

Workman

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY.

VOL. IV.

MARCH, 1922.

NO. 3.



The Crisis In Negro Business



Africa In Revolt





Tabb's Lunch and Grill
140th St. & Lenox Ave.
NEW YORK CITY



Tables for ladies,
Cheerful even to babies.
Open night and day
Time to dine and to eat away.

Home Phone Morningside 9068

ARTHUR BRISBANE

Funeral Director

With CLINTON BROOKS
Phone Morningside 6924

121 WEST 130TH STREET
New York City

Subscribe to
THE MESSENGER

"Entered as second class matter June 27, 1919
at the post office at New York, N. Y., under
the Act of March 3, 1879."

Telephone: Audubon 3796

Hotel Olga

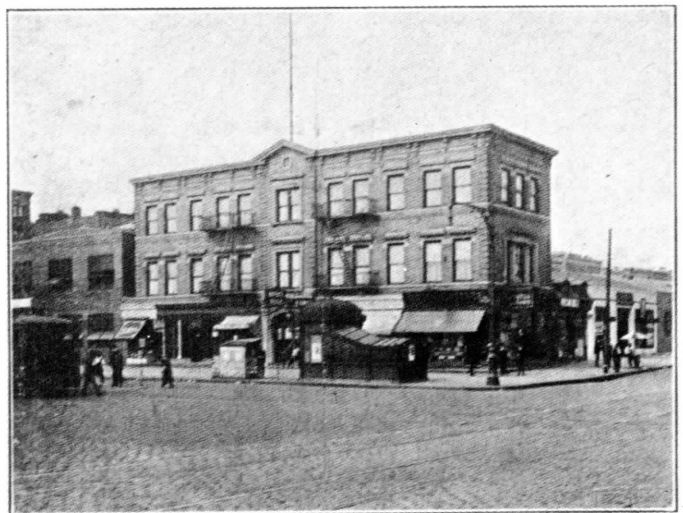
695 LENOX AVENUE, NEW YORK

(At 145th Street Subway Station)

A Select Transient and
Family Hotel

Hot and Cold Water in Each Room.
Reasonable Rates.

ED. H. WILSON, Proprietor





WHEN IN PHILADELPHIA

Go to the

Olympia Theatre

FOR

the finest, most gripping

Largest Motion Picture
House of its kind in
South Philadelphia.

BROAD & BAINBRIDGE STS.



Royal Theatre

15th & SOUTH STS.
PHILADELPHIA

The Most Handsome Colored
Photoplay House in
America.



Stands in a class by itself in Philadelphia.
Prominent for the high class Photoplays
shown here and the high grade music fur-
nished by our \$30,000 Moller Organ.

CO-OPERATION

For information on organizing
co-operative societies apply to
CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
2 West 13th Street New York

THE MESSENGER

Published Monthly by the
MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., Inc
Main Office: 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York.
Telephone, Morningside 1996

\$1.50 per Year
\$2 Outside U. S.

15c. per Copy
20c. Outside U. S.

VOL. IV. MARCH, 1922. NO. 3.

CONTENTS

1. EDITORIALS	367
2. ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	371
3. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE	374
4. LABOR WORLD	376
5. OPEN FORUM	377
6. NOTES OF FRIENDS OF NEGRO FREEDOM	379

Entered As Second Class Mail, July 27, 1919.

Editors:
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH CHANDLER OWEN

Contributing Editors:
GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER
W. A. DOMINGO

SIGN THE ROLL CALL

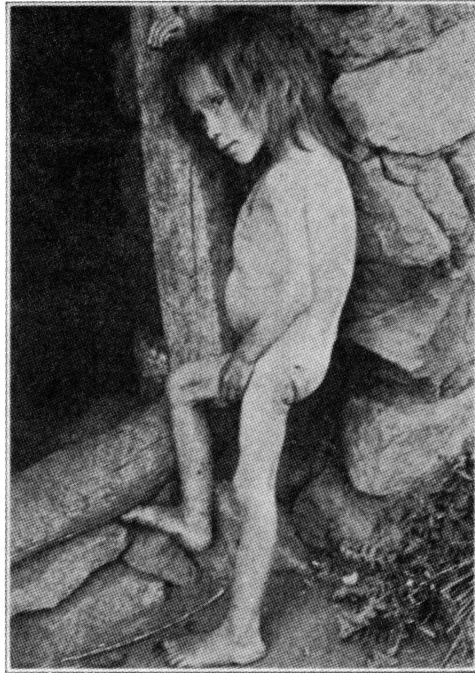
From the Depths of Brave, Frozen Russia Comes This Most Terrible of Cries

“WE STARVE!”

Will You Answer?

The next two months will be the most crucial. Now, everyday, 50,000 are dying! Reports coming from Russia paint pitiful pictures. Here—the dying are eating their dead, there—mothers are drowning their children to silence their heart-rending cries for bread. The Russian steppes are literally covered with skeletons, the wasted bodies the prey of wolves. How many more shall die before YOU act?

Immense cargoes of food MUST be shipped AT ONCE to save the starving. If the powers of the world would grant Soviet Russia credit and re-establish trade with her, she could help herself in this awful crisis. Until credit is extended YOU MUST HELP, and if you have helped before, then you must help again, and still again! Those who help now will have aided Soviet Russia in her DIREST NEED.



Sign the Roll Call! Give !!

The food your money will buy will carry with it the ROLL CALL BOOK in which YOUR name MUST appear. Your signature in this book will mark a permanent record of your true friendship for Soviet Russia. Deposited in the archives of Soviet Russia the Roll Call Book will constitute a document treasured by International Labor and its Sympathizers.

We want not only Herbert Croly, Alvin Johnson, Francis Hackett, Philip Littell, Walter Lippman, Robert Morss Lovett, John Dewey, Charles Beard to answer the ROLL CALL, but every reader of **New Republic** must sign at once. Use the coupon below.

Collections

Collections made to date total \$675,000.00 - Money collections from workers and others in sympathy with Soviet Russia, \$400,000.00 Collections in food, clothes, medicines, tools, estimated at \$275,000.00.

All **Messenger** readers should sign coupon.

It is your hands whether from Russia shall come the cry of joy and laughter this Spring or the terrible silence of millions of graves.

Sign up! Prove your sympathy for Soviet Russia by helping to succor its starving millions! Prove that you stand for “Hands Off”—Except to Help! For this great workers’ experiment may yet make the dream of all of us come true!

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street, New York City

Endorsed by the Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, Tacoma, Toronto, Montreal, Portland, Trenton, Minneapolis, Denver, Ogden, Mansfield, Richmond, Washington, Hartford, Binghamton, Rockford, San Diego, St. Paul, Belleville, Los Angeles Central Labor Councils and by hundreds of local unions and other workers’ organizations.

Friends of Soviet Russia,
201 West 13th Street,
New York City.

My contribution for famine relief in Soviet Russia \$..... which sum is herewith enclosed. Please insert this coupon with my signature in the ROLL CALL BOOK registering me as a friend of Soviet Russia in the hour of her greatest need.

Name

Address

City

“Messenger,” March, 1922.)

Executive Committee

- Allen S. Broms
- Jas. P. Cannon
- Dr. J. Wilenkin
- Dr. Wm. Mendelson
- Caleb Harrison
- Dr. Leo S. Reichel
- Dr. J. W. Hartmann
- Treasurer
- A. B. Martin
- National Secretary

Prof. H. W. L. Dana

- Marguerite Prevey
- Jay G. Brown
- Rose Pastor Stokes
- Hulet M. Wells
- Wm. F. Dunne
- J.ouis Engdahl
- Dennis E. Batt
- Alice Riggs Hunt
- Capt. Paxton Hibben
- Charles Baker
- J. O. Bentall
- Robert Minor
- Jack Carney
- Mary Heaton Vorse
- Ella Reeve Bloor
- Albert Rhys Williams
- Elizabeth G. Flynn

Advisory Committee

- Wm. Z. Foster
- Elmer T. Allison
- Ludwig Lore
- Edgar Owens
- Max Eastman

Editorials

LET THE CLASS-WAR AND POLITICAL PRISONERS GO!

HAPPILY, redoubled efforts are being made to force the government to let all persons out of jail who are there for the violation of war-time laws. The Socialist Party, the General Defense Committee and the Civil Liberties Union are sparing no pains in fighting for a general amnesty. Petitions for a million signature are being circulated in 200 cities.

It is to be commended also in the different bodies working for the freedom of political prisoners that they are particularly stressing the case of the I.W.W. group that has been especially singled out for unmerited government persecution.

It was very timely stated before the Judiciary Committee, holding a hearing on amnesty, that the rich have nothing to fear from the law citing the case of Nobbe who was released for a slight illness after he was in jail for a few months. The I. W. W.'s must be almost ready to die before clemency is even considered for them. The testimony of two ex-service men, members of the American Legion, in the interest of amnesty introduced something of the dramatic into the hearing.

These efforts are re-enforced by a forceful address of Eugene Victor Debs for the cause of general amnesty.

Add to these a children's crusade to Washington to tell President Harding why he should let their fathers come home to them and their mothers, and the most callous, indifferent and unconcerned should be ready and eager to co-operate as follows:

1. *Urge President Harding to grant amnesty*, either by telegram or letter. Be sure to include substantial facts as the basis for release.

2. *Telegraph or write immediately* to the Hon. Andrew J. Volstead, Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., urging the immediate release of all political prisoners, thus giving support to those who will appear in behalf of the political prisoners at the public hearing before this committee on the 16th of this month, therefore, quick action is necessary.

3. *Write the Senator and Representatives in your district*, urging them to take steps for the release of all persons held in prison solely for their opinions.

4. *Write Senator William E. Borah at Washington, D. C.*, commending him for his efforts to effect general amnesty and pledging support in the fight.

5. *Write letters to Editors of local newspapers* designed to arouse discussion concerning amnesty. Letters should not exceed 250 words. Clippings of such communications reach high officials whose names may be mentioned, through press clipping bureaus.

6. *Send money* and urge others to send money. It is needed for dissemination of wide spread publicity,

for prison relief and the support of dependent families of prisoners and to help any who may be released.

7. *Co-operate with the I.W.W. in forming a local committee for general amnesty.*..This committee should arrange a series of meetings designed to attract intelligent members of the community. Urge all existing organizations in your city to co-operate in the local campaign; ask each specifically to pass resolutions and to send copies to President Harding, Attorney General Daugherty, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W. and the National Office of the Socialist Party.

8. *Urge general amnesty*, not individual clemency. Urge it not as a concession, nor as an act of grace, but as a matter of justice. In all appeals or discussions emphasize these facts:

(a) All other nations have released their war prisoners.

(b) All persons actually convicted as spies in the United States have been set free.

(c) Peace with our late enemies has been officially declared.

(d) The Espionage Act has been repealed.

(e) The 98 Industrial Workers of the World still in Leavenworth are now serving sentences solely for their opinions. All charges pertaining to alleged industrial offenses were reversed by the Appeals Courts.

HAITI

HAITI is America's Corea and Ireland. The atrocities committed by the American Marines upon the Haitians are comparable only to the ravages of the British in Ireland, India; the Belgians in the Congo; and Japan in Corea. American Imperialism is veritably running riot in Haiti. Its brutality, hypocrisy and sinister motives have been exposed by the white light of publicity time and again. The *Nation* began the exposé by despatching James Weldon Johnson and Herbert J. Seligman to Haiti to inquire into the American occupation, which was followed up by Dr. Arthur Gruenig's work in Haiti during the McCormick Committee's investigation of conditions in the black republic. Much light has come out of these investigations. They have been followed by the government's sending a virtual dictator to take charge of the situation. A queer way of remedying such grievous wrongs, this! But such is the way of imperialism.

Of course, the United States government has not a leg to stand on as a reason for its ruthless exploitation and oppression of the Haitians. But when we come to think of it the very same thing is true of every imperial power today in its relation to the smaller and weaker nations.

According to Georges Sylvain, former Haitian Minister to France, Officer of the Legion of Honor, Officer of Public Instruction in France, Phileas Lemaire, editor of the *Courier Haitien*, a newspaper published

in Port Prince, has been sent to prison for six months at hard labor.

Mr. Sylvian said: "That the feature of imprisonments under martial law in Haiti is that the officers concerned are both judges and parties to the trials." Certainly, no justice can come out of such a method.

This is another revelation of how modern capitalist states protect the interests of their investment bankers.

It is interesting also to note reports of the notorious betrayal of the Haitian people by their leaders. They, like American politicians, are easily bribed, corrupted and induced to "sell out" the people. This is to be expected. They are no better or worse than any other people. The case of Haiti ought to be ample proof to the Negro that they can not free their race in Africa or Haiti until they are able to secure a large measure of freedom for the workers, black and white, in America and England.

DON'T LET THE DYER BILL DIE

THE Southern Senators and Representatives are bent upon killing the Dyer Bill. They are the most Anglo-Saxon element in America and they are the most dogged. They never relent, concede a point, or give in. Still they celebrate the "lost cause." On the other hand, the Northern, Eastern and Western element are indifferent, unconcerned and apathetic. Thus, unless Negroes keep their eyes open, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill will either die or be amended to death. Unfortunately this bill comes up at a time when the liberal and radical movements have well-nigh spent themselves. During periods of industrial depression spiritual like economic movements are deflated, which means that the militant crowd has got to work all the harder to keep interest in reform and revolutionary movements from dying.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

THE people are still without adequate housing. By many, the situation is estimated to be no less serious than it ever was. The Lockwood Committee, of which Samuel Untermyer is the chief inspiration and guardian presented a very elaborate program to the Albany Legislature to remedy the evil. It was emasculated, of course, by the powerful real estate, insurance and banking lobbies. Serious charges were even hurled at Mr. Lockwood himself by one of the members of the Cities Committee, to the effect that he had deserted his bills when they had greatest opportunity of being reported favorably. Of course, Lockwood denied this hotly. Mr. Untermyer was philosophically silent, doubtlessly, wondering as to who had knifed his "labor of love." For it must be conceded by the most critical that Untermyer has worked indefatigably to achieve certain reforms in the housing situation. We don't expect any millenium to come out of these efforts to the long suffering worker-tenant. We know, too, that the big financial capitalists will profit from these housing reforms, perhaps even more than the workers will. For real estate is recognized as a safe investment. This, undoubtedly, is the wherefore of the Metropolitan Insurance Company's interest in giving \$100,000,000 for the building of homes. Again, housing prolongs the life of workers and the Me-

tropolitan invests in life. And although there is another group of gruesome capitalists who invest in death—the undertakers—they don't amount to much. They must bow to their bigger capitalist brothers.

Still there is no reason for workers to oppose these reforms. They benefit from longer lives just as capitalists do. Consequently, they need and ought to fight for better housing. Here is a case where both benefit from the same thing.

There is still another bigger benefit to the capitalists. It makes less possible a sudden, violent bloody revolution. This, enlightened capitalists like Untermyer, Vanderlip and Hoover understand; but which Judge Gary doesn't. Untermyer has the temperament of "give and take" which so characterizes the British. He believes in a peaceful evolution of society. Of course he doesn't want it to evolve out of capitalism. The most effective method of solving the housing problem would be the state appropriation of the full rental value of unused land. But, of course, this is too remote. It sounds to revolutionary. In the final analysis the worker-tenant need expect but little relief until they begin intelligently to understand the value of political power.

GANDHI ARRESTED

THE arrest of Mahatma Gandhi is no surprise to one who has followed the eventful course of the Indian Liberation Movement. This is a high stroke of British autocracy. It will undoubtedly achieve the very thing which the British hope to prevent—that is, a greater trend toward Gandhi. It is significant that this dramatic move came upon the departure of the Prince of Wales who has been making a tour of India—a tour which was checkered with a number of serious demonstrations against British rule. We credit the British with a large amount of good common sense, but it is difficult to understand the wisdom of parading the Prince of Wales before people already incensed at the very regime which he represents, and at a time when India was in great ferment. Lord Northcliffe, himself, a shrewd observer, is astounded at the rising tide of color in the East, led by Gandhi. Like a good Anglo-Saxon, he laments the gathering storm as a serious menace to the white man's rule. He very suavely observes that England does not make any profits out of India. Why does England continue to hold India, we wonder? Oh! we beg pardon, now we see: Great Britain loves the Hindus and Mohammedans just as she loves the Irish. Why doesn't Gandhi realize this.

After all the leader of the spectacular non-co-operation movement is not bitter on the British. He would be content to accept Dominion rule such as Canada has.

He has said repeatedly that he does not seek an overturning of things. He is not a revolutionist. Gandhi is a pure Nationalist. The left wing of the Indian Liberation Movement has long since been residing in jails. Besides there is a large section of Indian and Mohammedan opinion who stand for force without stint or limit as a means of achieving India's independence. Against this growing power, Gandhi pits his non-violence program. How long he will be

successful with his peaceful program is a question of absorbing interest.

From the latest policy of the British it is apparent that they either fear the whirl of Gandhi's "spinning wheel," or they plan to stampede the movement into a premature, violent revolt which they would summarily crush blood and thereby demoralize Gandhianism.

At any rate, the non-co-operation idea in India is something new in social methodology. It is an interesting experiment. From the attitude of the British, it is not the most innocent method of social change yet suggested. Who knows what would be the outcome of an Indian hartal or general strike. Even though it begins peacefully, how will it end? In very truth, 180,000 of British can not take lightly the stirrings of 300,000,000 or more Hindus and Mohammedans who regard them as their foe. Besides the oppressors are always afraid lest the oppressed should awake. This is the reason for the systematic persecution of agitators. Such is the reason for Gandhi's imprisonment for six years. It is evident that the British are desperate in trying to dam the rising tide of color.

CHICAGO POLITICAL LABOR CONFERENCE

IN the Chicago conference the workers and their representatives found themselves distressingly unwitting of their way. Only here and there was a clear note sounded. The prevailing opinion was against an independent labor-political party. Perhaps the shadow of Gompers' bankrupt policy of punishing enemies and rewarding friends hovered ominously just above the chamber door and croaked sinisterly "never more." Anyway the old trade union professional stood staunchly for the empty, ineffective policy of working the whole thing out in the ranks of the old line political parties, Republican and Democratic.

However, it was an interesting body, to say the least. With Socialists, Forty-Eighters, Non-partisan Leaguers, Farmer-Labor party members together with Independent and progressive American Federation of Labor representatives meeting together to form anything is not the least significant thing to happen in these days of working class disunity.

Doubtless, the inspiration of the effort was to make a try for an American movement according to the British Labor Movement pattern. But not yet. That's a little too advanced. Only the Socialist representatives with a few others could see that. Such a plan is a very logical device for consolidating the forces of labor against their common enemy. It also affords an ample opportunity for different sections of labor to ventilate their views. It allows for the autonomy of each group of workers, which is so essential at this stage of the development of the labor movement.

The workers of America are in dire need of labor-political party which will embrace every shade of working class opinion from the whitest to the reddest; from the rightest to the leftest; the most conservative to the most radical. Then the efforts of labor will become telic, purposeful, conscious. At present it is **only moved by the natural method, vis a tergo of hunger.** This like all organic evolution is slow and costly. Labor has been too long blinded by the so-called immediate urge of getting a few more cents in

wages here and there to the exclusion and sacrifice of the larger and more vital problem of securing workers' control in industry. Of course, immediate demands are absolutely sound and logical. It is the only basis of workingclass unity in aim and action. Political, social and economic ultimates don't touch the consciousness of workers who are put to the task of winning a living from day to day. Reforms are the by products of the class-struggle. If we would get rid of reforms, we must first get rid of the class struggle.

However, the workers have given little thought to anything save reforms involving the immediate satisfaction of their alimentary appetites. Little or no thought has been given to structure, perfecting the weapons with which it expects to fight; or what would be properly styled as the indirect method of action.

Just as man emerging from barbarism planted his crop and prepared for the future instead of doing the more direct and natural thing of pulling the fruit from the trees and starving until they supplied more, he used the indirect method of making his food a secondary consideration and the means and processes of producing the food, the first; so labor must use the indirect method too.

This, then, is the sociology of the task of labor today. It must fashion a weapon to fight with for the achievement of its aims, both immediate and ultimate. Such a step is the formation of a broad labor political party. What is true of labor nationally is all the more true of labor internationally. There must come a "United front," and along that front must stand every militant peasant and proletariat. This does not mean that the dialectic criticism of each other's tactics and principles should not go on. That is the only insurance against stagnation and decay in the ranks of labor.

Thus we bid the American workers to unite, hand and brain, black and white, native and foreign, Jew and Gentile, right and left to work for a common program of creative revolution.

REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA

UNDER the opiate of capitalist journalism, when Europeans and Americans think of Africa, they think of a torrid country, infested with dangerous reptiles, of ferocious beasts, sleeping sickness, gold and rubber with a plentiful supply of cheap, native, semi-civilized labor to dig it. The popular view is that a white man's mission in Africa can be little other save that of teaching the natives the moral value and necessity of wearing pants, and saving their souls by embracing the tenets of modern churchianity. Incidentally, while the natives are being chloroformed by the incense of an industrial and financial religion, the investment bankers proceed to inveigling, bribing or coercing the native chiefs into granting them concessions in the gold and rubber fields. This is how King Leopold of Belgium, carried his blessings to the sinful tribes of the Congo, when eight or ten millions of lives of hapless Africans were murdered to satiate the blood-lust of Belgian imperialism.

But one of the most interesting as well as striking laws of modern capitalism is that, wherever it carries its civilization, there it generates also within itself the

forces destined eventually to overthrow it. Such is the paradox of modern capitalist progress. Hence, in Africa, India, China, and all of the undeveloped countries whose shores are washed by the waves of modern capitalist-imperialism, the natives are being prepared by the capitalist system itself to overthrow capitalism. Great, indeed, was the scientific prophetic vision of Marx to have discerned so far into the future the behavior of so significant an aspect of capitalist society. This is the essence of the social fact—the class struggle, so hated and condemned by the supple, pliant, and hypocritical intellectual representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Thus it is not at all strange to hear of the upheaval in South Africa. It was inevitable. It is the outcome of the inexorable workings of the laws of capitalist economy.

The upshot of the struggle was a conflict over a wage reduction brought about by introducing more native workers into the mines. So it was a three-cornered fight. White miners fought black native miners and the white British and Dutch capitalists fought the white miners. It would appear to the casual observer that the white capitalists love the black miners. Far from it! It simply serves their purpose in beating down the wages of the white miners, to stand by the African workers for the moment. When they settle the dispute victoriously, then they will turn upon both black and white. The capitalist game in far away Africa is played the same as in America, that is pitting once race of workers against the other. A splendid method this of dividing and conquering! This is one of the priceless heritages of the ruling class in all countries. And not yet have the workers caught the lesson of solidarity. The white wage slaves have journeyed to Africa to fight the black wage slaves over the privilege of making profits for their British and Dutch masters. How assinine! How foolish! So expensive are the ways of genetic evolution in achieving social progress. It would appear to be the irony of fate that the black and white workers must wellnigh slay each other ere they catch the cynical smile on the face of their capitalist exploiter. Of course, this blind struggle of mutual decimation among the workers was indulged in by the capitalists too. That, however, was in the morning of their growth. Not so now. Although they still fight. But their League of Nations is a suggestion for a new way out of international disputes other than through mutual slaughter with the sword.

Of this world trend of the capitalists, but a small section of labor appears to be aware. On the workers go, at the behest of their enemies, clutching, in deadly battle, at each other's throats. White workers fight white workers, black workers fight black workers, only to be further divided upon race, religion, class and nationality lines.

For instance, in South Africa, the white unions don't allow Negroes to join them. Nothing else but conflict between black and white workers can grow out of such a stupid policy. It plays right into the hands of the employing class. Its to be expected that the capitalists will exploit such ar-

rant ignorance and suicidal working-class race hate. And they do everywhere.

Says Premier Smuts "The behavior of the natives is beyond reproach, but the whites have nothing to be proud of." From this it is clear that the natives are helping Smuts, and with the requisite and fitting urbanity of a gentleman of the aristocracy, Smuts compliments the natives. This unctuous and subtle flattery draws them nearer to him. We wonder if Mr. Smuts thinks that the natives who have conducted themselves with greater credit and honor than their white brothers are entitled to the right of being left alone on their own land, to self rule.

The ruthless imperialism of Smuts has triumphed. From the latest news dispatches from Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, the Rand miners' revolt has been crushed, 6,000 have been captured, the strike has been repudiated by the South African Industrial Federation and troops are in full control.

Before it was all over, however, the strikers stirred the British ruling class to its very depths.

In mortal fright and utter horror of it all, Lord Northcliffe exclaimed out of the fullness of his virtuous heart, "Bolsheviki!" Of course, it was. Didn't the premier of capitalists' lies say so? Who else but Communists would think of such deviltry of disturbing the tranquil slumbers of the British Lion? And according to the United Press from London, March 16th, the Genoa Conference is to be abandoned, and Leonid Krassin, the Soviet Representative in London expelled as a result of these diabolical machinations of the Bolsheviki. This is the very same canard which has been drawn across the path of the workers in England and America during the terrible days after the war. Once it was the Hun; now it is the Communists. A collapsing system requires such smoke screens. Pretexts are the psychological tools of a ruling class whose naked and brutal reign is becoming more and more the subject of public discussion, of the workers' scrutiny.

What is the lesson of South Africa's industrial tempest? To the workers it is an unequivocal and decisive challenge. "Either rise united, or go down divided." It is also a clear demonstration of the fallacy and weakness of a "white working man's unionism." The native Africans rallied to the support of the British and Dutch imperialists. The black Senegalese have fought bravely to uphold French imperialism. The black citizens of America have crimsoned the soil of many a battlefield to protect and extend American imperialism. The white workers, too, have done no less. But the point is that the black workers will swing toward the imperialists all the more if their white brothers continue to practice their narrow, bigoted, racial proletarian imperialism toward them. And what else in the name of God is there for them to do? Self-preservation is the first law of nature. As between a principle and life, men usually select life. So do groups. If the white workers are unwilling to organize their black brothers and concede them the right to share the job supply, they can expect to face none other than an enraged, black, mad man yelping for their blood. This will hold back a world-wide workers' emancipation.

This is the "isness" of modern industrial life;

never mind about the "oughtness." What will the British, Dutch, French, Italian and American labor movements do about the black colonial labor problem? So far they have done nothing definite. Is it not apparent that the nemesis of the European, American and Russian proletariat holds forth in the colonies? The Russian workers seem to have appreciated this fact more than any other group of workers we know of. The awakened workers of all lands are struggling for a United Front. What sort of a front will it be? Will it be for or against the colored workers. Will it take them in or leave them out? These are now the vital questions of the hour. The Amsterdam Trade Union International, the Red Trade Union International, the Second International, the Vienna Working Union, and the Third International should formulate and present a definite, clearcut policy on this grave issue.

Meanwhile the black workers in America and the West Indies should force a showdown by the labor movements of their respective countries on the black colonial labor problem. It is necessary to establish whether the interests of the modern trade union movements of the different countries are so tied up with the fortunes of empire that they dare not take a hand in the colonial labor debacle, pointing the way to black and white unity.

In the forthcoming conferences of labor, Socialists and Communists, the black peasant and proletariat should take their place at the top of the agenda. No other problem is more vital while the world borders upon great changes. Only a genuine class struggle world labor movement can prevent the Black peasants and workers from becoming the counter-revolutionary white guard of international imperialism. The solvent key is "equality."

Economics and Politics

The Crisis in Negro Business

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

THERE is a crisis in business. It is national and international. It is an industrial commercial and financial crisis. It began in the latter part of 1920. In the collapse of foreign exchange, in the closing down of factories and mines; in the restriction of credit; in wholesale lay-offs, slashing of wages and consequent widespread unemployment; in the deflation of prices, the crisis reflects itself.

No business or profession; no movement, spiritual or political has escaped the deadening blight of this worldwide economic scourge.

The present crisis followed the war, but the war was not its cause. Doubtlessly the war accelerated its rate, intensified and expanded its general effects.

As the Great War tore up ancient, historic, political kingdoms and empires by their very roots and hurled them into oblivion; so the Great World Crisis uprooted numberless financial, industrial and commercial empires and kingdoms and consigned them to the limbo of eternal obscurity. In the maelstrom of the war, the smaller nations suffered most. They were dismembered and appropriated by the larger powers, at will. With no less catastrophic ruthlessness, the small business units are torn limb from limb and, gobbled up by the great business Titans in industry, finance and trade. As out of the war a few big nations emerged with all of the world's power and control; so out of the panic a few trusts, syndicates and cartels, will emerge with the spoils of economic power and control, ready and prepared for a renewed, prolonged and more intense struggle with the forces of organized labor. In the arena of world powers, the smaller nations are building up little ententes such as Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania to re-enforce their position before the onward march of

modern imperialism. By the same instinct of self-preservation, the petit businesses are organizing little economic ententes with a view to securing and safeguarding their trading spheres of influence. Such are the economic tendencies that stand out in bold relief in the present crisis.

So much for the nature and scope of the crisis.

What now is its cause?

The causes of most social economic and political phenomena can best be studied and examined in the light of history. From a cursory glance of American economic history, it will be seen that since 1814, the last 108 years there have occurred 17 panics. They are periodic. They follow and precede wars. Their behavior obeys and conforms to certain definite economic laws. Since the advent of our modern industrial-financial-capitalist system of production and exchange, our periods of prosperity have been followed by a period of deflation; the period of deflation is followed by a period of stagnation. Each period running about one-third of the cycle. After stagnation has spent itself, a revival of prosperity sets in again, and we repeat the vicious circle. As society is presently organized, hardtimes, are as sure to follow prosperity as the night the day.

Thus the main divisions of an economic crisis are: deflation or the break in high prices and wages, and stagnation or exhaustion, devitalization of the economic life of the country in particular and the world in general.

Its root cause is overproduction. Not overproduction in the sense that more commodities and services are produced than the people are capable of consuming; but overproduction as a result of the inability of those who produce to buy back what they have

produced. For example: Let us suppose than 50 billion dollars worth of wealth are produced annually in America. Let us further suppose that 25 billions go, in the form of wages to labor, and the remaining 25 billions, in the form of rent, interest and profits, go to the employers of labor and the owners of the land and tools of production.

Now the 25 billions that go, in the form of wages, must maintain the workers and their families who comprise roughly 90 per cent of the population, 100,000,000 or more. On the other hand, the 25 billions, in the form of rent, interest and profits, that are appropriated by the owning and employing class, must maintain roughly 10 per cent of the population, or some 10 million persons. Obviously the workers and their families can buy back of the wealth they have produced no more than the value of their income or 25 billion dollars. On the other hand the owning and employing class which constitutes but 10 per cent of the population can not consume but a very small part of the wealth they have received. Thus, a surplus is accumulated. The workers could consume more than their share, 25 billion dollars worth of wealth, but they can't buy any more, while the propertied class possess more wealth than they can consume. Through the power of price fixing which resides in the hands of the employers, wages or the share of wealth which go to labor is made to remain fairly constant, and not infrequently, forced downward; while profits tend to rise more or less rapidly. The result of this process is that more commodities are produced than are absorbed at a profit to the business interests. Consequently production slackens up. For, according to good business economics, what is the use of producing more goods when the existing supply can not be sold at profitable prices. Such is the reason for the closing down of the factories, mines and shops, reducing all forms of services, etc. In as much as banks are institutions merely for the promotion of industrial and commercial enterprises, whenever they fail, the banks that exist and grow powerful by extending loans at an interest to such enterprises will fail also, unless, of course, their resources are sufficient to tide them over such periods. Witness the crash of 40 or more banks right in the cotton belt of the South as a result of the fall in the price of cotton from its high war level of 40 or more cents a pound to 15 cents and less a pound. In Cuba the National Bank of Cuba closed when the price of sugar broke from the war altitude of 25 cents to 15, 10 and 5 cents a pound. In a large number of states and countries, the sudden tumbling of prices of certain commodities, forced the governments to step in and declare moratoriums or a postponement in the payment of debts. Where there was no legal moratorium, thousands of businesses simply defaulted, refused payment of their obligations. This was inevitable, as their turn-overs were small and slow. Still the inventories were large. They had been piled up during the reign of high prices, which they expected to last indefinitely. Now they are caught in the slump of prices. They cannot afford to sell at the price the people are willing and able to buy, and the people can not afford to buy at the price they are willing and able to sell. Meanwhile the banks press upon the enterprises for the payment of their loans.

Thus the small business man will fail if he does not sell his stock at a price below that which he paid for them, and certainly, he will fail if he does. The big businesses, on the other hand, find it eminently profitable to effect a more or less rapid liquidation. Their margin of operating capital is quite ample to safeguard them on a falling market. By cutting their prices below those at which the small businesses are able to sell, they drive them out of the field, thereby expanding their own economic domain. During these periods the small dealer is either destroyed entirely or he is so deeply involved in debt that he is virtually mortgaged for life and assumes the relation to the capitalists of an economic vassal, a mere hired clerk.

Such is the process of the present panic, the full effects of whose far-reaching economic readjustments during the past year are exhibited in a new record of commercial failures throughout the country. Statistics for the year compiled by R. G. Dun & Co., show 19,652 insolvencies for indebtedness aggregating \$627,401,883; and this is exclusive of banking suspensions and personal bankruptcies. In 1920 there were 8,881 failures with indebtedness of \$229,121,805. According to R. G. Dun & Co., in the last quarter century there has been only one year, 1915, when the number of failures exceeded the number for last year.

But the total liabilities for 22, 156 failures were only \$302,286,148. During the last year there were 873 failures for \$100,000 or more.

The increase of commercial mortality was marked in every section of the country. The year's defaults were 928.8 per cent larger in number than those of 1920, in New England; 81.9 per cent greater, in the Middle Atlantic States; 186.3 per cent more numerous in the South Atlantic group; 195.5 per cent heavier, in the South Central division, and 143.6 per cent larger in the Central East, while increases of 160.2, 126.7 and 50.8 per cent, respectively, are reported by the Central Western, Western and Pacific States.

The poorest numerical showing, therefore, is made by the South Central States and the best by the Pacific Coast. In respect of liabilities the most pronounced expansion is in the Central West, with 263.4 per cent. Increases elsewhere range from 38.9 per cent on the Pacific Coast to 244.7 in the South Central section.

In the southern district of New York 2,355 bankruptcy petitions were filed during the year. This is 852 more than in 1920, and is the largest number filed any year in a decade.

Add to this appalling financial, industrial and commercial mortality toll of 1921, the frightful and astounding dissolutions of large brokerage firms in Wall Street, engaged in "bucket shopping," in the latter part of February and the first part of March, 1922, and we are able to visualize the disastrous ravages of the present economic storm. At one time, two and three brokerage houses with liabilities aggregating 6 and 7 millions were going into bankruptcy daily. Members of the New York Stock Exchange were wrecked in the sweeping gale.

Out of this business wreckage bigger empires of capital will arise. Control of credit power will be concentrated in fewer hands. Mergers of erstwhile competing firms will proceed apace. A concrete case will be in point here. In the first part of January, a great merger between the Fort Dearborn National

Bank, the Fort Dearborn Trust and Savings Bank and the Continental and Commercial Bank in Chicago, was effected. It involved \$60,000,000. Without such a merger, it is reported that a crash would have occurred involving 32 subsidiary brokerage firms and manufacturers throughout the country. As a result of the combination, the deposits of the Continental and Commercial Bank were increased to \$410,000,000. Its total resources now exceeds \$525,000,000, and it becomes the second largest institution of its kind in the country. The merger also safeguards the depositors in the Dearborn institutions and will also increase their general earning power. In other words the bulk business of the three banks combined will be much larger than the bulk business of the three operating separately. Besides, the overhead of a larger amount of business done will be cut at least by one half. Such is the law of the growth of modern capitalist institutions.

Now a word about the application of these principles to Negro business.

At the outset let it be thoroughly understood that there are no peculiar economic laws that are specially adjusted for Negro business. The same causes that produce the success or failure of business run by white entrepreneurs are the causes also of the success or failure of business operated by Negroes. There are, however, certain businesses in which opportunities to succeed and the likelihood to fail are measurably increased as a result of the operation of certain crystallized customs founded upon race prejudice. Barbering and hair dressing among Negroes are instances in point. Such businesses are usually of the personal service kind.

In the main the behavior of the phenomena of Negro business is similar to that of the small business man. His turn-overs are small. His credit is small. His operating capital is always inadequate. Like most small business units of all races and nationalities, his system of accounting is bad and his management is not the best. Few far-reaching economies can be effected when a small volume of business is done. Still there are certain constant charges that are no different from those of the mammoth business enterprise. He must pay the same wages of the Trust. He is unable to contend with the organized power of labor through prolonged, expensive strikes. In short, the small business is a menace to itself and the public, because it must pay lower wages and sell at higher prices, and still its security is not assured.

Among Negro businesses the present depression has wrought havoc. Negro banks have failed all over the country. Several of his hotels and theatres have gone under. Only the more stable institutions can survive. The Negro business man finds himself hard put to the task of competing with gigantic combinations of capital—trusts who can excel him in service, price and quality.

For instance, in the retail grocery field, the small store, white or black, is driven to the wall by the great chain store corporations, such as James Butler, Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co., Daniel Reeves, etc. These stores have been selling sugar below the price at which the small grocer could buy it wholesale.

In the restaurant line, in New York, Chicago, De-

troit and a few other larger cities, the Negro restaurateur finds that his field has been invaded by the chain restaurant and lunchroom corporations. These concerns buy their supplies by the tons, and sometimes by the carloads. One purchasing agent may be buying for 50 or more different stores or lunchrooms. They are serving millions of persons daily in one city. And these corporations ramify throughout a 100 or more cities. What economies can they not effect? One advertising agent is employed for a thousand or more stores. They can employ experts in every field affecting their line. Their fingers are on the pulse of the market. They know how to buy with a rising and falling market.

Not so with the small man. He is operating purely upon chance.

In Harlem, the St. Claire, the Manhattan and the Capitol are all corporation chain lunches, and they are gradually capturing the field from the independent small Negro lunch and restaurant keepers. Only Tabb's Grill and Lunch has expanded since the advent of these chain lunch and restaurants into the neighborhood. But Tabb himself is adopting the chain system. He is competing with his competitors. The Pomona Bakery has also adopted the chain store system. So has the Hart 5, 10 & 25 cent store adopted the chain store plan. Most of the small Negro eating places are dying a slow death. What is true of New York is true of most of the big cities where Negroes are trying to do business on the oldsmall unit-independent plan. The Negro groups can improve their status immensely by pooling their purchasing power.

In the insurance field Negroes are the beneficiaries of the operation of the law of race prejudice. This, of course, relates chiefly to the great life companies. The white sick and accident insurance companies are the keen competitors of the Negro companies. It can not be said that they are any superior to the Negro companies. In this field, however, the Negroes could strengthen their position immeasurably by combination. The white companies are already resorting to the merger principle. Unless the Negroes follow suit they will be forced out of the field, for the white companies will be able to give better premiums at lower prices, which is the chief inducement to a buyer. They will also be a safer investment for the Negro public, as a result of their greater power. This is no advantage, however, which the Negro companies can not secure also.

In Banking, the Negro has lost ground as a result of the present crisis. In the future his only hope is the merger such as the white institutions are adopting everywhere. In Harlem, New York, the Chelsea Bank, one of the largest banking systems in America, has strangled every effort, on the part of Negroes, to establish a bank in this section. And it is a matter of common business knowledge that no group of people in any community can develop strong business institutions without favorable banking facilities. It is alleged by most Negro business men in Harlem that the Harlem branch of the Chelsea Bank will not accommodate Negroes with loans, despite the fact that they are depositors in the bank. Naturally, the only remedy for this is a Negro bank. A co-operative bank would be preferable.

Now a word about the remedy. As I have indi-

cated above, the only remedies are combination and the co-operative business method. Pooling of buying power is the solvent key. Only a trust can face a trust in competition. The biggest efforts the Negroes have yet made in a business way are the Standard Life Insurance, Brown and Stevens, Bankers, the C. J. Walker and Poro, manufacturers of hair preparations, the Wage Earners Saving Bank, the North Carolina Provident and Mutual Insurance and the Nail and Parker real estate firm. All of these are doing well. They can do better if they adopt modern business methods in buying and selling and combining.

The second phase of the remedy is educational.

Besides actual economic combination in buying and selling, there must be moral and educational combination. This will take the form of business associations in the different cities such as the white chambers of commerce. They, in turn, must be linked up into a National Negro Chamber of Commerce, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce. At the same time Negro business men should join the white men's business associations when and where they can. These associations, however, must be more than social affairs for smoking and drinking. The laws, principles and facts of modern business must be discussed. Experts, in all lines, should be engaged to speak. A comprehensive educational program should be devised. Measures should be adopted for the protection and advancement of Negro business. Combinations should be discussed. Loans devised for new ventures with the requisite safety. Methods of business ventilated. A consumers educational campaign should also be devised. No hostility should be advocated or engendered against white enterprise. This policy will fail. Only sound, modern, scientific economics will win. Race loyalty is an inconsequential and ineffective appeal. It is usually employed by the self-seeking, at the expense of the race. No Negro enterprise will succeed that is not compatible with the economic well-being of the masses of Negro consumers. And none should succeed. As between the interest of ten or more Negro business men in the community and a thousand Negro working class consumers, I stand by the worker-consumer everytime. I also stand for the unionization of the Negro workers in the Negro enterprise. For the wages of ten men

working for a living are far more important than the profits of one. Furthermore, a Negro business man will pay as low wages to a Negro worker as a white business man will. As white workers organize against white employers so Negro workers must organize against Negro employers. And when white workers are working for Negro employers, they too must be unionized against the Negro employer for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

My interest in this subject arises out of certain disadvantageous conditions to Negroes that are accentuated by the element of race prejudice. We anticipate no great change in the conditions of the broad masses of working Negroes through a few successful Negro businesses. A greater development of the Negro business will afford, however, a wider opportunity to the Negro "brain worker" who is being turned out of the schools and colleges daily without hope of employment because of existing race prejudices.

Another essential form of education is the conference. The present crisis necessitates a national economic conference, in which all types of Negro business should participate. Even the great capitalist nations are adopting the conference methods for the discussion of plans and policies for an economic rehabilitation. The Genoa Conference is a splendid example. Then the permanent annual convention has value. Something different from the National Negro Business League, however, is needed. It was useful at one time as a source of inspiration. That was the period of creating the desire in the Negro to do business; but today the chief need is a knowledge of method. Desire to do anything without a knowledge of the method by which one proposes to do that thing will simply lead to ruin.

In conclusion I want to add that the hope of the Negro business efforts today lies in the co-operative method which takes in the consumers.

The trust has advanced to far for the Negro to enter the fields where it controls on a purely capitalist-profit basis. Besides, the co-operative plan is more democratic. In it the consumers buy from themselves. Hence when properly run, it can not fail. In a future article, I shall discuss the co-operative and the future of Negro business.

Education and Literature

DAWN IN PLEASANTVILLE

By MATTHEW BENNETT

LIKE a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky, into the heart of Pleasantville, came a strange and fearless young Negro, preaching, "The New Freedom."

He was tall, wiry, and as dark as a moonless night. He carried a bag in one hand, and walked with the lordly dignity of a Moor. As he elbowed his way through a vast throng at "The People's Forum," and took a seat on the rostrum, the eager audience sat mute.

The Chairman of the meeting, Counselor Amos

Jackson, known to have radical tendencies, rapped with his gavel, demanding order. "Ladies and Gentlemen: said he, I take great pleasure in introducing to you, tonight, Mr. Wm. Dennison, of New York City, an ardent young Socialist, who will speak to you on "The Principles of Industrial Unionism, Co-Operation, and Social Democracy." His viewpoint may not be yours, but then, I know you will respect him. I thank you."

Wm. Dennison, earnest apostle of those who toil in the night of wage slavery, painted a horrible picture

of the oppressed of all lands; and entered a bitter tirade against the world-wide foray of Capitalistic Imperialism.

The forceful young speaker had his audience going by now, and was getting lusty cheers of approval.

"My people," continued he, "the evening of petty prejudice in Labor's horizon wanes, and dawn breaks on the hazy mountain-tops. Bright day will soon beckon us; and behold! I come to you, my people, preaching, 'The New Freedom,' The Kingdom of Man, of Comradeship, of a just Social Order upon Earth—the Co-Operative Commonwealth—the Great Commune of Peace and Plenty for All Mankind."

His talk now abounded in virile and picturesque metaphors. The speaker gradually lifted his audience to sublime heights, and brought them gently back to earth again. He sometimes regaled, admonished or advised them.

There was no sign of a rift in the lute, until Paul Dayton, short, stock and brown, unceremoniously interrupted the speaker. Dayton was middle-aged, bespectacled, and looked important. He was the Ultra-Conservative Poet of the town.

He was hooted down with cries of "Shame" and was advised by the Chairman, "To be seated."

Dennison stirred his audience again, and ended with, "Behold! my people, I come preaching, 'The New Freedom.'"

There were instantly many radical upshoots, but the Chairman would recognize nobody at the moment but the distinguished Dayton.

Dayton made an earnest plea for, "the good old times," and thought that his opponent had strayed far afield, when he planned to come to disturb the peace and quiet of the old citizenry of Pleasantville.

"Augh can that that old Sixty-One Stuff, an' git in de new Crowd," yelled a bad kid in the corner.

Dennison, the riot of the evening, met many Social Lights of the town after his lecture. He experienced a grand thrill, when he was introduced to Miss Arabella, who resembled a bronze doll, escorted by Dayton.

Dayton, shaking hands with Dennison, said, "I am glad to meet you, but regret that I must oppose you." "I see," returned Dennison, with nonchalance.

Dennison thought Arabella the sweetest creature he would ever meet this side of Jerico. As he noted her perfect poise, he purposely prolonged the banter, while Dayton fiddled up and down, twirling his big walking-stick, ominously.

When Dayton left Arabella's house that night, he was as mad as a red bull—his mind in a maze.

Whom should he find at Arabella's house the next night but the dashing young Dennison. Both men looked daggers at each other. Arabella sang: "At Dawning," to still the troubled waters. Dayton now wandered aimlessly over the keys of the piano, as Dennison and Arabella talked. While Dayton next busied himself with the victrola, Arabella and Dennison danced to the lilting "Love Nest" tune.

Dayton's temper, now being at almost the breaking

point, made him ripe for debate. He and Dennison had it hot and heavy.

A thunder shower came up suddenly, and it poured. Dayton told himself, after, that the shower was the only thing that cooled his wrath, and kept him from blackening Dennison's eyes. He thought it Providential.

A week passed, and Arabella had not seen her Poet-Lover; but Dennison had surely kept her busy.

Dayton wandered vaguely to himself, "just where he stood in the matter?" He had proposed to Arabella just before the advent of this strange young Socialist, and he hadn't her answer yet.

Dayton received this note.

Dear Paul:

Please call for me at 9 tonight. We are invited to Aunt Belinda's Birthday Party. I am now President of "The Women's Industrial Garment Workers' Association." Mr. Dennison is a wonderful organizer.

Sincerely yours,

Arabella.

Dayton's note, mailed previously.

Dear Arabella:

I have a confession to make when I see you.

Faithfully yours,

Paul.

Everybody was having a wonderful time at Aunt Belinda's Birthday Party. It was Spring and the air was balmy. Dennison and Arabella sat chatting on the veranda.

"When are you going to tell Dayton, Miss Snow?" asked he, searching her depths with his level gaze. I can see that he's obsessed with that awful solicitude of mind."

"Tonight," she said.

They went inside to mingle with the throng, and Arabella beheld Dayton at a pitiful effort to hide his emotions. She impulsively threw her arms about him, boldly in the face of every one present, whispering tenderly: "I am yours forever, Paul, to have and to hold."

Dennison stood amazed. "She refused me, he mused, but Great Heavens! how I worship her from afar."

The revelers were now leaving at 5 A. M., and Paul and Arabella, accompanied by Dennison, thought that they'd like to walk home in the dawn. "Dear me! O, what's that confession, Paul dear," asked Arabella, thoughtfully.

"O, I am a convert to the cause of 'The New Freedom,' declared Dayton, with enthusiasm.

"Give me your hand, Dayton, put in Dennison, patting his rival on the back; I return to New York tomorrow, but I take pleasureable memories back with me, and an army of followers, led by two most ardent converts to the Cause of 'The New Freedom.'"

"O, Mr. Dennison, exclaimed Arabella, just what do you think is the grandest thing on earth?"

"Love at dawn in Pleasantville," responded Dennison; and he bid them: "Adieu!" with, "God bless you, my comrades."

THE LABOR WORLD

THE tide in the affairs of labor ebbs and flows. An advance today; a retreat tomorrow, marks the long, eventful march of the workers. In the long, weary way some grow sick at heart and fall; but the mighty host lumbers on, gathering vision and power and wisdom and the will to conquer. Ever and anon, some "doubting" Thomas cries "halt! there is no hope;" and an artful Judas betrays the cause; but labor still carries on; for this is the paradox: labor's struggles contain both the cause and the end of its struggles. Here, and there, like the flash of a diamond in the sand, a militant section of the awakened proletariat, surges forward, scales the ramparts of the enemy, and plants securely in the breeze the banner of a workers' republic.

Thus a workers' world is in the making.

A WORKERS' CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

THE Second Annual Conference of the Workers' Education Bureau of America will be held Saturday and Sunday, April 22 and 23, in the New School of Social Research. Labor is learning that the great American universities and colleges that are subsidized by the banking, steel, coal, railroad and oil interests, do not, will not and can not educate the head and heart of labor for labor's weal.

DEATH TOLL ON LABOR'S BATTLEFIELD

ACCORDING to Commissioner Charles H. Verrill of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, the death of workers from industrial accidents are 20,000 a year; number of accidents resulting in temporary disability 2,500,000; number of permanent total disabilities 1,628; and the number of permanent partial disabilities is about 100,000. The total number of days lost as a result of the foregoing mishaps 247,008,000; wages \$443,105,000.

Is there any wonder that the enlightened, class-conscious workers are demanding and fighting for workers' control in industry, which, of course, can only come with the social ownership of the resources and means of production and exchange.

Such a casualty list is unwept, unhonored and unsung by the muses of the reigning class.

ANTI-STRIKE BILLS FAIL

THE Duell-Miller Bills presumably framed to effect an amiable settlement of industrial disputes, but which in reality were intended to make galley-slaves out of the workers, have failed. The workers rallied and dealt them a mortal blow. The anti-strike serpent is not dead, however. He still lives to beguile the unsuspecting, credulous and gullible of labor. Workers beware, take care!

BIG NEEDLES TRADES UNIONS FACE NEW FIGHT

MR. Schlesinger and Mr. Hillman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, respectively, are now busy mobilizing their forces for a new struggle. The clothing bosses, while they think they have the workers' backs to the wall, are doing their utmost to revive the old sweatshop-piecework, hire and fire-at-will system. Both organizations have not long since had a victorious strike which cost millions. Fortunately, the morale of the workers seems ready for a new encounter, for which the unions have instituted drives for a fund ranging in the millions.

During the strike of the A.C.W. of A., Mr. Hoover, at the bidding of the clothing bosses, announced the intention and necessity of investigating the Amalgamated workers, but when it was suggested that the investigation extend also to the clothing manufacturers, the whole thing died stillborn.

Such seems to be the fate of the effort of the garment bosses to investigate the garment workers. The workers should decide not to return to the brutal sweatshop system, Hoover and Davis to the contrary notwithstanding.

Now is no time for retreating. It's the day for holding your own or going forward.

THE IMPENDING COAL STRIKE

THE coal strike is scheduled for April 1. The coal barons have refused to meet the coal miners to discuss new terms. The coal operators feel themselves secure, now that there are 6,000,000 workers unemployed in the country. Hence they have sent their ultimatum to the workers. The government, apparently, is maintaining a "hands off" policy. This, of course, will cease immediately the coal kings appear to be getting the worse of the bout. Then the coal bosses will give the wink to their legal, judicial journalistic and military lackeys, and injunctions and police clubs, and the deadly weapons of hired gunmen will begin to fly right and left on the heads of the miners.

TEXTILE WORKERS FIGHTING HARD

THE textile mill owners of New England have reduced the textile workers' wages 20 per cent, and increased their working time from 48 to 54 and 55 hours. In New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island a widespread strike is raging. The hired gunmen and thugs are slaying the workers. The state troops and police are giving questionable service in quelling the rioting. As usual, they protect the interests of the bosses, and club the strikers, on the grounds that the workers are breaking the peace and endangering private property. Several strikers have been killed in the attempt to re-establish "law and order." It would appear that property is more sacred than life.

Open Forum

Philadelphia, February 8th, 1922.

To the President of the United States:

We the Members of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union Philadelphia Branch No. 510 formerly Local No. 8 Branch No. 1 of the Industrial Workers of the World numbering about 2,500 Members at a regular meeting assembled February 7th, 1922 adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS:—Four of our Members are serving terms aggregating Fifty (50) years in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Three (3) Ten and One (10) Twenty years for alleged violation of the Espionage Act and Draft Act and

WHEREAS:—The record of our Organization during the war shows that it was at all times loyal to the Government and tried its best to be as efficient as possible in carrying out the Government's war program, as will more fully appear hereinafter; and

WHEREAS:—These four Men took an active and loyal part in this work of the Organization and never had any intention whatsoever of violating either the Draft Act or the Espionage Act and

WHEREAS:—We know and can prove by the records of the Organization part of which are set forth herein, of which Organization these four men were Members that they never conspired to obstruct the draft or interfere with the United States Government in its war with the Central Powers for if the object of these Men had been to obstruct the Government in its War work they had ample opportunities for doing so morally and physically, since some of them worked on high explosives themselves, and

WHEREAS:—This Organization loaded all explosives that left this Port before and after the United States Government entered the war with Germany and not a single accident of any kind took place at the docks or on the ships loaded by our Organization, and ammunition was loaded at Pigeon's Point, Wilmington, Carney's and Thompson's Points and also 90 per cent of the General Transportation was loaded, and unloaded by Members of our Organization. A Transport Steamer after being loaded at the Port of New York took fire at sea and was brought back to the Philadelphia Navy Yard and Members of this Organization handled that Steamer. The Buttons of our Organization were recognized by the United States Government on the river front and Navy Yard in many instances as a River Front Passport, and

WHEREAS:—We had from 500 to 1000 Members working at the Navy Yard every day in the week during the war both day and night and

WHEREAS:—Every Member of the Organization in the draft age registered and between 700 to 800 Members went to war and saw actual service. Every Member in the Army or Navy was considered in good standing in the Organization until he returned and was exempted from paying dues to the Organization.

1000 Members of this Organization working at the Navy Yard purchased between \$50,000 and \$55,000 of Liberty Bonds, Members working for Murphy Cook Co. purchased \$25,000, Members working for S. C. Loveland purchased \$15,000 and miscellaneous about \$20,000 totalling all told in Liberty Bonds by Members of this Organization \$115,000.

To prove what the spirit and action of our Organization actually was we shall quote resolutions from the Minutes of our business meetings while we were at war with Germany.

Meeting of December 30, 1917.

Resolved:—That every Member of Local No. 8 become a Member of the Red Cross Society.

Meeting of December 30, 1917.

Resolved:—That our Financial Secretary be empowered to get in touch with the Red Cross Society. Secretary wrote up all Members for Red Cross.

Meeting of February 26, 1918.

Resolved:—That any Member of our Local Union who has been in the United States Army or Navy service and shows an Honorable discharge when he returns, his book be straightened up.

Meeting of April 9, 1918.

Resolved:—That we get a Liberty Bond of \$1,000.

Communication came here asking to buy Liberty Bonds from U. S. A.

Meeting of April 16, 1918.

Resolved:—That we get a Service Flag.

Meeting of April 9, 1918.

Resolved:—That we postpone the Celebration of the 15th of May which is our legal holiday ever since our Organization is in existence so as not to hamper the war work of the Government.

ALL THESE MOTIONS WERE CARRIED OUT.

On the strength of the facts mentioned, we the Members of this Organization want to know why our Members are kept in Prison?

When the United States Government appealed to us for our support during the war, we faithfully and generously complied with their appeal as we considered it our duty to our Government to do our utmost so that success may be with us. Now we appeal to you Mr. President and Mr. Attorney-General, for your kind and immediate consideration for the unconditional release of Walter T. Nef, Edward F. Doree, Benjamin H. Fletcher and John J. Walsh being that these Men never violated any law or intended to interfere in any way at all with the war program of the Government when at War with Germany, and be it further

RESOLVED:—That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the daily press so that the Public as well as the Government may know the actual records of our Organization.

The Records of this Organization are open for examination at any time.

Most respectfully yours,
Marine Transport Worker Industrial Union No. 510
Philadelphia Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.

Editors the MESSENGER:

In the current issue of the MESSENGER, embodied in your excellent editorial upon the coal situation, you have given the number of colored miners signatory to the organization of the United Mine Workers of America as 40 per cent of the total membership. As an old newspaper man, with the figures in my hand, will you permit me to say for your information that this percentage is only 8.2. I feel assured that you will in no manner repulse this correction.

I want to take this opportunity to commend you for the tone of your plea for organization of the racial man-power. It seems to me, personally, that many of the difficulties that now beset us will be minimized if your advice is followed.

With kindest personal regards, I am
Yours very truly,

PHIL H. BROWN

We appreciate this correction.—*The Editors.*

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

For some time, I have been thinking of writing you, but only until now have I ever succeeded. I want to congratulate you and your assistants on such a brilliant mouthpiece that dares to speak out, amid all the censorship of press. Will you be so good as to send me some information as to how I might become a member of the Socialist Party? I love the principles of that party, and the things that it stands for. Our grand old Republican party is not worth its room in h—.

Mr. Harding has certainly shown the old "hat-in-hand" Negroes where they stood as far as he was concerned.

Thanking you in advance, may God speed the MESSENGER and the rise of the American proletariat!

ROBERT V. BARNES.

Washington, D. C.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

Your last number just came to hand and it sure is a gem in every way, in literature and in substance. Keep on emphasizing the solidarity of labor of all races.

Fraternally,
H. BORST.

Pensacola, Fla.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 6th inst. Please find enclosed money order for the best Negro publication in America.

With best wishes for the MESSENGER and its editors, I am

Sincerely,
THOMAS KIRKSEY.

Boston, Mass.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

I am glad to get the MESSENGER. It arrived this morning. The MESSENGER is always a welcome visitor. Glad that you have got the second-class mail privileges back. Now go to it, make up for lost time, for the MESSENGER is needed very much to stir up the people and make them think. There are so many sham battles going on now, some one must be in a position to give good advice to suffering humanity. May the MESSENGER long live and do much good.

Enclosed please find check for three dollars to pay on my subscription, I am

Yours,
GEORGE W. WHITLEY.

Los Angeles, Cal.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

Considered from the standpoint of altruistic and unpurchasable political economy, of forensic and literary excellence, of technical and beautiful, high-minded journalism, there is nothing in North America nor anywhere else that can wrest the brilliant laurels of glory and the imperishable wreaths of justice from the brows of our Kastor-Pollux pair of militant Negro sentinels for liberty, Brothers Chandler Owen and Philip Randolph. You have been tested and found to be more than 100 per cent humanitarians, philosophers and truth-telling gladiators.

There is nothing either here or anywhere else in the world, nothing White or Black or any color at all that can be more humane, more intelligent, more mind and soul uplifting than the best paper the struggling and oppressed Negro people have—the MESSENGER—a noble reflection of two noble souls that soar for freedom, for justice and for one solid humane brotherhood of all mankind.

Please accept \$5.00 for my renewed subscription.

LOUIS MICHEL.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Editors of THE MESSENGER:

Find enclosed \$1.50 for renewal of the MESSENGER. I consider it one of my best papers.

A. BUTTERFIELD.

Ruskin, Fla.

YOUR needs in Drugs and
Prescriptions always receive
Prompt and Courteous Attention
at our store.

We carry a full supply of Imported
as well as Domestic Medicines,
Perfumes and Herbs.

S. DOMOFF'S PHARMACY
627 Lenox Avenue **New York**

Notes of The Friends of Negro Freedom

Chandler Owen, co-editor of the Messenger and one of the executive secretaries of the Friends of Negro Freedom is on a tour through the West. He will go to the Pacific Coast. In most of the large cities, he will organize councils of the Friends of Negro Freedom. The tour will extend over a period of two and a half months.

Already, reports flow into the headquarters about the successful meetings he has held. He will also appear before a large number of public forums, colleges and labor unions.

In Chicago and Seattle special meetings are being arranged by the central labor bodies.

The Philadelphia Council of the Friends of Negro Freedom is wide awake. It conducts, every Sunday afternoon one of the most interesting public forums in the Country.

All of the burning questions of the day are discussed by able and brilliant speakers. Speakers are recruited from all schools of thought, radical, liberal and conservative. It was the first to have Congressman Dyer present the Dyer Anti-lynching bill to the people of Philadelphia.

When the Ku Klux Klan was sending menacing letters to the colored citizens of Philadelphia, and a prominent Negro preacher wrote a letter to the white press defending the Klan, the Friends of Negro Freedom arranged a Monster Mass Meeting which so severely condemned and excoriated Rev. Mosses, the Minister in question, that he immediately began trying to explain that his letter did not mean what it meant.

The Philadelphia Council is now engaged in conducting a membership drive. Prizes are to be awarded to the members who bring in the largest number of members within a given time.

On the last Tuesday in the month a general membership meeting of the Philadelphia Council is held.

ON the Pacific Coast, according to several newspapers, both white and colored, Mr. Owen, has made the most striking impression of all of the Negro leaders, authors, writers, scholars, including Kelly Miller, Du Bois, Dean Pickens, etc. Before large white and colored audiences, he has made some of the most brilliant speeches ever heard on the Coast. He has been going from city to city in Southern California in an automobile making his speaking dates, sometimes filling two and three engagements a day. Several of the leading white and colored papers have

carried extensive interviews from Mr. Owen, stressing mainly his forceful logic, his gripping oratory and radical tone.

It was his privilege to appear before the great Central Labor Council of Seattle, Washington.

This is one of the largest and most progressive labor bodies in America.

In Los Angeles, he was banquetted in a most brilliant style by some of the leading citizens.

He has a return engagement in Denver and Chicago where two large meetings are being arranged. This is the result of the impression his first appearances in these cities made.

In Pittsburgh, huge meetings are being arranged for him. In all of the cities where he has held meetings, he is establishing the Friends of Negro Freedom's Councils.

Letters of praise and inquiries about the Friends of Negro Freedom pour into the headquarters.

It is an indication of the spirit of the people. The masses of Negroes are yearning, yea, hungering for a great mass movement—a movement that will guard and protect their interest at the points of production and consumption. The great masses of Negroes who have come North during the war are virtually helpless. They are looking for both spiritual and scientific leadership. The war has come and gone; but the old Negro leadership still remains, barren empty, and lifeless, without heart or head. It is no different, however, from the old white leadership. They have simply run their course, but they are loath to retire from the arena. They doggedly hold on while their programs are being abandoned and repudiated by the young, impatient, virile element of New Negroes.

The purpose of the Friends of Negro Freedom is to crystallize, organize and consolidate the growing ranks of the disillusioned and awakened Negroes.

It is now gathering momentum which will sweep it through the Negro world like a great spiritual revival.

Subscribe to

THE MESSENGER

\$1.50 Per Year

A Call to Solidarity!!

Local 8 of the Marine Transport Workers of Philadelphia, affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, call to the workers of all races, creeds, color and nationality to Unite.

If we would maintain our standard of living, and prepare for the final emancipation of the workers, we must organize our labor power upon an industrial basis.

We are the only organization in America which has a uniform wage for engineers, holermen, truckers, riggers, and water boys.

Of our three thousand and five hundred members, over two thousand are Negroes.

In this period of industrial depression and black reaction, only solidarity can save the workers.

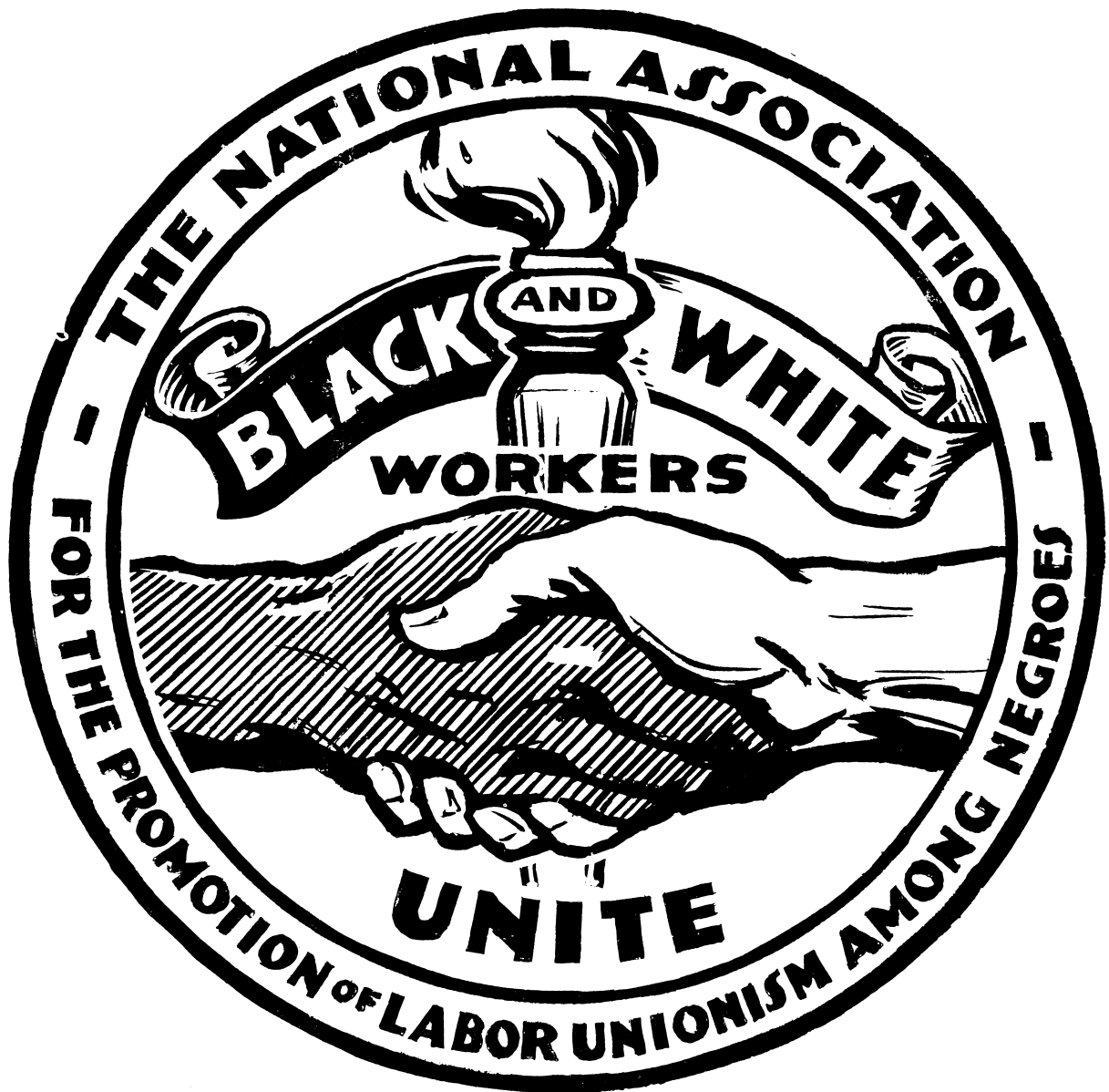
Let workers of all races, creed, color and nationality, organize to liberate the class-war and political prisoners. Let us organize to build up a new Brotherhood for mankind where there is no race, class, craft, religious or nationality distinctions.

Workers: Organize, Agitate, Educate, Emancipate!

Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union, No. 8

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (I. W. W.)

121 Catharine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.



Until the workers of all races, creeds, nationalities and color are joined hand in hand against their common foe—the capitalist exploiters, for the achievement of a common aim—their emancipation, their fight will be futile, useless.

As long as the **black and white** working dogs keep fighting over the **bone of race prejudice**, the **yellow capitalist dog** will run up and **grab the meat** in the form of **big profits**.

Race wars like wars between Nations are fought for the benefit of the **Owning Class**.

What Leading Thinkers Say About The Messenger

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.
* * *

As a former professor of English, permit me to congratulate you both on the skill and vivacity with which you both write. But far more important to me than the style of your writing is the substance—the courage and significance of what you have to say.

H. W. L. DANA,

Former professor of English and Comparative Literature for ten years in Columbia University, New York City.

* * *

The MESSENGER shows a masterly grasp not only on our particular Negro problem, but on world problems as well.

ARCHIBALD H. GRINKE
President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Washington, D. C.

* * *

The MESSENGER is a pioneer in clearing the way to union between black and white workers on the only solid ground there is.—organized resistance to the exploiters, organized power for a radical goal.”

ROGER N. BALDWIN

* * *

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

OSWALD G. VILLARD,
Editor, *The Nation*.

* * *

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.

THE NEW YORK CALL.

* * *

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 criticise with much success your presentation.

THOMAS W. CHURCHILL,
Former President of the New York City Board of Education.

* * *

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.

* * *

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

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL.

* * *

“THE MESSENGER, the monthly magazine published in New York, is *by long odds* the most able and most dangerous of all the Negro publications.”—*Report of U. S. Department of Justice to U. S. Senate.*

I regard the MESSENGER as a good publication.

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD.
* * *

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.