

forces and materials of the universe, social and material, has been interrupted. Only the sharp crags of the world as it is will shunt them on the true road to education, divest them of their painful intellectual snobbery and equip them for some useful work in the troubled world we live in.

### Political Amnesty

We are still calling upon our democratic (?) government to let our people go. Unlike all of the war countries, the United States still holds men in bondage for the expression of their economic and political beliefs during the war. What a shameful disparity between our practice and professions!

### Europe

Europe lies prostrate, torn and bleeding, the victim of frenzied nationalistic, commercial rivalries. Observers of divers schools of social opinion, agree that the black night of strife and unreasoning hate has enveloped her. Politicians, wars and revolutions come and go without effecting any marked

change in the state of the patient. The Ruhr and Russia still plague and disturb the "best minds" of the Quai d'Orsay, Downing Street and Washington. No group seems competent to grapple with the problems, not even labor; for it, too, is riven with internecine war, hopelessly, for the nonce, baffled by the myriad doctrinaire sects, promulgating their faiths as the "be all and the end all" of the social remedy. Albeit, if Europe does not "kick in" ere the workers pass through this period of preparation, they may save her.

### Garvey's Gone!

"GARVEY MUST GO!"—Owen and Randolph, August, 1922.

"GARVEY IS GONE!"—Judge Mack, U. S. District Court, June, 1923.

Garvey rode in state, August, 1922, with a crowd of gullible Negroes.

Garvey rode in the Black Maria, handcuffed, June, 1923.

Garvey ranted and threatened his critics in his convention, in Liberty Hall, August, 1922.

Garvey made bootlicking speech to Judge Mack, June, 1923. Enuf sed.

## Economics and Politics

### THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZED LABOR

By BEN FLETCHER

In these United States of America, the history of the Organized Labor Movement's attitude and disposition toward the Negro Section of the world of Industry is replete with gross indifference and, excepting a few of its component parts, is a record of complete surrender before the color line. Directed, manipulated, and controlled by those bent on harmonizing the diametrically opposed interests of Labor and Capital, it is for the most part not only a "bulwark against" Industry of, by and for Labor, but in an overwhelming majority of instances is no less a bulwark against the economic, political and social betterment of Negro Labor.

The International Association of Machinists as well as several other International bodies of the A. F. L. along with the Railroad Brotherhoods, either by constitutional decree or general policy, forbid the enrollment of Negro members, while others if forced by his increasing presence in their jurisdictions, organize him into separate unions. There are but few exceptions that are not covered by these two policies and attitudes. It is needless to state that the employing class are the beneficiaries of these policies of Negro Labor exclusion and segregation. It is a fact indisputable that Negro Labor's foothold nearly everywhere in organized labor's domains, has been secured by scabbing them into defeat or into terms that provided for Negro Labor exclusion in their ranks. What a sad commentary upon Organized Labor's shortsightedness and profound stupidity. In these United States of America less than 1 per cent of Negro Labor is organized. Fully 16 per

cent of the Working Class in this country are Negroes. No genuine attempt by Organized Labor to wrest any worthwhile and lasting concessions from the Employing Class can succeed as long as Organized Labor for the most part is indifferent and in opposition to the fate of Negro Labor. As long as these facts are the facts, the Negro Section of the World of Industry can be safely counted upon by the Employing Class as a successful wedge to prevent any notable organized labor triumph. The millions of dollars which they have and continue to furnish Negro Institutions will continue to yield a magnificent interest in the shape of Negro Labor loyalty to the Employing Class.

Organized Labor can bring about a different situation. One that will speed the dawn of Industrial Freedom. First, by erasing their Race exclusion clauses. Secondly, by enrolling A. L. workers in their Industrial or Craft Jurisdictions, in the same union or unions, and where custom or the statutes prohibit in some Southern states, so educate their membership and develop the power and influence of their various unions as to force the repeal of these prohibition statutes and customs. Thirdly, by aiding and abetting his entrance into their various craft jurisdictions, unless he comes, of course, as a strike breaker. Fourth, by joining him in his fight in the South to secure political enfranchisement. Fifth, by inducting into the service of organized labor, Negro Labor Organizers and other officials in proportion to his numbers and ability.

The Organized Labor Movement has not begun to



become a contender for its place in the Sun, until every man, woman and child in Industry is eligible to be identified with its Cause, regardless of Race, color or creed. The secret of Employing Class rule and their control, is the division and lack of cohesion existing in the ranks of Labor. None can dispute the fact that Organized Labor's Attitude of indifference and often outspoken opposition to Negro Labor, contributes a vast amount to this division and lack of cohesion.

Organized Labor Banks, Political Parties, Educational Institutions, co-operatives, nor any other of its efforts to get somewhere near the goal of economic emancipation from the thrall of the rich, will avail naught, as long as the color line lies across their pathway to their goal and before which they are doomed to halt and surrender. Until organized labor, generally casts aside the bars of race exclusion, and enrolls Negro Labor within its ranks on a basis of complete sincere fraternity, no general effort of steel, railroad, packing house, building trades workers or any workers for that matter, to advance from the yoke of Industrial slavery can succeed. Just as certain as day follows night, the Negro will continue to contribute readily and generously toward the elements that will make for their defeat. Personally, the writer would not have it otherwise unless organized labor, majorly speaking, right about faces on its Negro Labor attitude and policy!

Signs are not wanting that men and women of vision in the ranks of organized labor, of both the radical and conservative wing, are alive to the necessity of a reformation of organized labor's attitude on the Negro, and are attempting to bring their various organizations in line with such organizations as the United Mine Workers of America, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World. Negro Labor has a part to play also in changing this present day attitude of organized labor. It should organize a nation wide movement to encourage, promote and protect its employment and general welfare. Divided into central districts and branches thereof, it would

be able to not only thereby force complete and unequivocal recognition and fraternal co-operation from organized labor, but at the same time render yeoman service in procuring the increased employment of tens of thousands of fully capable Negro workers in such positions as now are closed to them because of the lack of sufficient organized Negro Labor pressure in the right direction and with the right instrumentality of intelligent vision.

This organization would by virtue of its being comprised of Negro Labor of all Industries and crafts be able to safeguard its every advance and prevent any successful attack against same. Collective dealing with the Employing Class is the only way by which Labor can procure any concessions from them of effect and meaning. It is the only way in which to establish industrial stability and uniformity in its administration, and finally Industrial freedom. This holds good for Negro as well as white labor. There are fully 4,000,000 Negro men, women and children, eligible to participate in such a Negro Labor Federation.

The beginning of such an organization a generation ago, the attitude of organized labor to the Negro could be just the reverse today. Organized Labor for the most part be it radical or conservative, thinks and acts, in the terms of White Race. Like the preachers, politicians, who when preaching about the "immortality of the soul" or orating about the "glorious land of the free" have in mind and so explain, white folks. So with organized labor generally. To a large extent Negro Labor is responsible for this reprehensible exclusion, because of its failure to generate a force which when necessary could have rendered low the dragon head of Race prejudice, whenever and wherever it raised its head. It is not too late, however, to begin to rectify and to reap the benefits of united effort. Only by unifying our forces in such a way as to force organized labor to realize that we can do lasting good or lasting evil, will they, with the assistance of those men and women already in their ranks fighting to change their erroneous way, understand and "come over into Macedonia and help us."

## The NEGRO WOMAN in the TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By NORA NEWSOME



The modern trade union movement is a product of the struggle between labor and capital. It had its rise in the industrial revolution which took place in the latter part of the 18th century. The industrial revolution introduced labor-saving machinery which was gradually concentrated into the hands of a few

and even the child, to compete in the factories with the men. Thus, it is clear, from a cursory survey of industrial history, that women, both black and white, have been forced to violate the proverbial dogma that "woman's place is the home" and go into the sweat shops as the result of the iron law of economic necessity. This was no less true in America