The Next Emancipation

By JAMES ONEAL
Author of "The Workers in American History", "Labor and The Next War."

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By JAMES ONEAL

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FOREWORD

Fellow-member of the Negro race!
Whoever you are, wherever you are, we greet you.
Here is our hand. Give us yours!

Three score years ago Abraham Lincoln, forced by the mighty hand of Necessity, issued to the world his famous "Emancipation Proclamation." Most of those to whom that document meant the actual breaking of the bonds of slavery now sleep the "long sleep" in their windowless tomb.

Much history has been made since the Negro found himself a "free man" in this Western world. When we look back over this period of the Negro's struggles and triumphs, we find that his was a path lavishly strewn with thorns and but few roses.

Sixty bleak and cruel years have rolled by since that memorable January 1, 1863. We, the sons and daughters of the slave of yesterday, live in a world that is unlike the world in which our fathers fought and died. We are called upon to face problems that our forefathers did not have to consider. The infamous institution of slavery has left its deep imprint on the minds of both black and white men. It is yet to be wiped out by the slow but sure process of education and association. There must be a common realization on the part of both that in order for either to achieve real LIFE, LIBERTY and HAPPINESS, it is absolutely essential that they come to a common realization of their common interest. Both must be made to know that LABOR is the common denominator of us all. When this truism dawns upon the minds of the toilers of both races that fact will constitute the first chapter in our final EMANCIPATION.
One of the most astonishingly interesting phases of Negro life in America is the manifest satisfaction of the Negro with things as they are. It is astonishing, because, when we look over his record of loyalty and service to America and American institutions, we find that the country he loves most, the Nation to which he has given most, is the Nation that has treated him worst. From the day when Crispus Attucks fell on Boston Common to but yesterday on the banks of the Marne, the Negro will be found in the forefront giving his all for this “Republic.” Against this record of undimmed loyalty stands out in bold relief the gratitude of a “grateful Nation,” i. e. PEONAGE, LYNCHING, JIM CROWISM and SEGREGATION.

Fellow-members of the Negro race! The time has come when we must seriously ask ourselves whether we should leave for our unborn generations a heritage that will mean for them a life of torture and a denial of their God-given right to “LIFE, LIBERTY and the pursuit of HAPPINESS;” whether or not we intend to decree that their charred bodies and bleached bones shall likewise be offered up on the altar of prejudice, ignorance and hate, or whether we will lay a foundation that will insure them against these evils as well as against POVERTY and HARD TIMES. This is the task to which we summon you. This is the question of our time. And to enable you to answer this question intelligently we offer you the “NEXT EMANCIPATION.”

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH.
THE NEXT EMANCIPATION

To live a happy, free life, with abundance assured to all; to have education and leisure; to be free of the curse of debt; to know that our children's future is assured; to be comfortably housed; to have work in pleasant surroundings; to enjoy ample incomes with a few hours of useful labor each day; to live in peace with our fellows; to know that men are no longer beasts to torture and lynch the weak; to breathe the free air with human beings enjoying all these rights, is the task of the next emancipation.

The Negro was a slave and now is "free." The white worker was a slave and now is "free." How do we know? We should know from history. The Negro was torn from his home in Africa and sold to white masters in America. What the masters did they said was law. It was law, for they and their lawyers made the law. Their officials enforced the law. So for nearly 250 years the Negro and his children were the bondsmen of white slave owners.

But the white workman was also a slave for about 200 years in America. Thousands were brought to America as contract slaves. Thousands were political offenders sold for terms of service to American planters. Thousands were kidnapped in British ports, brought to America and sold. White workers born in the colonies were sold for terms of service for minor breaches of the law.

The Negro's servitude was known as chattel slavery. The white worker's servitude was known as "indentured service." In the American colonies laws for Negro slaves often applied to these white slaves. In the law codes both had the same lowly status. Both Negro and white could be parted from their families. Neither could marry without the
consent of the master. Both could be whipped by the master. Both received the cast-off clothing of the masters. Both were crowded to suffocation in the ships bringing them to American ports. Thousands of Negroes and whites died in this traffic across the Atlantic, died of overcrowding, starvation and disease.

The white workers who were not “indentured servants” were wage workers. Yet their wages were generally fixed by law. For petty offenses they were sold into indentured service. Their terms could be increased for disobedience, for striking a brutal master, for trying to run away, or for some other reason. So that a man bound to serve three years or five years might serve ten years or twenty years or thirty years.

The laws to catch runaways applied to whites as well as Negroes. This was even put into the Constitution of the United States. Read Article IV, Section 3. It remains where the “fathers” of the government put it. It reads: “No person held to SERVICE or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such SERVICE or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such SERVICE or labor may be due.”

The word “service” was inserted in this clause to include white “indentured servants” who escaped from their masters. The word “labor” applies to the Negro. The word “persons” included both. Therefore, whites as well as Negroes were regarded and treated as slaves. The only difference was that the “indentured servant” was not a slave for life.

We get one important lesson from these facts. The Negro question is not exclusively a color question. The white masters enslaved men and women of their own color as well as Negroes. What the masters wanted and what the masters got was cheap labor. It was a LABOR problem with them. It is a LABOR problem with you, as we shall see.
Perhaps some readers may doubt this. But consider this fact. There were Negroes who came to own Negroes. In this case where was the color line? There was none, no more than there was a color line in the whites owning whites. The Negro master wanted what the white master wanted—cheap labor. He did what millions of white masters do in all modern countries—rob the men, women and children of their own race and color.

The Fundamental Fact

If we would understand the Negro question we must realize the fundamental fact that it is at bottom a LABOR question. Nor is it a matter of religion. Religious men have enslaved religious men. Infidels have enslaved infidels. Why? Again comes the answer, because they wanted cheap labor. The Puritan, Quaker, Catholic and Episcopal Church of England were established in the colonies. The Puritans held whites in bondage in New England. Even in Pennsylvania for a time William Penn’s agents gathered “indentured servants” from Europe. The Episcopal Church ruled in Virginia, where whites and Negroes were enslaved. The Catholic Church in Maryland had its Catholic slave owners. In all these colonies masters owned men and women of their own religious faith.

Neither religion nor color drew a line between mastery and slavery. It was a LABOR question with the masters of both colors and all religions.

Nor was it a matter of “good” men or of “bad” men. Many masters were brutal and some were kind. But both types owned slaves or “indentured servants.” Color made no difference to them. Neither did religion. They were interested in having cheap LABOR that would keep them in ease and comfort. This they obtained from both whites and Negroes.

This fundamental fact not only underlies the Negro question, but the whole labor question of our time. It affects the white worker, the Negro worker,
the Mexican, the German, the French and all other nationalities.

If we consider these nationalities for a moment we will find the same fundamental question of LABOR involved. Rockefeller is an American capitalist. He is interested in important mines in Colorado. Some years ago a strike occurred in these mines. Some terrible massacres of men, women and children followed by hired gunmen.

The Rockefeller agents did not attack Greeks, or Poles, or Negroes. Nor did they refrain from attacking American miners. All were attacked alike. The Rockefeller interests wanted cheap LABOR. They did not care whether Greek, Polish, Negro or white American workers supplied this labor power.

The masters do not draw the color line, or the religious line, or any lines of nationality. The masters of labor in all ages have acted the same way. The real division of humanity is between mastery and slavery. Color, religion and nationality are mere incidents. Masters will use the color line, or religious differences, or differences of nationality, to divide workers. They will stir these prejudices for this purpose. But masters themselves do not divide along these lines when they face the toilers in a struggle.

The capitalist master is a capitalist master, whether his skin is black or white. The wage worker is a wage worker, whether his skin is black or white. If the black worker works for a white master he does not improve his lot by working for a black master. The white worker is not a free man because a white capitalist employs him. He is robbed just the same as the Negro worker is.

The great fact for both white and Negro workers to understand is that as wage workers they have common interests. WAGE LABOR unites them in the same class. Both sell their labor power for wages. Both must sell it to capitalist owners of mills, factories and mines. Masters want to pur-
chase it at a low price, and workers want to sell it at a high price.

Another truth to remember is that the white worker has no interests bound up with the white capitalists. Because their color is the same is no proof that their interests are the same. Likewise, the black worker has no interests bound up with the black banker or capitalist. Their color is the same, but the way in which each gets his living makes all the difference in the world.

The Basis of Servitude

Having established the fact that, whether the master is white or black makes no difference to the workers, let us go a little farther. How does the Negro worker earn his living? By selling his labor power. The white worker gets his living the same way. No difference at all.

Now, then, to whom do they sell this labor power? To each other? Of course not. One wage worker does not purchase the labor power of another wage worker, not even if one is a Negro and the other is white. Not if both are Negroes or both are whites. Whether white or black, the worker must sell this labor power to a capitalist, the owner of a factory, a mine, machinery, buildings, etc.

However we look at this question we find that the wage worker has the same interests with all other wage workers, whether black or white. The Negro worker wants as good a price as he can get for his labor power. So does the white worker. The Negro wants what short hours he can get. So does the white worker. The Negro worker wants all the power he can obtain through organization to get good wages and shorter hours. So does the white worker.

Again we see that the interests of both are the same. Both do not always see it this way, but we do not always see or understand what is the truth. If we did there would be no poverty, no race prejudice, no robbery of labor. There would be no need of
writing this pamphlet if the truth was evident to all workers of all colors.

Let us get back to that labor power which Negro and white workers both sell in order to live. Not being able to sell it to each other, they sell it to somebody else. The buyer is a capitalist owner of mills, factories, mines or plants, as the case may be. His plants and machinery are of no use to him unless he can purchase labor power. The labor power you sell him is used to transform raw materials into the finished product. Other wage workers sell labor power to other capitalists in extracting the raw materials from the earth. Still other workers sell labor power to other capitalists to transport the raw materials to the plant where you transform them into the finished product.

Without this labor power which Negro and white workers sell, all industrial society would be paralyzed. The owners of the raw materials, the transportation agencies and the plants of production might die, but industry would go on just the same. If wage workers all died the whole system would come to a standstill. You are essential; the owners are not.

Now, a worker might sell his labor power for generations, if he lived that long, and he would never become rich. But a capitalist can buy labor power for a few years and become comfortably wealthy. The reason for this is that the wage workers add extra values to the raw materials, and when the finished product is sold the capitalist owner gets the extra values. The wage worker reproduces his own value, wages. He receives these wages in payment for his labor power. But, in addition to reproducing his own wages, he produces something more, and this something more is taken by the capitalist owner. By taking it from hundreds or thousands of workers employed by him he is able to become wealthy.

For this reason the wage worker, Negro and white alike, is bound to be the slave of the masters of industry so long as the masters can buy labor power.
They will be able to buy your labor power as long as they own the raw materials, the transportation agencies and the plants of production. The OWNERSHIP of these things makes them the masters of all wage workers. This is the fundamental basis of all servitude of the wage workers of this and other modern nations. So long as they are compelled to sell their labor power to a small owning class they are dependents, whether they are white or black. And dependents are not free men.

Consider the enormous advantage the capitalist owner has over the workers in industry. You MUST sell your labor power in order to live. The capitalist owners MUST buy labor power in order to run their plants, but they do not have to buy ALL that is offered for sale. You cannot hold your labor power off the market very long. It is a part of you. It consists of your brains, bones, muscles, blood, tissues and bodily strength. When you sell it, you go with the sale!

In short, you are forced to sell yourself day by day, week by week, and month by month, to those who control employment. You must sell in order to eat, in order that your families may eat. This is your weakness as well as the master's strength. Knowing your wants from day to day, he is inclined to give the jobs to those who will work for the smallest wages.

What applies to the Negro worker applies to the white worker. It is the basis of the servitude of both. It should also be the basis for the solidarity of the Negro and the white worker.

What's to Be Done?

Booker T. Washington gave an answer to this question. It was his opinion that all Negro workers should learn a trade, save their money, and go into business. In other words, they should try to become capitalists. Suppose the Negro worker did become a capitalist now and then. Would that help the mass of Negro workers? Not at all.

Because we have capitalists with white skins does
not mean that the white workers are happy, or contented, or emancipated. It means that some whites are in a position to skin many other whites. A Negro worker becoming a capitalist would mean a Negro skinning many other Negroes. To take a few of those who are skinned and make skinners out of them settles no question whatever. The skinning of millions of Negroes would go on just as it now goes on in case of the white workers.

If Mr. Washington really had a solution of the problem of the Negro it is not likely that he would have been supported by such notorious white skinners as John D. Rockefeller and the late Andrew Carnegie. Mr. Washington accepted the point of view of white skinners, and they in turn helped him to spread his ideas. Washington tended to accept discrimination against the workers as a CLASS. In his "Up From Slavery" (p. 84) he wrote that he would have been better satisfied with the South if the "possession of a certain amount of education or property, or both," had been made "a test for the exercise of the franchise, and a way provided by which this test should be made to apply honestly and squarely to both the white and black races."

A man with those ideas may be sincere, but there is no hope for any class, white or black, that accepts disfranchisement without protest. Already there are thousands of Negro and white workers who are deprived of the ballot in the South by tests similar to those advocated by Booker T. Washington.

On the other hand, mere voting for the Republican or the Democratic parties will not bring emancipation to the Negro workers. If such voting would bring emancipation the white workers would have been emancipated long ago. But they still sell labor power to the owners of industry, just as the Negro does. We shall have more to say about voting later on.

The idea of trying to become a capitalist and thus escaping from the robbery and subjection that is the lot of Negro workers is like the advice in the days of slavery. A few could escape and reach the Northern
states and Canada, and thus be relieved of the tyranny of white slave owners. But the whole Negro population of slaves in the South could not escape slavery in this way. The mass of them were doomed to be slaves until all were emancipated.

The same is true today. **The mass of Negro wage workers are doomed to be wage workers all their lives until all Negro wage workers are free.** Nay, more. They cannot escape from the servitude of wage labor until the white wage workers also escape. Both must escape together or neither will escape. The white wage workers cannot abolish wage slavery without abolishing it for the Negro workers. The latter cannot abolish it without abolishing it for the white workers. As neither the white nor the Negro workers alone can abolish it by themselves, we again reach the conclusion that both have the same common interests. **Both must act in common for the same common interests.**

**Marcus Garvey's Program**

Marcus Garvey claims to have a program that means the liberation of the Negroes of the world. It is important to consider this claim. It is his idea to create a Black Africa ruled by the Negroes. He would drive out the whites and create an Africa for Africans.

Now, it is true that the whites in Africa have practically stolen the territory which they possess. They have acquired their holdings by force, fraud, invasion, war and conquest. They have enslaved Africans and established white mastery in Africa. They have established governments in violation of self-determination. They have exploited and robbed the Africans, and continue to do so unmercifully.

But the Negro worker should not forget this: The white masters in Africa have also mercilessly robbed the white workers who have gone to that country. Only a few weeks ago (March, 1922) there was a strike of miners on the Rand. In dealing with that strike the white masters were just as brutal and ferocious in suppressing the aspirations of white
wage workers as they have been in suppressing the aspirations of the native blacks.

Here again there is no color line in exploiting wage labor.

Suppose that Garvey succeeds in his program of driving out the whites and creating an Africa for Africans. What does this mean for Negro wage workers who go to Africa? It means that Negro capitalists will own the mines, ranches, railroads, factories and other forms of producing wealth. The Negro workers who go to Africa will have to sell their labor power to Negro capitalists, just as they now sell labor power to white capitalists. In other words, Garvey would have the Negro aid in establishing a Negro capitalism in Africa instead of the white capitalism which now rules there!

What advantage would this be for the Negro worker? None at all. He would simply change the color of the skin of the men who skin him, that is all. The program does not even have the merit of the Colonization Society in the old days of slavery in the South.

In those days Liberia was established in Africa as a home for Negroes who became free in the South. When the Negro went to Liberia he did not go from one chattel slavery to another. But Marcus Garvey would have the American Negro leave American white capitalism for a black capitalism in Africa! Queer way to emancipate the Negro worker!

Consider further: With Negro capitalists owning the mines, railroads, ranches, factories and plants of production, the Negro wage workers would be dependent on those Negro capitalists for a chance to live. The Negro workers would have to organize their trade unions to raise wages and reduce the hours of labor.

Suppose a strike occurs. Would the Negro capitalists, controlling the government, use the courts and military powers against the Negro workers as white capitalists use the courts and military powers against white workers here? Of course they would. The mere fact that the African capitalists' skins were
black would not change matters. **Capitalists act the same way in all countries, no matter what the color of their skin may be.**

Strikes and struggles of Negro workers in an Africa for Africans would be dealt with in about the same way that they are dealt with in all other countries. There would be a Negro mastery over Negro wage workers. The class lines would be the same as in all other capitalist countries. The Garvey program would have Negro workers help to establish another capitalist mastery on this earth instead of abolishing one.

It is much better for Negro workers to stay in America and join with white wage workers in abolishing capitalism here rather than helping to establish a black aristocracy of capital in Africa. The first has some promise of hope; the second none at all. Negro capitalists might well favor the Garvey program, but Negro wage workers have everything to lose by supporting it and nothing to gain.

**Black Mastery and White Diplomacy**

Suppose Africa does become an Africa for Africans. Garvey does not carry with his program any solution of the problems of black wage workers. Why should the Negro travel many thousands of miles to live under a black capitalism? Is the journey worth the trouble? If he is a wage worker under a white capitalism here, he would be a wage worker under a black capitalism there.

A black capitalism in Africa would produce for Negro wage workers the same conditions that all wage workers face in the United States. Negro wage workers would have to organize to abolish a black capitalism that sustains a Negro capitalist class. They would have to organize their labor unions and these unions would be bitterly fought by black capitalists. Courts would be used by Negro capitalists and against Negro workers. The military and police powers would also be used against Negro workers when the masters thought necessary.
As black capitalism developed in Africa, a black imperialism would also follow. With it would come the old diplomacy of the white imperialist countries. If the Negro capitalists found that the Negro wage workers were becoming strong in their movement to abolish robbery, the Negro masters would appeal to the white masters of other countries for aid.

Consider this fact. The old Russian ruling classes appealed to the ruling classes of other countries for aid when their power was taken away. In Mexico the old ruling classes have appealed to the ruling classes of other countries for aid in restoring their old privileges. In Russia and Mexico the old deposed ruling classes would welcome foreign bayonets, even if workers of their own race were slaughtered. The old masters of Russia and Mexico feel that they have more in common with the masters of other countries than they have in common with the workers of their own countries.

On the other hand, the ruling classes of other countries feel that they have much in common with old Mexican and Russian ruling classes. Both feel this way, regardless of their race, nationality or the color of their skins. They appreciate class brotherhood and solidarity. They do not permit national frontiers or flags to interfere with common action against the workers of any country.

The same thing would be true of a Negro capitalism in Africa. The Negro masters of Africa, when their power is endangered by awakened Negro workers, would call across the seas to the white masters for aid. The white masters would respond with arms and troops to help the Negro masters keep power over Negro workers. Providing, of course, that the wage workers of the other countries appealed to were not strong enough to restrain their own masters from extending such aid.

What would control the actions of the Negro masters is their desire to retain their power to rule, their privilege of owning the natural resources and plants of production. These property interests are the same
as the property interests that dictate the actions of white capitalists where white capitalism rules.

Marcus Garvey's program ignores everything that is vital to the freedom and happiness of Negro workingmen and women. What the workers of all colors and nationalities need first of all is a program that leads to a mastery of their own lives, not a mastery over their lives exercised by a class of capitalists, be they white or black.

The Negro in the United States

We will return to consider the problem of the Negro wage worker in the United States. This is his home. Here he will have to solve his problems the same as the white wage worker. There is no more reason for the Negro worker to go to Africa than there is for the white worker to go to Alaska. One is as much entitled to be here as the other. One is essential to the other, also.

We have seen that the problems and the interests of white and black workers are the same. There is one difference, however. This is the persistence of the color question. It has a special bearing on the theme of this booklet. There is race prejudice and race discrimination against Negroes in general. There is the Jim Crow car and exclusion from public places. There is a white prejudice against Negroes in the skilled trades and in the professions.

But note this: All of this is founded on ignorance, prejudice and stupidity and the will of the masters of both white and black wage workers to keep this prejudice alive.

Once before we had this prejudice against, not color, but a certain nationality. The Irish workers who came to New England were regarded by the New England aristocracy as a servile class. Many native workers shared this prejudice. The skilled trades and professions were closed to the Irish immigrants. They were shunned in politics. Most of them being Catholics, their churches and convents were burnt. They were the victims of mobs.

But the Irish people in New England braved all
this ignorance and prejudice, and slowly beat it
down. They have so emancipated themselves from
it that in many sections of New England the danger
is that they in turn may persecute others. In fact,
they have been used by designing political and cler-
cical leaders to terrorize "radical" and Socialist opin-
ions. But the point is they have won the respect of
their old enemies and even their fear. They have
obtained POWER, and this always wins respect.

The anti-Irish prejudice was once as deep-seated
as the anti-Negro prejudice is today. It helped to
keep the workers divided as Negro prejudice today
keeps the workers divided. When workers are di-
vided it means weakness for them. The white
worker may not be as weak as the Negro, but he is
much weaker than he would be if both white and
Negro workers were united for their common in-
terests.

Consider the situation in the South. Thousands of
white workers there have deep prejudices against
the Negro. Yet many thousands of these whites are
steeped in the deepest poverty. They get little more
education than the Negro. Why are they ragged,
ignorant and poor? Because the same ruling whites
that rob the Negro worker rob the white worker!

If every Negro’s place in the South was filled by
a white man conditions of the white workers would
be what they are now. But the white worker, be-
cause of his ignorance and prejudice, sees only the
color line and not the class line. He sees the Negro
whom he dislikes instead of the white masters, whom
he should dislike.

Now, the Negro worker dislikes the white worker
because the latter dislikes him. YET BOTH ARE
ROBBED BY THE SAME CLASS OF WHITE CAP-
ITALISTS, CONTRACTORS, BANKERS AND EX-
PLOITERS IN GENERAL!

The Task Before Us

The great task before the workers of both races
is to make both see that so long as they hate each
other the class that robs both will continue to exploit
them. There is no hope for either so long as they hate. There is hope when they cease to hate. This will be the beginning of understanding, and understanding is necessary before there can be unity of action. Even in the South this is possible, and we have even seen the beginning of that union of white and colored labor in behalf of their common interests.

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in November, 1919, there was a striking instance of this unity of white and Negro wage workers. Bogalusa was the headquarters of the Great Southern Lumber Company, whose sawmill is said to be the largest in the world. For some time it had made use of unorganized Negro workers against white wage workers. What happened is told by Benjamin Brawley, in his "Social History of the American Negro," p. 349:

"The forces of labor, however, began to organize the Negroes in the employ of the company, which held political as well as capitalistic control in the community. The company then began to have Negroes arrested on charges of vagrancy, taking them before the city court and having them fined and turned over to the company to work out the fines under the guard of gunman. In the troubles that came to a head on November 22, three white men were shot and killed, one of them being the District President of the American Federation of Labor, who was helping to give protection to a colored organizer."

Here is a glorious beginning of that understanding between white and Negro workers against the common enemy. A white union organizer gave his life in defense of a Negro member of the wage working class! Extend that understanding between the workers of both races from Bogalusa throughout the South and the North and this class brotherhood would wipe out much of the ignorant prejudices that prevail.
What is wanted is not a “white” South or a “black” South, but a working class South and a working class North. The workers on the docks in New Orleans some years ago were also involved in a strike and the white and Negro workers struck side by side and shared in the hardships and sacrifices of the strike. These incidents show that the accursed prejudices can be wiped out and unity of the workers of both races obtained. To realize it should be the aim of intelligent men and women of the white and Negro working class.

Negro workers should organize into unions and continually insist upon the trade unions extending help to them in this work. They should continually insist on the color line being wiped out wherever it exists, and that Negro unions be amalgamated with the other unions. They should point out the advantages to both white and Negro workers in such unions. They should send committees before the unions for this purpose. Wherever possible they should get a white unionist who understands the need of this to supplement their appeals.

This is the way to labor solidarity in industry.

Social Equality

There is nothing harder to make the prejudiced white understand than the question of “social equality.” The same white worker who holds this prejudice may be working in the same ditch, on the same farm, or in the same factory with Negro workers. He may be working for the same master. He may be getting wages that are little more than the Negro worker. He may be living in a shack that he calls “home,” just as the Negro worker does. In the South his children may be deprived of an education just as the Negro’s children often are.

Yet this white worker, who in every respect has been reduced to a level equal to that of the Negro worker, is afraid of “social equality!” In the South many such white workers believe that they are a part of what is called “white supremacy.” As a
matter of fact, both the Negro and such white workers are victims of a “white supremacy” exercised by white exploiters.

Such white workers need not fear social equality. The white masters have placed both Negro and white labor on the same plane of equality of servitude. They will stay in this equality until both join hands to liberate themselves from those who buy their labor power and exploit them in the labor market.

But there is another and more intimate sense in which this fear of “social equality” is expressed. It is feared that the emancipation of Negro and white workers would bring about some intimate personal and social relations of the two races by force of law or legal compulsion.

Nothing of the kind. The matter of intimate associates and companions is a matter of personal choice and will always remain such. No law can compel one Irishman to associate with another Irishman if he does not want to. No law can compel one Negro to associate with another Negro if he does not want to. On the other hand, if an Irishman chooses a Negro for a personal friend and both find each other’s company congenial, that is their affair and nobody else’s.

The writer of this booklet is of Irish extraction. There are some Irishmen I do not care to associate with on a basis of social equality. I have some Negro friends of whom I am fond. Among my most intimate acquaintances are Jews and Russians. There are some white Americans whom I despise. Others I cherish with deep affection.

Whoever and whatever my personal associates and friends may be, they are a matter of free choice on my part and on their part. There is no compulsion or force on either side. Yet, as a wage worker, I may be compelled, in order to hold my job, to work by the side of a man whom I detest. What there is of compulsion in this matter of human association comes from capitalist society today. If a man is
opposed to forced equality in human relationships he should be opposed to the wage system of robbery which often imposes an equality that is personally distasteful.

Much more could be said on this matter, but it is too big a subject to deal with in this booklet. A separate book would be required to do it full justice. We would have to consider the Jim Crow car, the theater, the hotel, amusements, and a hundred other institutions around which cluster racial prejudices. I must remain satisfied with dealing with the deepest prejudice of all—the prejudice associated with personal human relations between peoples of different races and of the same races and nationalities.

The First Emancipation

There is a mistaken belief that the Republican party has always been the party of the Negro. There were early Republicans who were sincere friends of the Negro, but the party as such used the Negro as a stepping stone to power. Abraham Lincoln sincerely desired the freedom of the Negroes, yet even Lincoln would have been willing to let the Southern masters have their slaves if the South would have ceased to make war on the North.

The Republican platform of 1860 is very interesting reading. The third section opposed "all schemes of disunion." The fourth section admitted the "right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively." This referred to the ownership of slaves.

In the States where slavery existed the Republican party admitted the "right of each State" to hold such slaves. But it denied, in the seventh section, "the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States." It denounced this dogma as "a dangerous political heresy."

It was not opposed to slavery in the States that held slaves. It was opposed to the extension of slavery into Territories. It held, in the eighth sec-
tion. "That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom." It did not want to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed, but it also did not want slavery to expand into the Territories. When the Territories were later to be admitted to the Union as States the Republican party wanted them to come in as free States.

It was not until four years later, after several years of war, that the Republican party took a position against slavery. In the third section of the Republican platform of 1864 the party decided that, "As slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic." In fact, the abolition of slavery came to be regarded as a military necessity.

With the fall of the Southern States the Negroes in the South were given the suffrage. Negroes were elected to Southern Legislatures. Republican politicians — "carpet baggers" — went into the Southern States and guided the Negro voters in elections.

But while the Republican party extended the suffrage to Negroes in the Southern States and protected it with bayonets, strong Republican States in the North excluded the Negro from the suffrage. These included such strong Republican States as Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin.

In fact, while the Republican leaders in Congress were insisting on the Southern States placing Negro-suffrage clauses in their State Constitutions, the Republican States of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and Kansas, in 1867, refused to extend the suffrage to Negroes. Why? Because the Republican party wanted to use the Negro in the South to obtain political control for Northern capitalism. In the North the Republican party did not need the Negro vote at that time, as it ruled politically without the Negro vote.
When the Republican party had reorganized the Southern States to suit Northern capitalism the Republican administration withdrew the federal soldiers from the South and left the Negro to his fate. He was immediately excluded from the franchise by the old Southern masters.

Before the exclusion of the Negro from the franchise Republican Congresses passed, and the States ratified, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution to protect the Negro and Negro suffrage. The Thirteenth Amendment was supposed to abolish slavery and involuntary servitude. But Negroes were again enslaved by the Southern States through the indenture system which had enslaved white workers for nearly 200 years in America.

The Fourteenth Amendment was enacted to protect "the privileges or immunities of citizens," and to reduce the representation in Congress of such States as disfranchised workers entitled to the vote. In all the years since that amendment became a fundamental law, since 1866, the Republican party has never attempted to reduce the representation of any Southern State in Congress.

The Fifteenth Amendment, adopted in 1870, declared that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Republican party never enforced this amendment, while the courts have explained it away. In the face of this record of pretense and hypocrisy, many Negro workers have sincerely believed that the Republican party represented them!

Some Recent History

In Birmingham, Alabama, on October 26, 1921, President Harding delivered an address on the race question. He said that "this is not a question of social equality, but a question of recognizing a funda-
mental, eternal and inescapable difference." Thus speaks the representative of the Republican party sixty years after its first triumph.

This party has been gradually casting aside its Negro traditions to obtain a standing in the Southern States. Over the prostrate body of the Negro the Republican party hopes to obtain Republican Senators and Congressmen in the Southern States. The flow of Northern capital into the Southern States is binding the North and the South into a common solidarity.

The "Manufacturers' Record" of Baltimore, in March 1922, gave some figures of capitalist development in the South. The value of taxable property has increased, from 1910 to 1920, from over $13,000,000,000 to more than $29,000,000,000, a gain of 122.9 per cent! The South now has about 23 per cent of the manufacturing establishments of the country, with a capital of nearly $7,000,000,000, and employing 2,000,000 people.

The capital invested in Southern factories is nearly three times the sum invested in manufacturing in the whole country in 1880, and lacking only 3 per cent of the sum invested in the North in 1900. The capital invested in cotton factories in the South is four times that invested in all the cotton mills of the country since 1880. The South is also consuming 59 per cent of its cotton in its own mills. It is also producing 57 per cent of the oil of the United States.

The old agricultural South is becoming an image of the factory North. The same financial interests that have large holdings in New England cotton mills also have investments in Southern cotton mills. With the rise of a factory and manufacturing system in the South the capitalists of that section are also demanding tariff duties. The South for generations had been wedded to "free trade."

As the Southern masters invest their money in industry and share profits with Northern capitalists the capitalists of both sections reach a better understanding. They are also coming to contract a polit-
ical alliance through the Republican party by a common agreement to exclude the Negro from elections.

The Democrats have a "lily white" party in the South and the Republicans want a "lily white" party in the South. Early in 1921 Chairman Hays, of the Republican National Committee, appointed a committee to consider the best means of establishing the party in the South. In the State campaign in Virginia in 1921 the Republicans agreed to make the party a "white man's party" in that State. It was a bargain struck with the Democratic party to keep the Negro out of elections. This was reported to be satisfactory to the Republican national leaders at Washington.

A dispatch to the New York "Evening Post" from Richmond said that in exchange for the loss of the Negroes, "the Republicans in Virginia have gained the support of many men of influence and wealth." Among these are railroad Presidents, bankers, capitalists and business men. The political agreement follows the common interests which Northern and Southern capitalists have in Southern industries, banks and railroads. The agreement frees the ruling class of Virginia from dependence upon one political machine.

Lessons to Be Drawn

The call of Southern capitalism across the old sectional chasm is heard by its Republican ally. The Republican party is responding to the cry. The last pretense of difference between both old political parties in national politics is being wiped out. Capitalism is national, not sectional. The capitalist parties are becoming national in scope. Both parties are agreed on "white supremacy," the supremacy of capitalism in excluding the Negro from the suffrage in the South.

The Negro Republican leaders who have led masses of Negro workers to their betrayal are themselves being kicked in the face for their treachery. The class interests of Northern and Southern capital are healing the old sores of the ruling classes and
bringing about unity between the two. Facing the Negro worker are two parties of the capitalist class.

Quoting the language of President Harding, we may say that it is not a question of "recognizing a fundamental, eternal and inescapable difference" between the two parties. **There is no difference. They are as alike as two peas. They are the political enemies of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers.** They are the parties of railroad magnates, bankers, capitalists and labor skinners in general. As the capitalists of the two sections are uniting, so the workers of both colors should unite in their own interests. Unite in the labor unions and in the Socialist party.

In the North the Negro workers have a vote. In the South they have a vote in theory, but not in fact. While they have a vote in the North they should use it in the interest of white and Negro workers. The white workers must be educated to cast their votes also in the interest of white and Negro workers.

In the South it is necessary to work through the labor unions. Where Negroes are members of unions they should permit no national convention to go by without bringing up the question of the common interests of white and Negro labor. They should urge the white Socialists in the South to use all their influence to break down the color prejudice. The white workers must take the lead in this, as it is almost impossible for the Negro worker to do it in the South.

In 1919 the American Federation of Labor voted to admit the Negro unions. It was in that year that a white union organizer died in defense of a Negro organizer of unions at Bogalusa, La. That was a good beginning of solidarity between white and Negro workers. The 1919 decision should never be forgotten. Negro workers should insist upon continuous action by the Federation and its affiliated unions in admitting our Negro brothers to the unions. Year after year this should be pressed. This is the first big step in bringing white and Negro workers
together in the South. Their common interests will in time wipe out the color prejudice and raise a barrier to the inhuman lynchings that curse America today.

**Labor and Industry**

Human labor power is the source of all values produced. The labor power of a Negro worker embodied in a bar of steel, a car of coal or the basement of a building is just as essential as the labor power of a white worker. The color line is not seen in the bar of steel, the car of coal or the basement. Vegetables from a Negro's garden are purchased and eaten by white people. **No color line is drawn in the products of the garden or the farm.**

Human labor is human labor, whether it is the labor of the Negro or the white, the American or the German, the Italian or the Englishman. To labor one must get the consent of others. We have seen that the factories, mines, shops, railroads and industries in general are owned by the capitalist class. This class has become great in wealth and power. It can give or withhold employment at will.

For example: No capitalist owner of industry is required by law to admit you to the machinery for producing wealth. It is his. The law recognizes it as his. When business becomes bad the capitalist owners can close hundreds of thousands of plants. That means that millions of workers are shut out of the industries. No matter what your needs are you cannot enter the plants.

Here is the curse of modern society, the fact that a small class of powerful owners have the power to shut out the great class of wage workers. Industry and natural resources are the basis of civilization. This basis is the property of capitalist owners. We are dependents upon the will of this owning class. White and Negro workers are both dependent upon that class.

It is too long a story to tell you how the mills, factories, mines, railroads, oil fields and so on came into the possession of this class. Some were stolen.
Others rest on bribery of law-making bodies. Others were obtained by clever manipulation of the law. Many of the great fortunes had their origin in the slavery of whites or blacks. Many had their origin in big land frauds.

But however obtained, the present masters of industry have surrounded their holdings with laws, court decisions, police power and government in general. Behind the enormous industries of the country are these laws. Which means that the ownership of the great industries by a class is lawful. If this ownership is lawful it means that men in State Legislatures and in Congress made the laws that make this ownership lawful.

Now, how could they place men in these bodies to make these laws to legalize their great powers of ownership? Only one way to do that, and this is by the owners owning a political party that represents their interests. To own the great industries they must also own powerful political parties. These parties nominate candidates pledged to support the control of industry by a class of capitalist owners.

But here the owners are weak. If they depended on their own votes they could not elect a single man. They are very few compared with the great mass of working class voters. They must get the white and Negro voters to vote for the capitalist candidates or their ownership is at an end.

How is it done? It is laughable, when you think of it. The masters of labor own two parties. You see, they figure that you are bound to get tired of any party that represents them. That is natural. They would get tired of any party that represented you. Knowing this, they maintain two great political parties.

The trick is done! The Democrats were in power. They led us into war after winning an election on the promise that we would not go to war. By 1920 millions of voters were ready to throw out the Democrats. They did throw them out. But the voters did not vote themselves in. They voted the
other party of the capitalist owners in and conditions have been as bad, or even worse, than before.

Now that conditions do not improve under Harding, the voters are beginning to swing back to the Democrats. The Democrats will have candidates ready for you to vote for. They will be safe for capitalist interests, just as the Republicans have been. They will expect you to vote the “outs” in and the “ins” out, but they will expect you to stay out!

No matter which one of these parties is supported by the workers, both remain faithful to the interests of the great owners of industry. We have already seen how the Republican party has sacrificed the Negro in the North while it was pretending to protect him in the South. We have seen how the Republican party is now trying to get a standing in the South by following the Democrats in excluding the Negro from elections. We already know that the Democrats are a party with the old traditions of slavery clustering about it.

But white workers have been fooled by these two parties of capitalism as the Negro workers have. It has been a matter of the “ins” coming out and the “outs” going in in every national election.

The Socialist Party

But nearly a million white and Negro voters now support the Socialist party. It is opposed to the ownership of the great industries, whether by white or Negro capitalists. We are united in the Socialist party to abolish this ownership.

How? Because Socialists are pledged not to make laws that legalize this ownership. They are pledged to make laws to transfer this ownership to the people and for the masses to master industry for the common good of all.

Now, we cannot take the railroads and give each one a railroad. We cannot take the mines and give each one a mine. We cannot take the industries and give each one a factory. The same thing is true
of all other industries. There are not enough to go around, and it would be absurd to do so if there were. If each of us owned an industry who would do the work?

There are only two ways. One is to allow the present powerful owners to continue to own and exploit the masses of wage workers, to shut them out of industry when they want to, and to pay them wages that represent only a fraction of the values produced.

The other way is to transfer the natural resources, mills, mines, railroads and industries in general to the whole people to be the public property of all. Social ownership instead of private ownership. Common ownership instead of capitalist ownership. Mastery of industry by useful labor instead of mastery by a few powerful owners. Democracy in industry instead of autocracy by the petty agents of the capitalist owners.

Instead of industry being managed to enrich a few great owners, we would have industry operated, controlled and directed by the useful workers for the general happiness of all. We get along without slave owners. We can get along without their successors, the capitalist owners and masters of industry today.

This is the great Socialist program that is inspiring millions of workers of all colors, creeds and nationalities in all modern countries. The industries have become too great, too vast, to permit a class to use them as a source of robbing millions of workers. Abolish this class ownership and humanity is free. The race prejudice that is largely rooted in class aristocracy will then disappear. Not immediately, but eventually, it will disappear when a few no longer live upon the labors of many others.

The Socialist party admits workingmen and women of all races, colors and creeds into the organization. All have equal rights and privileges in the organization. It fraternizes with the workers of
all other countries. It calls upon the workers of the nation to desert the parties of capitalism, to unite under the banner of the Socialist party.

It also warns that organization of all workers in the unions is necessary to fight the daily battles of labor and to educate the masses on the necessity of using the ballot as a united class. Who knows what may happen should the Socialist party win in a national election?

A reactionary plutocracy might refuse to recognize the will of the great majority. With great and powerful unions committed to the Great Change, these unions would be necessary to assist in forcing the reaction to submit to the will of the majority. With twenty or thirty millions of organized and determined workers knowing their interests we would be able to enforce that will.

Socialism is the liberator of humanity. Today it inspires the hopes of hundreds of millions of workers in many lands. It has taught these many millions that their interests are not bound up with the interests of the masters of labor. It has taught confidence in our own power. It has given an education to many who had none. It has made martyrs to the modern cause of labor. It is the greatest movement of modern times.

The future belongs to the workers of all countries. They are called upon to reorganize the world on another and more human basis. The color line must go. National prejudices must go. Religious hatreds must be wiped out. The ranks must be closed up. Workers must not divide their power between two parties owned by their masters. They must unite in a party of their class.

The Socialist party summons the useful workers, Negro and white, skilled and unskilled, to the struggle for the Next Emancipation. It is a glorious struggle, and for the greatest prize humans ever fought for, the liberation of all humanity from servitude, social degradation, and political impotence!
JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Fellow-workers of the Negro race! You have now arrived at the parting of the ways. There is a path which leads to social contempt, social discrimination; social injustice, legalized theft, murder, and, at its terminus—oh, horror of horrors!—there looms the abomination of the ages; the never-to-be-effaced disgrace of humanity: the blazing pyre, the human torches of modern industrial NEROS; the tortures of the damned conjured up from the depths of Dante's inferno by the unholy spirit of Bourbonism. Men, Men! even as you and I—in the throes of death unspeakable—the shrinking flesh of human beings, consumed by the cruel flames of a capitalist hell, where raised hands, implore in vain the impotent skies; where agonized shrieks rend the air—and as of yore the frenzied mob howls with delight. Such is the path of crooked old party politics.

Workers of the Negro race! Yours is to choose. Your fate lies in your own hands. Arise, gird your loins and fight; fight for yourself, your wife, the children you begot. Our goad is not that of the capitalist over-lord. We would wake you out of your idle day-dreams, inspire you into activity, lash you into self-respecting manhood; self-relying class consciousness, so that you can look into the world with open eyes, and untrammeled mind and take your place where you rightfully belong; in the ranks of the army of class-conscious workers, marching to victory under the banner of the Socialist party.

G. O.

For membership in the Socialist Party, apply to

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