "Yes." Very feeble plurality of 80 against it! That is the verdict of the ordinary readers. It is also significant that the letters winning the first and second prizes were written by women who had tried the experiment and found it good. They end their letters thus: "The worst menace, that of a very colored child, I have experienced. I regret it in no way." "Although white, I ask only to continue."

Some pertinent questions as to America naturally grow out of these discussions.

1. Are American women different from French women?
2. Is it true that American white women would scorn to marry colored men in any numbers?
3. Is it anyone else's business if at times they do fall in love with colored men?
4. If they do not fall in love with and marry colored men, given the ability to make free choice,

are laws prohibiting intermarriage in the States necessary?

5. If intermarriage is prohibited, what protection is rendered the colored woman against the lust of white men?

It has always seemed to the writer that such laws were confessions of the Southern white man's distrust in his own women, or his jealousy of colored men. Let the reader judge for himself.

PARK BENCHES

HERE rests a happy family—man, wife and babe.
 There a loving couple sit,
 Thinking sweet thoughts,
 Building dream mansions in Arcady.
 Yonder is a group of young men
 Laughing, talking, smoking.
 Telling tales of selves, of incident and girls.
 Enjoying the few moments respite from toil.

Near me an old man,
 Sunken in eyes, in chest and Life,
 Groans and grunts, puffing an old "T. D."

But, is it not strange,
 Considering the boasted freedom and equality of men,
 That next to the Negroes, no white men sit?

F. W. FALKENBERG.

MEMORIES

BLACK men,
 I would that you were in Africa.
 I cannot endure the thoughts you bring to me.
 You bring horrible memories of
 Slave Ships;
 Foul Galleys;
 Oppression;
 Bleeding Backs;
 Burning Flesh;
 Guttled, pregnant women;
 Little children, starving for love;
 The Blackness of death of murdered strikers;
 The blackness of the Hearts of my Fellowmen;
 You bring horrible memories of
 The Thin Black Line in Battle
 Fighting for Democracy,
 And sometimes, I am almost ashamed,
 That I am white.

F. W. FALKENBERG.

The Brass Check—*A Review*

By W. A. DOMINGO

THE Brass Check is a new book by Upton Sinclair, famous as the author of *The Jungle*. It contains 448 pages and is published at Pasadena, Cal., by the author at 50c. per copy.

In the *Jungle*, Sinclair, according to his own statement, "aimed at the public's heart but hit its stomach." In the Brass Check if he aimed at the public's brains he has struck the bull's eye. There is not a dull line in the book. It is as thrilling as a romance and as exciting as a baseball game when there is a tie. The reader reads every page with cumulative interest. Perhaps the one fault of the interesting volume is that the author devotes too much space—one half of the book—to his experiences with the Great Incubator of Lies—the Press. The subtitle of the Brass Check is, "A study in journalism," and an illuminating study it is. In clear, terse English, like a skilled surgeon with a scalpel, Upton Sinclair lays bare the soul—if soul they have—of the *New York Times*, *World* and nearly every important daily, weekly or monthly published in the United States. He calls names, challenges the publishers and editors and does more—gives the proofs.

The Associated Press he excoriates unmercifully.

He shows how the news is colored and the people fed with vicious propoganda favorable to Big Business. Indeed, it is the thesis of the book that the press functions in the interest of predatory privilege. He piles the evidence on thick. The death of the great muckraking magazines—Hampton's, 20th Century, Pearsons's—is told with pitiless, merciless attention to detail. How other muckraking magazines, like the Metropolitan and Everybody's, came to change their policies and become respectable, is exposed. The author has made a definite contribution to truth by muckraking the Press, the Mother of Lies.

However, in showing the groups that have suffered from the lying propoganda of the press he fails to mention Negroes. No group has suffered more from the misrepresentation of the press than the millions of black toilers of this country. What a study Sinclair could have made of say—lynching!

Despite this omission the book is an aid to clear thinking on public questions; it is a guide for those who would properly evaluate current events.

It is a book that every sensible person should read, It will amply repay for the money spent and the time consumed.

The Open Forum

Editor the MESSENGER:

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.

Sincerely yours,
CLAUDE MCKAY.

My dear Mr. Owen:—

Just a word about the MESSENGER, there is absolutely no organ that brings the message that one wants to hear like the MESSENGER. Each number contains important data, from cover to cover. It's a real pleasure and privilege to know you men personally, and read after your pens.

Very truly yours,
CHAS. T. RUSSELL.

OSWALD G. VILLARD, editor of the *Nation*, in *New York Evening Post*, June 26, 1920, says:

A large group of young colored people are beginning to realize these economic truths and have a brilliant mouthpiece in the MESSENGER, one of the new organs of opinion of their race, which the Department of Justice has recently denounced with its characteristic stupidity as an organ of the "reds." The MESSENGER has no use for any of the Negro leaders who do not interpret social forces in terms economic. But they are certainly on the right track when they declare that the one hope for their race is their organizing to utilize to the full their economic power."

Prof. Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania writes:

I enclose check for \$1.50 as subscription for the MESSENGER for one year. Please send to above address (Lansdowne, Pa.)

Permit me at the same time to congratulate you on the fine spirit—aggressive and intelligent—manifested in the few stray copies of the MESSENGER which I have seen. I expect to enjoy reading the paper; and it is a special pleasure to give my small support to an organ which seems to me the most valuable influence upon the Negro race that I know of.

With all best wishes for your success, I am,
Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

COLONIZING AFRICA

New York Call, Sept. 1, 1920.

THE proposal of an organization of Negroes to oust the white man from Africa and maintain Africa for the Africans has received much attention in the press of late. It is regarded as a piece of impertinence on the part of the Negroes. It is

true that some of the imperialistic powers within the last 35 years have divided nearly the whole continent of Africa among them. Africa has been the swag of international robbers ever since, but this fact is ignored by the editorial harpies.

We can sympathize with the Negroes and understand why many of them, in view of their treatment by white "civilization," see in the reconquest of Africa by the Africans a solution of their wrongs. But this program contains an illusion which an African empire would soon dispel. The stocking of Africa with Negroes from all over the world and driving out the white invaders merely means that the white man shall not participate in the development of African capitalism. It will be the exclusive work of the Negroes themselves.

Now the capitalist system of production is not changed in its essentials because it assumes a particular racial cast. Capitalism dominated by Negroes is the same as capitalism dominated by whites. African colonization would simply transform the lily white capitalism, now developing, into a Negro capitalism with a black ruling class dominating the governing institutions and exploiting Negro workers. Industry, commerce, transportation and finance would pass into the hands of Negro capitalists and bankers and produce all the characteristics of European and American capitalism.

A labor movement would rise in Africa which would largely reproduce the history of white "civilization." Unions would organize and strike and be met by courts, law-making bodies and armed forces of the Negro state. A press and literature would develop bearing the stamp of capitalism. Political parties would rise and express the economic interests of the struggling classes. The class war would follow the development of this Negro capitalism like a shadow. The ruling blacks controlling the government would form alliances with ruling whites of other nations, the former finding they have more in common with the latter than with the Negro workers at home.

A Negro capitalism in Africa is no solution of the problems of the Negro worker. It would serve those wealthy Negroes who migrated to Africa and found a free field for investment and exploitation of the workers of their own race.

All of which indicates that whether the Negro worker is in Africa or the United States his emancipation is bound up with the emancipation of the workers of all races. He might as well join with his fellow workers in the countries where his life is cast and aid in abolishing the capitalism that robs both white and black workers. As rapidly as both white and black workers come to realize this will the day of their liberation through Socialism approach reality.

SLING SHOTS

Charity is the bastard child of Injustice.

* * * * *

What the poor need is Justice, not charity.

* * * * *

There never was a war that was not started for financial reasons.

* * * * *

If religion has any real power it should have prevented the war that is not yet ended.

* * * * *

The war on organized labor now in progress is the result of the inordinate greed of people who have usurped the power to rule the world.

* * * * *

Without the poor to produce the necessities of life for them, the rich would starve.

* * * * *

The property owners say to the poor, "Unless you create profits for us you have no right to live."

* * * * *

Men despise those who slave for a master, and hate those who refuse to be slaves.

* * * * *

Because the Negro has begun to refuse to submit to abject slavery, the white exploiter hates him.

* * * * *

When a Negro shows more than ordinary ability, the unjust slur him by hinting at the possibility that it might mean a mixture of blood.

When a Negro refuses to be a strike-breaker, the haters of the laborer urge his lynching on trumped up charges.

* * * * *

If the religion of Christianity were true, why should a white man hate his black brother?

* * * * *

No one denies that Thomas Watson is a highly educated man and knows ancient history to a marvelous degree, but his hatred for the African race is deplorable, for the reason few can see how vindictive, bitter and unjust it is.

* * * * *

A God who demands that he be worshipped, and still does not prevent the unnecessary injustice and woe that prevails throughout the world, is a monster to be rejected by all reasoning people.

* * * * *

The exploiters howl about crime and violence as though it were the workers who created it all. It is a wonder that those who do all productive labor submit to the tyranny of the masters of wealth without raising merry hell.

* * * * *

The Negro is learning that his services should be as productive for his good as an equal service is for a white man. That is one explanation of race riots.

* * * * *

Whether your skin be black or white,
Only your actions will prove you right.

—BERTUCCIO DANTINO

Who's Who

Marcus Garvey

THE GARVEY MOVEMENT: A PROMISE OR A MENACE TO NEGROES

ALL movements, systems and doctrines are a promise or a menace to someone. Capitalism is a menace to workers; Socialism is a menace to capitalists. Unionism is a promise to workers; the Taylor efficiency system is a promise to capitalists. The Abolition Movement for the freedom of the slaves was a menace to the slave holders; and a promise to the Negroes.

It appears then that a movement, system or doctrine constitutes a promise or a menace to a person, race or class according as it improves or injures the best interests of the person, race or class.

The logic of the situation would seem then to dictate that, we first ascertain the objects and aims and methods of the Garvey movement. Next it is essential to establish what are the chief interests of Negroes as a means of determining whether or not the Garvey movement can or will protect, advance and achieve the same. If we find, upon examination, that the Garvey Movement is opposed to the interests, or that it does not advance the interests of working people, and that 98 per cent of Negroes are working people, it is certainly beyond the realm of debate

that the said movement is not a promise but a definite menace to Negroes. If we find that the large majority of Negroes are tenants, and that the Garvey Movement is not fighting for lower rents, then, we are justified in concluding that it is not a promise to Negroes. If, further, we find that the Negroes are jim-crowded, disfranchised and lynched, and that the Garvey Movement offers no remedy for the same; certainly the most rabid Garveyite would not contend that the Movement held out a promise to Negroes.

But, in order logically and accurately to determine the foregoing, it is imperative that we critically, calmly and dispassionately examine into the body of principles which the said Movement sets out to achieve.

Hence, we shall discuss the Garvey Movement under the following heads:

1. Its political program, if any.
2. Its economic program, including a discussion of the Black Star Line.
3. Its social program, giving particular attention to the social psychology of the Movement.
4. Its International program, discussing historically and scientifically the slogan: "back to Africa," "Africa for the Africans," "A Black

Empire," the attitude of the great capitalist nations to the program.

5. Finally, we shall examine into the doctrine of "Negro First"—the doctrine upon which the entire Garvey Movement is founded. Here, we shall discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this idea.

Now on account of our limited space together with the necessity of giving a careful and exhaustive analysis of the Garvey Movement, we have divided the

discussion into three articles. The second will deal with the political, economic and social aspects of the Movement.

We have begun these series of articles on the Garvey Movement in order that the people, white and black might get a clear understanding of the true import, the political, economic and social consequences of the same. We are also interested in disabusing the minds of the people of the idea that the editors of the MESSENGER have been, or are connected in any way with the Garvey Movement.

Albert Sidney Burleson

WITH due apologies to Attorney General A. Mitchel Palmer, it must be admitted that the name of the Postmaster General will, for many decades to come, stand as synonymous with a stone-age autocrat. We are not surprised, however, that such is the case. We would be surprised at anything else. A Texas Bourbon, and according to the *New York World* and Senator Sherman of Illinois, a large peonage farm owner and controller—Burleson's psychology would necessarily be that of feudalism or slavery—economic and social orders which have been discarded as vicious relics in so-called civilized countries. Probably no American official is so generally disliked. Burleson is opposed by both capital and labor. He is supported by Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House, the President's confidential advisor. If we had a democratic form of government—for instance, as democratic as Germany under the Kaiser or the feudal Japanese Government, where cabinets had responsibility to Congress,—the whole Wilson administration would have been overthrown long ago on the issue of the stone-age Bourbon of the Post Office.

Beyond a stolid, stubborn bigotry of the President, plus a Southern reactionary sympathy with such views, it is difficult to see why Wilson retains Burleson. What, you ask, has he done?

Well, he seized the cables just before the Peace

Conference began as a means of making it appear in America that the actual *secret covenants secretly arrived at* were "open covenants openly arrived at." He also introduced *air mail service*. This is nothing but an inconsequential fad, for any message requiring haste may be better cared for by the telegraph or telephone service, while all other mail can be adequately handled by railroad. Under Burleson's regime the post office employees have become slaves. Collective bargaining is tabooed and the men who are active have been discharged in many instances. Justice Hitz has just hit Burleson a blow over the second class mail privileges of the *New York Call*. And we need to mention that the MESSENGER is the only Negro publication in the United States denied second class mailing privileges. This, no doubt, is because we constantly discuss and call for the abolition of peonage which is a criminal violation of the Constitution and the Federal statutes,—and so profitable to Burleson.

Happily, however, the political life of Burleson is not long. The end of this Texas bourbon is in sight. The sword of Damocles hangs over the head of this justly hated Southern reactionary. We would speed the day when the shades of private life will receive this archaic, obsolete and moribund political and economic fossil of the post office. May he be retired to the tall timbers and to that oblivion and obscurity from which he ought never to emerge.

RATIONAL LIVING

Editor: BENZION LIBER, M. D.
Doctor of Public Health

RATIONAL LIVING will be an independent radical monthly devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living.

Health Conservation—Prevention of Disease—Social Hygiene—Industrial Hygiene—Personal and Intimate Hygiene—Child Hygiene—The Child and the Home—Plain, Drugless Treatment of Disease—Birth Control—All Truth From all Schools—Fighting Dishonesty in All Healing Professions—Answers to Subscribers' Questions.

RATIONAL LIVING will be an educational guide for manual and mental workers of both sexes. It will teach the reader how to live in order to avoid disease and to be as healthy and as beautiful as possible under present conditions. It will teach parents how to take care of their children.

RATIONAL LIVING will not be sensational, will not cater to athletes and extraordinary people. It will have in view the plain, ordinary man, woman and child. It will belong to no medical school, but will take the truth wherever found and present it to the reader in simple, clear English. It will be scientific, but popular. It will save you money.

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It will appear in November, 1920, or as soon as a sufficient number of subscriptions will be received. Only few single copies will be sold, and in few places only. The more subscriptions, the better, the larger, the more beautiful the magazine.

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ACCORDING to Wm. H. Watson, printer and The Gilmore Advertising Agency of that city, publisher of Philadelphia, Pa., as reported by The National Negro Business Directory System, Inc., of Wilmington, Del., has published its first installment of 25,000 copies of Newsstand and R. R. Edition of Negro Classified Business Directories.

In our opinion the efforts of this Corporation in placing on the National market a medium of information respecting Cooperative advertising in a thorough systematic style, is truly commendable.

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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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