

Race Relations: Soviet and British

By George Padmore

A comparative study of the treatment of minority groups by the Soviet and British governments, both as educational and social units

AS much as I admire the heroic resistance of the Red Army and Soviet peoples to the predatory forces of Hitlerite Germany, I am not one of those uncritical supporters of the Soviet Government.

There are many undemocratic features of Soviet administration which I would like to see eliminated, but nevertheless, I think the Soviet Union can teach the so-called Anglo-Saxon democracies much in the sphere of interracial relations. For example, the Soviet Government has done more to liquidate illiteracy and raise the cultural level of the former subject races of Central Asia within twenty-five years, than the British Government has accomplished in India and Africa in two centuries. Here, I shall attempt to show how this was accomplished.

To Americans, all of whom speak some variety of the "King's English", the language problem does not have the same significance as it does in Europe or within the British Colonial Empire.

To most European countries—in Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, etc.—it has been the policy of governments to impose the language of the dominant racial element within the State upon the other ethnic groups, denying them, in most cases, the right to use their vernaculars in the schools, places of worship, and as official media of communication. Czarist Russia had been the chief sinner in this respect. The "Russification" of the Czar's Empire had been aimed at extirpating the national languages and cultures of minorities, so that succeeding generations would grow up familiar only with the imposed language and culture of the oppressing Russian nation. This policy, however, had precisely the opposite result from that envisaged by the Czarist autocracy.

Language and Nationalism

With the growth of nineteenth century nationalism in Europe, language assumed almost disproportionate importance in politics. The use of one's own national tongue became a mark of prestige. Arising out of this circumstance, national consciousness among the oppressed peoples and national minorities making up the old Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, became linked with the necessity to adopt the use of the vernacular. The more rigorously the

alien speech and culture were forced upon the oppressed peoples by the ascendant nation, the more bitterly they were resented, and the greater became the determination to achieve national independence and the right to assert the repressed language.

The question of the Afrikaans language of the Boers in the Union of South Africa (like Gaelic in Ireland,) was for a long time a controversial issue in British imperial politics. As a compromise, both English and Afrikaans were given official status when South Africa was granted Dominion status, but the Dutch speaking elements are still trying to make Afrikaans the only offi-

cial language in order to assert their political domination over the British settlers in South Africa.

In Europe, wherever it was possible for oppressed peoples to wrest the concession from their alien rulers to use the native language there was an efflorescence of literature and drama given over to themes of extreme nationalism.

After the Russian Revolution, there began a great cultural renaissance among the formerly suppressed national minorities. Czarist Russia was not only politically reactionary (like the Fascist countries today), but economically backward.

Culturally, except for the more Europeanized parts, it was positively medieval. Only a small section of the Russian Slavs—the aristocracy and intelligentsia—had been touched by the great cultural influences of the Western European Renaissance and the philosophical ideas of the glorious French Revolution.

The Mongol-Tartar-Turkic races of



Colored children of collective farmers of the N. Lakoba farm located in the Ochemchir district of the Abhazian Autonomous Soviet Republic. Left to right, Abash Nutsa, Shamil Chanba and Tsiba Chamba

the eastern part of the Russian Empire were relegated to what might be called a cultural grave. The Soviet Government, at that time headed by Lenin and Trotsky, had to set about providing these Central Asiatic nomads and primitive tribes the most rudimentary elements of modern knowledge, in order that they might be drawn into the great work of industrial reconstruction which the Soviets were then planning. In this task, Stalin as first Commissar for Nationalities and, himself a Georgian, one of the formerly oppressed races, played an important part.

Subject People Ignored

Like the British and other Colonial Governments in Africa, Czarist Imperialism devoted very little money to the education of the subject peoples of Russia outside of the restricted circles of the native clergy, such as the Mohammedan mullahs, and the bureaucracy. The educational and cultural needs of the masses were completely ignored. This is not really remarkable when it is noted that even 90 per cent of the Slav population of Great Russia was illiterate. It was this appalling, almost universal state of illiteracy, superstition and cultural backwardness which presented one of the biggest difficulties for the Soviet Government when it emerged from the Civil and Intervention Wars, and turned to grapple with the great problem of rebuilding the country's economy on Socialist lines.

Let us never forget, illiteracy is the backbone of political reaction and Fascism. It is not accidental, therefore, that the native races of Asia and Africa are being kept as illiterate as possible, for history shows that as soon as an intelligentsia emerges among a subject people it becomes the vanguard of the political struggle voicing the national aspirations of the backward inarticulate masses. And as a corollary to this, wherever a people is illiterate, there reaction flourishes. Spain, Portugal, Italy, are examples of civilized nations which come immediately to mind, but even in Germany, formerly one of the most intellectual of nations, the people are becoming more and more unintellectual, as a result of Nazi reaction. The wholesale destruction of the best German thought, the persecution of the most advanced thinkers and scientists who refuse to betray the cultural heritage of a once great people, the propagation of a stupid theory of racism, are all having their effect in undermining the cultural level of the German nation.

Acc political reactionaries find it necessary to maintain a population at as low a level of ignorance as possible. That is why the South constitutes a mill-



Women of the village of Guera, Turkmenistan making carpets in the manner of their forebears

stone around the necks of the American people!

"Without literacy", declared Lenin, "only rumour, small talk and prejudices". This aptly summed up the condition prevailing among nearly 200 different races, tribes and peoples making up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, when Lenin undertook the task of formulating a program of education which would embrace them all, while taking into account their individual national needs. Since Lenin had turned his back upon the Czarist policy of "Russification", the execution of such a program involved the revival and strengthening of the languages of the different nationalities and ethnic groups, which were to be made the media of government in the different administrative units of the Soviet Union.

Education Now Polyglot

The proposal to carry forward the education of the Union's heterogeneous population through a diversity of languages aroused heated controversy in the inner circles of the Russian Communist Party, where the Slav elements looked upon the adoption of a uniform Russian language as the easiest way out. Lenin rejected this contention as an expression of latent Russian chauvinism, of which many so-called communists had not rid themselves. He censured them on the ground that they were supporting a continuation of Czarism, of

the process of "Russification", which would in practice annul the Right of Self-Determination effected by the October Revolution.

"If the new Russia was to triumph over the old," declared Lenin, "it must take the opposite road, not the same Czarist one". The old and the new were diametrically opposed; therefore, their methods must be as wide apart as possible. They could not use force. "We must attain our ends", Lenin postulated, "through propaganda, through agitation, through a voluntary union of peoples. The Bashkirs¹ distrust the Russians because the Russians are at a higher level of civilization and have used their civilization to rob the Bashkirs. Consequently in these remote districts the name 'Russian' means 'oppressor' to the Bashkir . . . We must take this into account, we must combat it, but that takes a long time. It is not got rid of by decree. We must go to work on this very cautiously. Above all, such a nation as the Russians, who have excited a wild hatred in all other races, must be particularly cautious. We have only now learned to manage better, and even then only some of us as yet. Thus there are Communists among us who say 'uniform schools', who cry 'no instruction is to be given except through the Russian language'. In my view, a

¹ The Bashkirs were a primitive Turkic tribe with an admixture of Mongol and Finnish blood, settled in the Urals since the ninth century. The Czar and Russian capitalists expropriated their best lands rich with mineral resources, and drove them into the arid parts of the country.

Communist who thinks in this way is a Pan-Russian chauvinist. This tendency still exists in many of us, and we must wrestle with it."

Race-Hate Suppressed

The realist Lenin had no illusions that simply because Czarism had been overthrown and Communists were in power, century-old race prejudice and national chauvinism had automatically disappeared. Vigilance was necessary, and Lenin of all the Communist leaders never lost an opportunity of purging the ranks of his own party of the slightest manifestations of racial hatred. So deep-rooted was the spirit of internationalism within him that he never despised any human being, regardless of race or color. He realized so well that cultural backwardness among some peoples is the result of historic factors. Unlike the Fascist and other reactionary racialists, he rejected the doctrine of the innate inferiority and incapacity of any race. It is necessary to emphasize this, for in Britain and America, there are many so-called left-wing intellectuals, who, while giving lip-service to India's right to Self-Determination, are not prepared to advocate the same freedom for Africans, Malaysians, Burmans and other subject peoples. Such peoples, they assert, are not yet fit for freedom. With Lenin, it was all or none. And it was all-civilized Finns, uncivilized Bashkirs. Today the Finns are fighting against the Soviet power, the "savage" Bashkirs are serving in the Red Army, helping to destroy the Fascist plunderers. The genius of Lenin is incomparable; the correctness of his theory is unquestionable.

Application of Soviet Policy

Lenin's forcefulness carried his point in the higher councils of his party. The policy of carrying out education in the native vernaculars was adopted. Many of the people had not even an alphabet, for their language had never been written. For these, alphabets were evolved. Many others had intricate alphabets which were simplified. Most of them were latinized.

A thorough-going effort was activated to exorcise illiteracy. Every citizen in the Soviet Union was accorded the right to education by the Constitution, article 121 of which states: "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education; by the fact that education, including higher education, is free of charge; by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in the higher educational establishments; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language and by the organization of free vocational, technical



In Soviet Tadjikistan, a pupil of a Stalingrad school passing her examinations in physics

and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms."

Difficulties Surmounted

Education in all elementary schools was carried out almost from the start in the native language. At the outset, however, there was some difficulty in introducing the native language into the secondary schools. This was due largely to lack of teachers, and special schools were provided to train staffs. The formerly oppressed nationalities of Central Asia and the Caucasus, had to be specially induced to attend the technical and higher specialized educational institutions. There had been very spare provision of these schools under Czarism. Very few members of the backward races had reached them, and those exclusively the upper strata of the semi-feudal native aristocracy.

In 1914 there were only about 20 natives in the non-classical schools of Russia, while only a few hand-picked individuals succeeded in entering the universities. Asiatics were not admitted to Moscow university before the Revolution. Not a single Tartan, for instance, was matriculated at Kazan university—Lenin's alma mater—until just before 1914, when an occasional native Tartan and Usbek was admitted.

Technical difficulties stood in the way of using the native languages in the universities of the non-Russian national republics, but it was obligatory to reserve two chairs for the national language and the national literature. As these technical language difficulties were overcome, the native language took pre-

cedence. But almost everywhere Russian is being adopted as a secondary tongue, for it is but natural that many young people will prefer to read the famous authors, to say nothing of Lenin, in the Russian original, just as many English-speaking people prefer to read Voltaire, Racine, Rousseau, Balzac, Zola, in the original French, Goethe, Schiller and Heine in German.

Illiteracy Decreases

So effectively was the task of exterminating illiteracy tackled that one of the most backward sections of the U.S.S.R.—Buriat-Mongolia, which had been entirely illiterate up to 1925 had already reached a degree of 40 per cent literacy in 1931. Where there had been only 48 schools under the Czar, to which native children were admitted only if they were baptised in the Orthodox faith, and then taught Russian, there were by the end of the first Five Year Plan, a total of 647 schools, of which 285 were conducted in the Buriat-Mongolian language. In some villages literacy was already complete, while the percentage of children between the ages of 8 and 11 in the schools reached 97.6 per cent. Secondary schools, technical institutions and workers' training schools, had been established, and of the students attending them about half were Buriats. In this Buddhist land, the alphabet had been until the Revolution the exclusive possession of the great landlords and Lama clergy, who desperately opposed its latinization by the Soviet authorities, but by 1932 the new script had been universally adopted throughout the Buriat-Mongolian Autonomous Republic.

Prior to the Revolution there were throughout Daghestan, the autonomous republic in the Eastern Caucasus on the Caspian Sea, now threatened by von Bock's army, 82 schools, catering solely to Russian settlers, in which 4,667 students were instructed in the Russian language. There are now well over a thousand primary schools teaching something like 120,000 native children; schools for the collective farms, many technical institutes training thousands of students, almost three-quarters of whom are local mountaineers, Lesghians, Turks and "Mountain" Jews.

There is a workers' university, a number of schools attached to the factories and also to the Scientific Research Institute which was already founded before 1930.

Czarism had seen only a single Kazakh at the university. Of the 89,000 pupils in the elementary school of Kazakhstan in 1915, only 13,000 were actually Kazakhs, the most numerous of the Turkish peoples living within the Soviet Union.

Today, about 10,000 primary schools provide schooling for these tribesmen of the Central Asiatic steppes and the other national minorities living within this federated republic. There are 19 universities and colleges, attended by thousands of Kazakh students, women as well as men.

This is a tremendous achievement, for Kazakhstan is a strong Mohammedan area, and Moslem women were not allowed public association with men until recent years. The cultural and social backwardness of these Asiatic territories under the Czar can be gauged from the fact that in many languages there was no word for doctor, hospital, clinic, etc. This was especially so in the case of Kirghizia, where there was total illiteracy, a very limited vocabulary and no written alphabet. But by 1940, the adult population was 76 per cent literate! Kirghizia advanced so rapidly that it was raised to the status of a full-fledged Federated Soviet Republic in 1936. The republic now possesses 1,754 schools with 300,000 pupils, 5 higher educational institutions, 25 technological institutions for applied science, with thousands of students. From nomads and wild men, these Moslem tribes have been transformed into scientists, technicians, engineers and cultured folk, all within a generation or two.

If we look at the Southern Caucasus, we see the same cultural changes taking place. In the Soviet Republic of Armenia, out of 1,147 schools, 957 were built after 1922, and out of every 1,000 students 81.5 per cent receive secondary education, while 5.8 graduate from the university. In recent years nine higher educational institutions have been set up, enrolling more than 7,000 students.

There are 45 technological institutions and 15 institutes for scientific research.

Statistics could be repeated for each of the formerly backward regions throughout the Soviet Union. Suffice it to say that schools are now to be found in every part of this vast country which covers a sixth part of the earth. And their number increases year by year. Every day (obviously the war has interrupted school attendance, especially in the occupied areas) 33,000,000 children go to school in the Soviet Union, as compared with 8,000,000 before the Revolution. The universities have increased from 71 before 1917 to 716, with accommodation for 600,000 as against 112,000 under the Czar. Even in the far north of Siberia, among the scattered tribes of the Nentsi, Mansi, Evenks, Knahte, etc., the Soviet Government is bringing knowledge, where before there was nothing but ignorance and superstition. Without written symbols, these primitive peoples had to be provided with alphabets. Not more than 50 of the nearly 200 peoples and races had written languages before the Revolution. Now that alphabets have been provided, boarding schools have been established throughout the vast Siberian waste, where the children of nomads and pastoral peoples still living in tribal organization, are encouraged to attend at Government expense.

Moslem Women Educated

As far as the women of Central Asia are concerned, the October Revolution brought them a three-fold emancipation; as members of oppressed national groups; as members of an oppressed sex; as members of an oppressed class. These benighted women were urged by Communist women "missionaries" sent from the more enlightened parts of European Russia, to cast off their black horse hair *chachvan* (veil) with which they covered their faces for centuries. This was a bold step for many to take, in face of the opposition and insult from their men-folk. For instance, in 1928 it happened in Uzbekistan that "many women who had unveiled on Woman's Day resumed the veil afterwards, under pressure from relatives and from the counter-offensive which promptly set in, and many of them had to pay with their lives for the brief ecstasy," writes Dr. Fannina Halle, in her classical work on the subject, *"Women In The Soviet East."*

In 1938, there was not a single veiled woman in Bokhara, formerly the stronghold of Mohammedan reaction in the whole of Central Asia. The Soviet Government used all of its influence to urge the women out of seclusion, to placate the century-old prejudices of the men. An old Buriat-Mongol woman wrote how "people came from the town and summoned us women to a meeting. At first we went suspiciously, even in fear. And then it seemed that scales fell from the eyes of some of us. We grasped, though dimly at first, that they were taking us women under their protection, and summoning us to labour. And the days flew past, swifter than deer. Every day we felt more and more the new factor in our lives . . . My inner life grew brighter and brighter, the feeling that a new, really human

life was beginning for me grew stronger and stronger, since we women were accorded equal rights." (*"Women In The Soviet East,"* p. 208).

Thanks to these Russian communist "missionaries," the women of Central Asia were drawn not only into the industrial life of their local republics, but into the orbit of the educational and cultural activities taking place all over the Soviet Union. The once enslaved women became the most zealous scholars; young and old joined the special classes organized by the Communist young women sent into the remote regions of Central Asia by the party to teach school and wage war against illiteracy, ignorance and disease. It was not an easy task, many of them were murdered by the tribesmen incited by the Mohammedan priests, but with Bolshevik pertinacity, they achieved their aims. Today the number of Asiatic women occupying high Government positions is steadily rising, and in the Soviet Union there are now more women doctors, dentists and teachers than men. Women have a sort of monopoly of these professions. Only those who had any acquaintance with the closed-in empty existence of the millions of women of the Soviet East can have even the faintest realization of the release and expansion which the Revolution, and the educational facilities provided by the Soviet Government, have brought to them.

Unified Educational Program

The rapid strides towards the complete elimination of illiteracy in Central Asia have been made possible only because of the unified educational program of the entire Soviet Union, and the allocation of funds from the central budget of the U.S.S.R. The program, having been decided upon by the Educational Committee of the Council of People's Commissariat for the U.S.S.R. and the funds allocated to each of the different republics and other administrative regions constituting the entire Union, the educational commissars for their respective areas are responsible for the carrying out of the program in accordance with the local requirements and conditions. And because the needs of the Asiatic parts are greater than the European regions, thanks to the fact that they are more backward, their share of the funds is proportionately larger. Until the present war, about 12 per cent of the entire budget of the Soviet State was devoted to education.

Let us see how education in the British colonies in Africa compare with Soviet achievements in the former Asiatic colonies under Russian imperialism. Up till as late as 1924 education in British tropical Africa was entirely in the hands of missionaries. In that year the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa was set up by the Colonial Office, and a more definite Government policy declared.

"It was recognized," states Lord Hailey, "that a type of education must be devised suited to the mass of the people." These are grand words, but for all their sentimental worth, education in British Africa after a century still touches but a bare fringe of the population. In none of the Tropical African colonies do more than 20 per cent of the children get any kind of schooling. In Sierra Leone, where British rule has been running for a century and a half, the percentage falls to 8 per cent.

African Schools Inadequate

But even these percentages are misleading without explaining that for most part the African children attending school never com-

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PANCAS, Roanoke, Va., seated: The Rev. James R. Johnson, Jr., president local branch, Miss Justine K. Spencer, C. C. Williams, treasurer, Mrs. L. C. Downing, and W. C. Rose, secretary. Standing: Richard Birks, Y. Hutsona, vice president, W. E. Muse, J. A. Prunty, P. J. Preston, John Penn, and R. W. Hall. Absent from the group, Rev. William J. Simmons. Officers of the PANCA CLUB are Miss Justine K. Spencer, president, Y. Butsona, vice president, Richard Birks, secretary, W. C. Rose, assistant secretary, and C. C. Williams, treasurer

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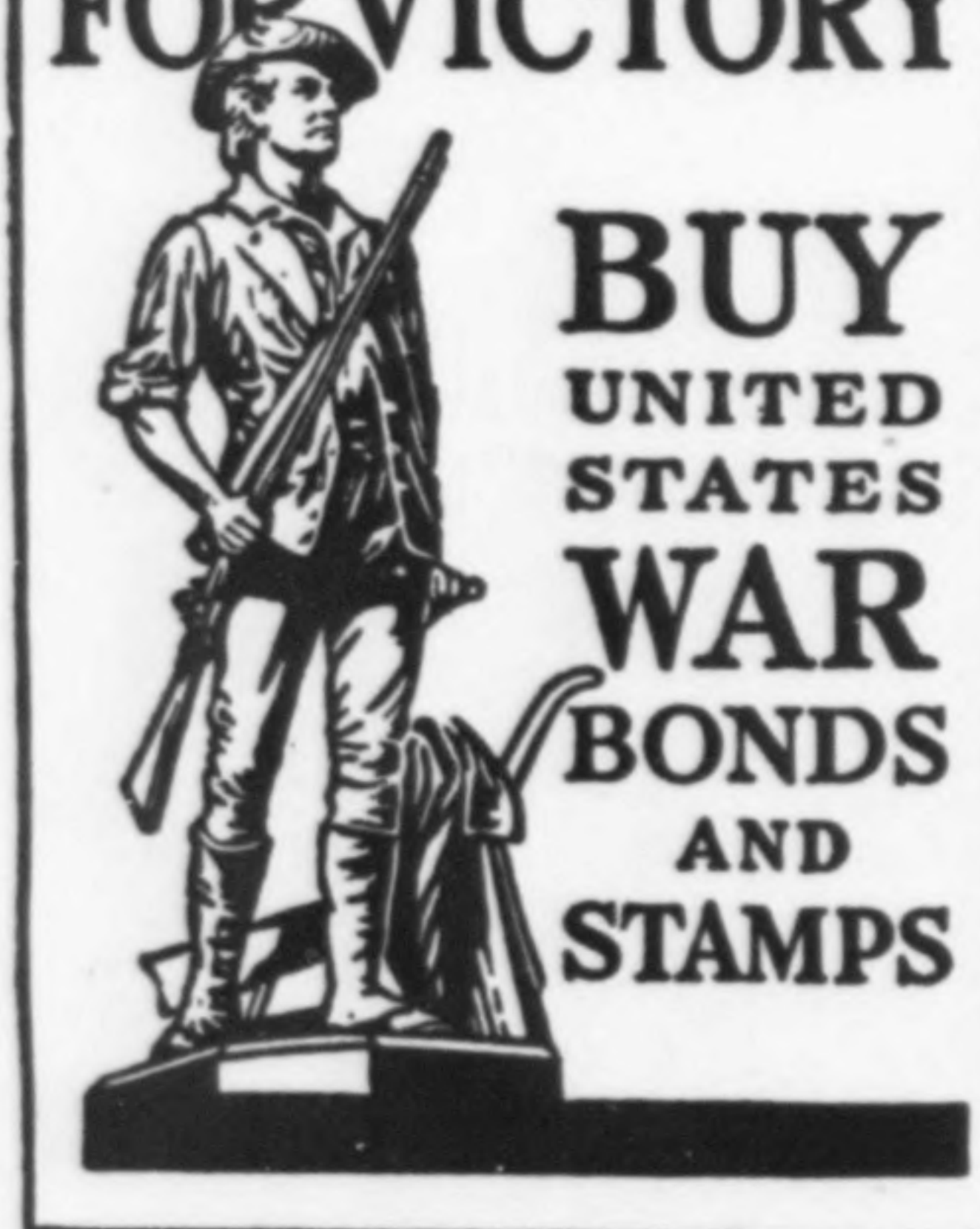
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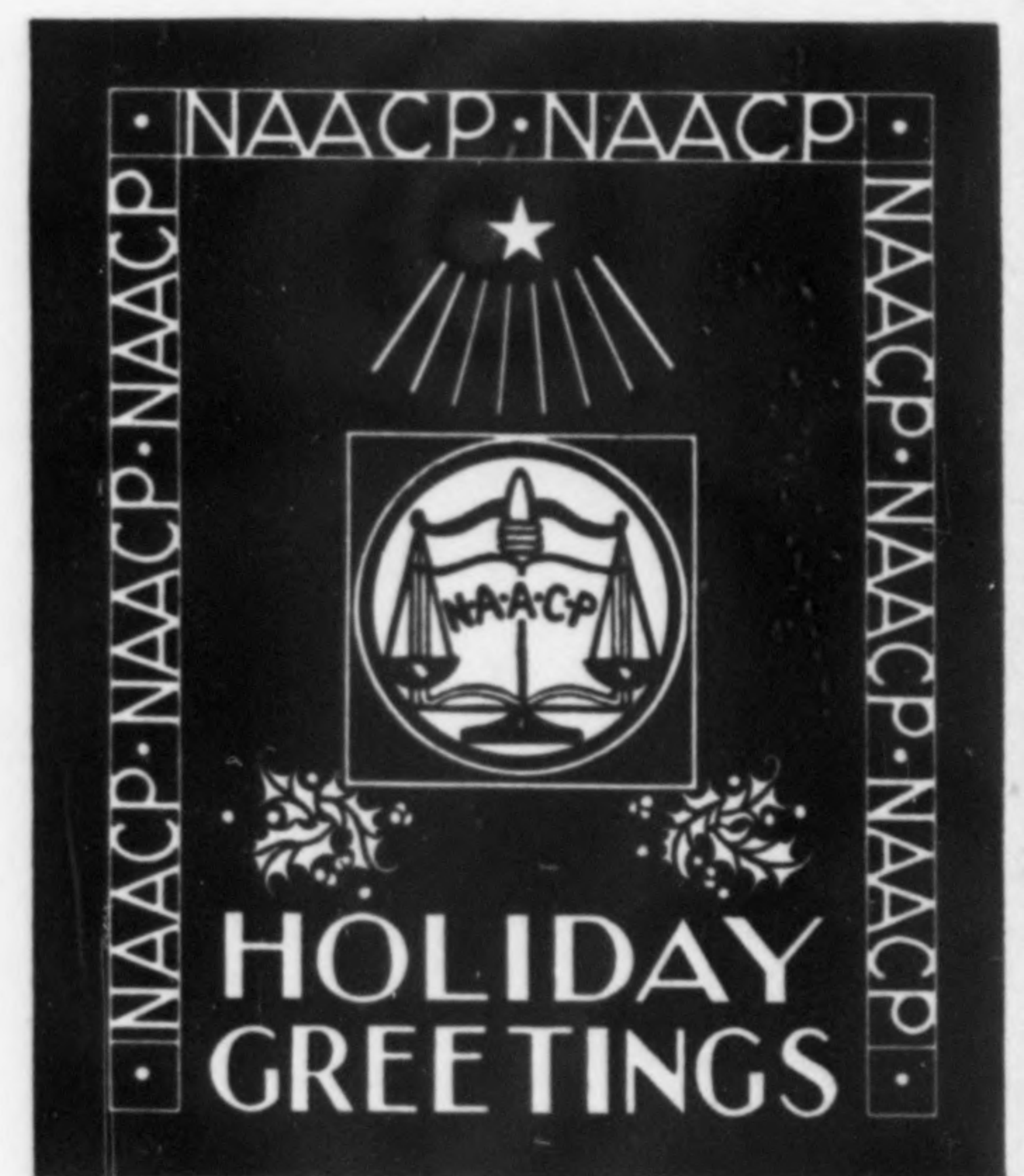
Race Relations

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plete the elementary grades. After a year or two, economic conditions force them out into the labor market, and it is only the fortunate few who make the fifth standard. What kind of education is provided can be imagined from the fact that in 1938 the Kenya Government spent £80,284 on African education, of which £53,949 went in subsidies to European missions. "In sub-elementary schools children are taught what our children learn in their first standard," writes Dr. Norman Leys in his recent book: "Colour Bar in East Africa." The author adds: "and most of the 150,000 children who in Kenya get any education at all never get beyond them."

The educational report of the colony for 1938 in referring to African education observes that "very few of these schools obtain grants because the elementary schools in the next grade absorb all the available funds." In 1938 the Government suspended its subsidies to mission schools, the cost of running

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which now devolves upon the missions themselves and the fees which are demanded of parents. Dr. Leys quite firmly asserts that "many thousands of children are expelled from schools because their parents will not or cannot pay their fees."

There is no government secondary education for Africans in Kenya, and the average cost of education was 12 shillings for each native child in the government elementary schools and 4 shillings and 3 pence in the mission schools. Of the 1,160 European children in government schools in the same year £49,000 was spent; the net cost for tuition only being reckoned at £23. 13 Shillings each.

Gold Coast education for the natives is considered to be the most advanced in British Tropical Africa. Here the cost per pupil in the Government primary schools is £6. 4 shillings and in the mission schools, 26 shillings. Although the educational allotment rose from £25,000 in 1915 to just over £250,000 in 1931, its percentage of the Government revenue increased from 3 per cent to 7 per cent within those eighteen years. Not a very impressive record, whichever way you look at it. And less so when it is stated that in 1931 only one child out of every five on the Gold Coast was receiving any kind of schooling, and less than half per cent passed the primary grade. Experts on Colonial education have calculated that at the present rate of progress, and disregarding any increase of population, it will take 700 years before the Africans even in so advanced a colony as the Gold Coast are made literate.

Lamentably small are the proportions of their total revenues which Colonial Governments spend on native education. "So long ago as 1919, 18 per cent of the revenue of the Philippines was spent on education," observes Norman Leys. "In no country in our colonial Empire is the proportion as high as 5 per cent. In the countries of British East and British West Africa it lies between 1.5 per cent and 3 per cent" (*The Colour Bar In East Africa*, pp. 130-135).

Indian Illiteracy Widespread

The same state of affairs exist in India, where illiteracy is even more widespread. After 150 years of English rule, 345 million Indians cannot read or write any language. Two-thirds of 700,000 Indian villages have no schools of any kind. While the government spends 23.9 per cent of the budget on military, 22.5 per cent on debt interest, 9.6 per cent on police and jails, only 5.7 per cent is spent on education! Is it any wonder why India is so backward?

Let us see why, after all these years of colonizing, the British have failed utterly to make anything like the cultural progress which the Soviets have achieved among Asiatic peoples, who, up to a few decades ago, were just as backward as the Africans and Indians.

Aim of Soviet Education

The aim of education in the Soviet Union is to make socialist beings of its citizens, to fit all of them regardless of race or color, for working collectively in the common interests of all. Its educational policy is not designed as in capitalist countries to equip its men and women for individual careers, in which each citizen struggles for personal advancement against the other regardless of the social consequences to the community as a whole.

"The economic basis of the Soviet Union is, as is well known, a Socialist system of national economy," writes Madame Maisky, wife of the Russian Ambassador in London, "in which private profit-making and the ex-

ploitation of man by man is excluded, and the training and education of our children is in conformity with this principle . . . While our teachers and our leaders enjoin upon our young people the need to be loyal, devoted, brave Soviet citizens, they also stress the right of all other countries to Self-Determination, to an equal place in the sun."¹ That is to say, national chauvenism is rejected, and Soviet children are taught to regard all other peoples as equal to themselves. Racial arrogance as it is known in imperialist countries is entirely repudiated by Soviet educationalists.

It is impossible to propound collectivist ideas to children who will later have to go out into a competitive world, where only the favored few can reach the top, the high-born and the influentially assisted. But in the U.S.S.R. special ability is fostered. Education from the primary grade to the university was until quite recently free for all citizens, but a small fee is now payable by certain types of university and technical students.

Imperialists' Aims

In Tropical Africa, education is nowhere either free or compulsory. And the reason is in the imperialist aim, which has been quite

¹ London "News-Chronicle, Jan. 14, 1942.

clearly amplified by Mr. A. Mayhew, Joint Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonial Office, in his book on "*Education In The Colonial Empire*."

"Is it our primary aim," asks Mr. Mayhew, "to provide effective labor for the development of the country's resources under European direction and control? In this case the village communities in the native reserves would be regarded primarily as reservoirs of labor supply for the white men . . . Or is our aim the training of the native population for the development of his own land and of his industries? . . . Or is it right and possible to combine both these aims?" (*Education in the Colonial Empire*, pp. 45.)

Mr. Mayhew does not leave it for the reader to decide. Having observed British Colonial educational policy in action, he replies to his own enquiry: "Left to himself, the African is not an ideal wage-earning employee," we are assured . . . "If he is to work harder, longer, and more honestly and continuously, education must inculcate ideas of sanctity of contract and of ordinary honesty to his employer . . . This is the task of the urban and mines schools—which it may take generations to perform. Even the most effective schools will not ensure for European capital the kind of labour that it needs."— (*Education in the Colonial Empire*, pp. 140.) (Continued on page 365)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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College and School News

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There are 1200 students enrolled in seventeen defense courses at Howard. L. K. Downing is Dean of the School of Architecture and Engineering. Students interested in the defense courses should write to him.

Lincoln University (Mo.) reports a decrease of enrollment of 16 per cent under that of last year. At the end of September 503 students were enrolled.

Shaw University reports an enrollment of 388 students from fifteen states. Of the 166 freshmen only 40 are men. There will be three co-eds to every man at Shaw this term.

Shaw supervised extension courses are being offered at Franklinton, Goldsboro, New Bern, Oxford, Rocky Mount, Raleigh and Wilson.

New staff members are: Dr. R. A. Young, A.B. (Howard), M.A. (Chicago), Ph.D. (Pennsylvania), formerly biologist at Howard and North Carolina College; Miss Mary Miller, A.B. (Howard), former art instructor at Shaw, Howard, St. Augustine's and Fisk; Mrs. Newell D. Eason, B.S. (Virginia State), M.A. (Columbia), former science instructor at Barber Scotia; Miss Eunice Jackson, A.B. (Brooklyn), M.A. (Union Theo. Sem.); Miss Mary McNeil, R.N.; Miss Patricia Stewart, A.B. (Howard), A.M. (Columbia); Miss Thelma Nelson, A.B. (Clark), B.S. in L.S. (Atlanta Univ.); Cashius M. Thomas, A.B. (Fisk), M.S. (Michigan and Harvard); Miss Alma Coppedge, A.B. (Shaw); and Miss Rubie L. Jones, B.S.C. (N.C. College).

Race Relations

(Continued from page 363)

There you have it from the foremost authority on Colonial education. The Negro is lazy, yet the English language has acquired the phrase: "to work like a n" for one who works industriously. Where is the compatibility between the two viewpoints? It would appear that the African does not regard with needful reverence the right of the white man to exploit him to death in return for vanishing wages, and therefore such education as he receives shall be directed towards making him duly observant of his sacred obligations to the European capitalists who has taken away his land and erected the prerequisite conditions for transforming him into a helot. It is extraordinary how Soviet education managed to convert backward Asiatic natives from a not "ideal wage-earning employee" into an enthusiastic, cooperative worker in less than twenty years. The result in the U.S.S.R. is quite contrary to Mr. Mayhew's conviction that "it may take generations to perform."

British Policy Resented

Africans do not find Mr. Mayhew's views appealing, for Lord Hailey points out: "There are Africans, especially on the west coast, who feel that an educational course which is designed to suit African conditions carries with it its own confession of inferiority. There are again Europeans who feel that the policy ministers to the prejudice of those who, apprehensive of the economic competition of the native, would confine him to a separate world of thought and social habit." (*An African Survey*, pp. 1281-2.)

However, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee of 1925 assured all who were willing to note that "the door of advancement through higher education must be increasingly open for those who, by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education."

This is just a grandiloquent phrase, for in West Africa, out of a native population of nearly 30,000,000, just thirty are doctors in the Government Medical Service. In the Union of South Africa, the number hardly exceeds a dozen; in East Africa, two!

Science and technical research are entirely beyond the ken of African natives. Throughout British Tropical Africa south of the Zambasi, there is not a single research institute or school of technology open to the Negroes, not even a single public library. In 1941, British friends of Africans established a small library in Johannesburg in memory of the English novelist, Winifred Holtby, whose sympathy for these oppressed blacks often found expression in acts of kindness when she visited South Africa. But this is an individual effort only. On the other hand, throughout the once colonial territories of Czarist Imperialism, libraries have sprung up with almost mushroom-like rapidity; institutes of applied science are common.

Soviet Cultural Renaissance

The resurgence of learning has had its effect in a press whose scope is wider and greater than anywhere else in the civilized world. Every national section of the varied peoples making up what is commonly called "Russia," has its own newspapers in its own language. Factories have their own newspapers; collective farms theirs. Just before the First World War, there were published in the Czarist Empire 859 newspapers, with a total circulation of 2,700,000. Most of these were printed in Russian and controlled by bankers, large industrialists and big landlords. Policy was largely dictated by the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and the newspapers were, therefore, quite naturally organs of the aggressive policy of Czarist Imperialism. In 1939, there were 8,550 newspapers, with a circulation of 47,520,000 copies daily. "Pravda" (Truth) and "Izvestia" (The Gazette), the chief organs of the Communist Party and Soviet Government, respectively, have large circulations running into 2,000,000 copies. Each industry has its own newspapers, and so have the Army and Navy. "Red Star," the paper of the Red Army is one of the most reliable military journals in the U.S.S.R. In addition there are travelling newspapers, which go into the rural, agricultural districts during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Periodicals and magazines of all kinds are numerous. The Soviet Union today offers a veritable author's paradise.

Russian Literature

The cultural emancipation of the formerly colonial peoples and national authori-

ties has given a tremendous fillip to the production of all forms of literature. In the Central Asian republics, for example, the number of books published increased from 1,936,000 copies in 1925 to 23,400,000 in 1930. In Azerbaidjan alone, there were 8,100,000 books published in 1938. Books are being published in over 100 languages, alphabets for 40 of which have been developed since the Revolution. The classics of the great writers of the world are widely popularized, and literature is not the preserve of a single section or group within the Soviet Union. Agitation and propaganda are designed to awaken the interest of the more backward races in world literature. The native peoples of Africa and India are too poor to develop their own literature, and are not aided by the government. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the people are illiterate and therefore even where one or two native publishers have attempted to publish books by local writers, the distribution is very limited indeed. It can hardly be recognized what an extension of the British and American publishing market there would be if there were literate populations in Asia and Africa. As it is, there is no incentive for young colonial intellectuals to follow writing as a profession, and everybody is the loser thereby.

The efflorescence of national cultures in the Soviet Union, once the most backward and illiterate country in Europe, has led to an interchange between the different peoples and races enriching the whole Union. Their cultural growth has served to break down the racial prejudices and animosities of long standing. While developing their own individual cultures, each borrows from the rest, and there has been a rebirth of poetry and drama. Music, opera and the theatre in the various national republics have been sponsored in their growth by the Soviet Government. Georgia, Armenia and Kazakhstan have in recent years produced prominent writers.

It is a truism that mass education and culture cannot flourish without state aid, and in the Soviet Union money has not only been forthcoming for guns, but for the purpose of founding art centers everywhere. Today there is no country in the world where writers and artists are so honored as in the U.S.S.R., where these moulders of the nation's cultural life have a status which in capitalist countries is generally reserved for bankers, successful industrialists, brewers and mediocre politicians. First values really come first.

To summarize: one can say that the territories and peoples that were once subjected to Russian Imperialism, as India, Africa, and the West Indies are to British Imperialism, have come into their right of Self-Determination since the Revolution. But the form is less political than cultural. National boundaries as they are understood under capitalism do not exist. It is the differences of culture which actually mark the division of the nearly two hundred different races and peoples in the U.S.S.R., and even these are now, under the prevailing conditions tending to fuse.

East and West have disappeared in the Soviet Union, giving the lie to those who persist that the barriers between white and colored can never fall; that the two are mutually antipathetic. There is no inherent clash between color or race.

A socialistic economy has proved that artificially created dissensions can be wiped out in quite a short time. Socialism unites. Imperialism divides. The idea of national and cultural independence and political unity among multi-racial and national groups is possible only along the lines of a socialized planned economy. For "culture feeds on the sap of economics and a material surplus is necessary so that culture may grow, develop and become subtle."