

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

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

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

THE NEGRO WOMAN VOTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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NEGRO LEADERS' ADVICE ON HARDING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Swear the Republicans.

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Vote for Light and Liberty.

Vote for Debs and Stadman.

Who's Who

TOM WATSON

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

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

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

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

THE NEGRO WOMAN VOTER

(Continued from page 131)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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