

*COLOR AND DEMOCRACY*

*by the same author*

THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

DARKWATER

DARK PRINCESS

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

DUSK OF DAWN

*Color and Democracy:  
Colonies and Peace*

By

W. E. B. Du Bois

DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL RESEARCH  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE

122221

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY  
NEW YORK

COPYRIGHT, 1945, BY  
HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, INC.

*All rights reserved, including  
the right to reproduce this book  
or portions thereof in any form.*

*first edition*

2/D 816. D 851  
Locked Cases

**G159330**



**A WARTIME BOOK**

*This complete edition is produced in full  
compliance with the government's regu-  
lations for conserving paper and other  
essential materials.*

**PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

## PREFACE

The present war has made it clear that we can no longer regard Western Europe and North America as the world for which civilization exists; nor can we look upon European culture as the norm for all peoples. Henceforth the majority of the inhabitants of earth, who happen for the most part to be colored, must be regarded as having the right and the capacity to share in human progress and to become copartners in that democracy which alone can ensure peace among men, by the abolition of poverty, the education of the masses, protection from disease, and the scientific treatment of crime.

From these premises I have written this book, to examine our current efforts to ensure peace through the united action of men of goodwill. I have sought to say that insofar as such efforts leave practically untouched the present imperial ownership of disfranchised colonies, and in this and other ways proceed as if the majority of men can be regarded mainly as sources of profit for Europe and North America, in just so far we are planning not peace but war, not democracy but the continued oligarchical control of civilization by the white race.

I am aware that such a thesis needs to be backed by a far wider collection of facts, scientifically arranged, than are at present available. But I am convinced from long study and wide travel that the truth of what I say is fairly well attested, and at least the dangers which I seek to point out are sufficiently evident to call for action.

W. E. B. DUB.

New York, January 1, 1945.

## CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
I. DUMBARTON OAKS	3
II. THE DISFRANCHISED COLONIES	17
III. THE UNFREE PEOPLES	58
IV. DEMOCRACY AND COLOR	73
V. PEACE AND COLONIES	100
VI. THE RIDDLE OF RUSSIA	114
VII. MISSIONS AND MANDATES	123

*COLOR AND DEMOCRACY*

## CHAPTER I

### *DUMBARTON OAKS*

THE EFFORTS TO INAUGURATE A FEDERATION OF MANKIND, WHICH CULMINATED IN THE CONFERENCE AT DUMBARTON OAKS IN 1944, SOUGHT TO ENSURE PEACE AND RESTORE CIVILIZATION; BUT LEFT A DANGER AND A RECURRING CAUSE OF WAR IN THE FAILURE TO EMPHASIZE THE RIGHTS OF COLONIAL PEOPLES.

In 1921, I sat in the Palace of Justice in Brussels, Belgium, with Paul Otlet, who has often been called the Father of the League of Nations. He and his friend Senator La Fontaine were helping me convene a Pan-African Congress to meet successively in London, Paris, and Brussels. In their long efforts to bring civilized nations into unified action and thought, they agreed with me in looking upon the question of imperialism and colonies as a central subject for these efforts.

In 1944, after the rise and fall of the League of Nations, there met at Dumbarton Oaks a conference with the same objects in mind: to bring mankind into unified effort for cultural progress. This conference was made vivid and imperative by realization of the awful catastrophe of a Second World War.

Dumbarton Oaks is an estate granted by the Crown of England to Ninian Beall in 1702. The mansion was built a century later just as South Carolina, fearing Federal legislation, opened her harbor to a flood of new African slaves. Thus this property dates from the day of that curious com-

bination of Negro slavery and British imperialism when America was a colony of Britain and conceived of as primarily a matter of income and investment for British merchants and aristocrats. This proud estate lived to see the fire of war and a nation born out of the chaos of the colonial theory of the eighteenth century. It saw swift and impressive progress and bitter civil strife and emancipation of slaves in the nineteenth century, and finally in the twentieth century it witnessed the fall of modern civilization into two world wars so widespread, bitter, and costly that the whole question of the future of mankind suddenly became critical.

Perhaps again today some brooding residue of colonial problems intertwined with problems of race and color, into which Dumbarton Oaks was born, lingered at this conference held to seek the rebuilding of a stricken world. There sat at the table of Dumbarton Oaks, fears, jealousies, and hopes: fears of renewed German aggression and Asiatic revolt; fears of postwar poverty and despair; jealousies of national rights and imperial power; and hopes for eventual peace and progress. There emerged a tentative plan for world government designed especially to curb aggression, but also to preserve imperial power and even extend and fortify it.

The first and guiding ideal of this conference was to stop war by organization of the most powerful nations on earth against aggression; so that at the head of the organization designed to ensure peace for progress in the future world was placed a Security Council, and security was the keynote.

We, however, who are filled with conflicting hope and doubt must ask ourselves how far a peace resting on force will ensure the defense and rebirth of civilization, and what the real relation can be between military power on the one

hand and wealth, contentment, and progress on the other. Ultimate and lasting peace will rest on consent and agreement, not on armies.

There are those of us who see in the rifts of race many and multiplying causes of war, and therefore scan the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks with misgiving. Such persons, of course, are aware that this conference was called primarily to solve not problems of race but problems of peace, and it had to get the consent of nations with varying histories and ideals. And yet they know that if war has been and may be the result of race hate, and of colonial might based on racial repulsions as well as on greed for wealth and power, we must beware how far we build the new world upon military force and ignore such known and existent causes of war.

Perhaps first we may seek enlightenment by arranging the proposals made at Dumbarton Oaks in accordance with conventional lines of race and color, which we know fit with curious historical sequence into colonial problems.

We find here proposed a government of the world in which 800,000,000 white and yellow peoples will rule mankind through a Security Council. By agreement between the world's greatest powers, this Council will be an executive body implemented by treaty with military power sufficient to enforce its decisions.

At first sight, this Security Council reassures the thoughtful because it is not simply a white European organization. Yet on second thought, that assurance is not so strong. While the Security Council in theory is bi-racial, we cannot forget that over half of the peoples included are represented by China and that the status of China in the postwar world is uncertain. In the latter part of the nineteenth century China was at the point of being definitely divided into a group of European colonies. Spheres of influence almost colonial in conception had been laid out by Great Britain,

Russia, France, Germany, and very nearly by the United States. The series of events which held up the consummation of this plan accompanied the rise of Japan: her war with China, which placed her beside the European aggressors; later her defeat of Russia, which made her an imperial partner and so recognized by England; and finally after the First World War her grudging recognition as a leading world state.

But the world and Western civilization were not willing to receive Japan in complete partnership with recognition of the racial equality of yellow peoples. The result of this, in the kaleidoscopic changes between the First World War and the Second, was that Japan after demanding racial equality in the League of Nations, and being rather peremptorily denied even theoretical confirmation by Great Britain and the United States, gradually turned and began to work toward the hegemony of Asia. It was no longer a question of partnership with the West, but one of the domination of the major part of mankind by an Asiatic imperialism. When this imperialism made common cause with dictatorship in Germany and Italy, world war was inevitable.

Thereafter China became a symbol in the West of a power which might dominate Asia but would do so in collaboration with Europe and the United States and indeed under their guidance, if not actually under their power. The plan was all the more plausible because China could look only to Europe and the United States for rehabilitation after her long and almost hopeless struggle against Japan in the midst of her own internal revolution, which in itself needed every ounce of her energy.

China has therefore been built up in current comment and at Dumbarton Oaks as one of the great powers, with a permanent seat in the Security Council. Yet as a matter of fact this ancient and magnificent civilization, which has

again and again set goals for human culture, is today staggering and uncertain and can look for rapid rebirth only if she has the goodwill, the economic support, and the social co-operation of the United States and Western Europe.

It is significant that in the conference of Dumbarton Oaks three powers consulted for six weeks, while China was called in only for the last six days. The proposals as we have them were agreed upon by Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. Afterward the Chinese delegation was called in to a sort of review. It is not at all clear as to just why this procedure was followed.

It would rather seem that at Dumbarton Oaks China was deliberately confronted with a *fait accompli*. Even if this was so, it was probably, but unfortunately, done with China's full consent. She presented finally to the United Nations her own plan for the government of the world. The Chinese stressed a commission to administer internationalized territory and to introduce measures for the protection and welfare of the colonial peoples. All this they wished to invest in an International Social Welfare Office relating to all peoples.

Finally and significantly, China presented again (in perhaps somewhat altered form, since the text has never been revealed) a proposed international declaration on racial equality. The United Nations were suave, and doubtless to a degree sympathetic. They agreed in principle that the proposals of China were important, but they suggested that action upon them be postponed to a later date and to other organs of discussion and recommendation; in particular, the racial-equality proposal was suppressed.

The Security Council, therefore, which is the executive center of the proposed new world organization, will practically be under the control of white Europe and America; while the yellow peoples will be recognized as having the right to share in this partnership, their effective assertion

of this right will depend upon the long and difficult path which the reorganization of China and the rebuilding of her culture will surely demand.

Six hundred and fifty million persons, predominantly white folk but not entirely, will function under the Dumbarton Oaks proposals in a General Assembly together with 800,000,000 in the larger nations. Effort—and well-meaning effort—has been made to emphasize the role of the General Assembly; but that role in reality depends upon the course of human history in the next generation, because, save in two particulars, the General Assembly is an organization without power, which may discuss situations and give them publicity, but has no right of action save as its discussions and recommendations are consented to by the various nations of the world; and there would seem to be no possible way of compelling any nation to consent to these proposals if it did not care to, unless its refusal to consent was an immediate threat of world war.

In two respects the General Assembly has power. First, it nominates six of the eleven members of the Security Council. If that Council reaches a decision in any matters by unanimity, the nominees of the Assembly or any one of them voting as national units, can stop such unanimous action. In whatever matter the Council reaches a decision by majority vote, the nominated states hold the majority. In the second place, the power of the budget is in the hands of the Assembly.

There is another power of the proposed General Assembly which has been stressed, and that is the appointment of an Economic and Social Council. This is composed of eighteen members appointed by the General Assembly, and to this Council questions relating to social welfare, cultural progress, and human rights may be referred. This may include such matters as aviation and radio, labor and education, food and agriculture, currency, finance, and eco-

conomic co-operation, public health, and also "human rights"—the vastest field imaginable for co-operation of human agencies for the welfare of the world.

Many of these matters will be fundamental for the future of the world. The question of the future of colonies and the treatment of colonial peoples, which has been in the past a fruitful cause of dissension and war, comes under the purview of this committee. Questions relating to the un-free peoples, to the minorities, and to the depressed social classes also fall to its survey.

But the committee has no power of action. It has the right of discussion and of recommendation to the Security Council and to the various states of the world; but its power of investigation of actual facts and conditions is limited on the one hand, by the Security Council, and on the other hand by the national states. If world opinion sets strongly in certain directions, doubtless the influence of the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council may accomplish much. On the other hand, all too often its proposals and complaints may simply beat the air in vain.

We must also remember that the so-called free states represented in the Assembly are not in all cases really free. In some cases, like those of Canada, Australia, and the Union of South Africa, they are parts and closely integrated parts of the British Empire. And the various states of Soviet Russia have similar chance to sit in the Assembly as free nations. In addition to this, there are many nations of the world who because of their debts to the great industrial empires, and because of intricate industrial and commercial relations, in many cases cannot speak or act with freedom or independence.

There will be at least 750,000,000 colored and black folk inhabiting colonies owned by white nations, who will have no rights that the white people of the world are bound to

respect. Revolt on their part can be put down by military force; they will have no right of appeal to the Council or the Assembly; they will have no standing before the International Court of Justice. Any dispute concerning their status is put beyond the jurisdiction of either the Council or the Assembly, unless it threatens world war.

Here, to my mind, lies the broadest ground for criticism of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. There is no need here to discuss the advantages or the disadvantages of modern imperialism, or to attempt to assess the gain or the loss to peoples arising from their subordination to the great nations. That the colonial system has involved in the past much that was horrible and inhuman must be admitted. That vast numbers of backward peoples have made notable cultural advance under the colonial regime is equally true. Despite this, if the world believes in democracy, and is fighting a war of incredible cost to establish democracy as a way of life, it is both intolerable in ethics and dangerous in statecraft to allow, for instance, 8,000,000 Belgians to represent 10,000,000 Congolese in the new international without giving these black folk any voice even to complain. It is equally unfair that 9,000,000 Dutchmen should be the sole arbiters and spokesmen for 67,000,000 brown men of the South Seas. It cannot be reconciled with any philosophy of democracy that 50,000,000 white folk of the British Empire should be able to make the destiny of 450,000,000 yellow, brown, and black people a matter solely of their own internal decision. Or again, inside that same empire it is astonishing to see among the leading "free nations" battling for "democracy" the Union of South Africa, where 2,000,000 white folk, not only in international affairs but openly in their established government, hold 8,000,000 black natives in a subordination unequalled elsewhere in the world.

This is not for a moment to deny the techniques and the

elementary schools Belgium has given the black Congo; or the fact that The Netherlands has perhaps the most liberal colonial program of any modern empire; or that Great Britain gave the African freedom and education after slave trade and slavery. But it is equally true that the advance of colonial peoples has been hesitant and slow, and retarded unnecessarily because of the denial of democratic method to the natives, and because their treatment and government have had, and still have, objects and methods incompatible with their best interests and highest progress.

The substantial and permanent advance of a group cannot be allowed to depend on the philanthropy of a master if the desires and initiative of its members are given no freedom, no democratic expression; and if, on the other hand, the will of the master is swayed by strong motives of selfish aggrandizement and gain.

How often this selfish interest has prevailed in the past is too well known to require reminder. But today the temptation is stronger rather than weaker. With Holland reeling under murder, theft, and destruction, can the world expect unselfish surrender by the present Dutch generation of the profit of rich colonies capable of helping to restore her losses? Is it likely that after her crucifixion Belgium will be satisfied with less profit from the Congo and greater expenditure there for education, health, and social service? With Great Britain straining every nerve to satisfy the demands of her own laboring classes, is it likely that she will of her own initiative, or even with pressure from her own Labor party, extend these reforms to India, coupled with the autonomy necessary for Indian initiative and self-government?

No. The united effort of world opinion should now be brought earnestly to bear on the nations owning colonies, to make them realize that, great as the immediate sacrifice may be, it is the only way. To set up now an internation

with near half of mankind disfranchised and socially enslaved is to court disaster. In the past, and the recent past, we know how the lure of profit from rich, unlettered, and helpless countries has tempted great and civilized nations and plunged them into bloody rivalry. We know what part colonial aggression has played in this present world disaster. We know how colonies give power, wealth, and prestige, employment, monopoly, and privilege. We know that capital investment can earn more in Africa, Asia, and the South Seas because there it suffers few of the restrictions of civilized life; that the foreign investor in these lands is himself the prime ruler and seat of power, and without local democratic control he has but to appease public opinion at home, which is not only ignorant of the local facts, but perhaps all too willing to remain ignorant so long as dividends continue.

If this situation is not frankly faced and steps toward remedy are not attempted, we shall seek in vain to find peace and security; we shall leave the door wide-open for renewed international strife to secure colonies, and eventually and inevitably for colonial revolt.

To these objections the persons making the proposals at Dumbarton Oaks may well answer: What besides public opinion have we to depend upon for the reclamation of mankind after the present disaster? What power could possibly be evoked and put into the hands of an executive which would ensure social justice? None, they would answer. And we have to agree with them, save in one respect: The experience of the First World War put into the hands of the League of Nations a power of action beyond that of military compulsion. A recognized cause of that war was the status of colonies; the demand of Germany for a new allocation of colonial territory, for a "place in the sun," was one of the main reasons that brought on the war. It was because of this that the League of Nations, in depriv-

ing a conquered Germany of her territories, established a Mandates Commission. This Mandates Commission was designed as a body with supervisory power established by the common consent of the Allies. The former German and Turkish territories in Africa and the Pacific and in the Near East were placed under the League of Nations, with certain principles of administration, Article 22.

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military

and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

This was new international law, which the United Nations are ignoring today. The proposals at Dumbarton Oaks say nothing about the mandates or the Mandates Commission. Apparently the colonies taken from Germany are to become integral parts of present empires. This would seem to be not only a dangerous infraction of the new international law which the League of Nations established, but a deliberate throwing-away of a chance to come to grips with the colonial problems. It also ignores the possibility of arranging easily for control of new internationalized territory, such as the Rhineland.

Realism is here calling for awakened action. Evidently the weak point in this Dumbarton outline for a government of men is the fact that under this proposal something between one-fourth and one-half the inhabitants of the

world will have no part in it—no power of democratic control and scarcely an organized right of petition. Most efforts at reform and social uplift will depend upon the free states and the empires, acting individually, and they will be asked to act at a time when, because of the loss and disruption of war, they will be least inclined to face philanthropic enterprise of any sort.

It has been explained by the various persons and official commentators that the outline of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is not yet complete. There has been a tendency to admonish critics not to rock the boat in these difficult times. First we want peace and security; then we will have a chance to pursue political rebuilding and social uplift. Many organizations that in the early stages of the discussion of postwar difficulties had stressed problems of colonies in the matter of human rights are today hesitating.

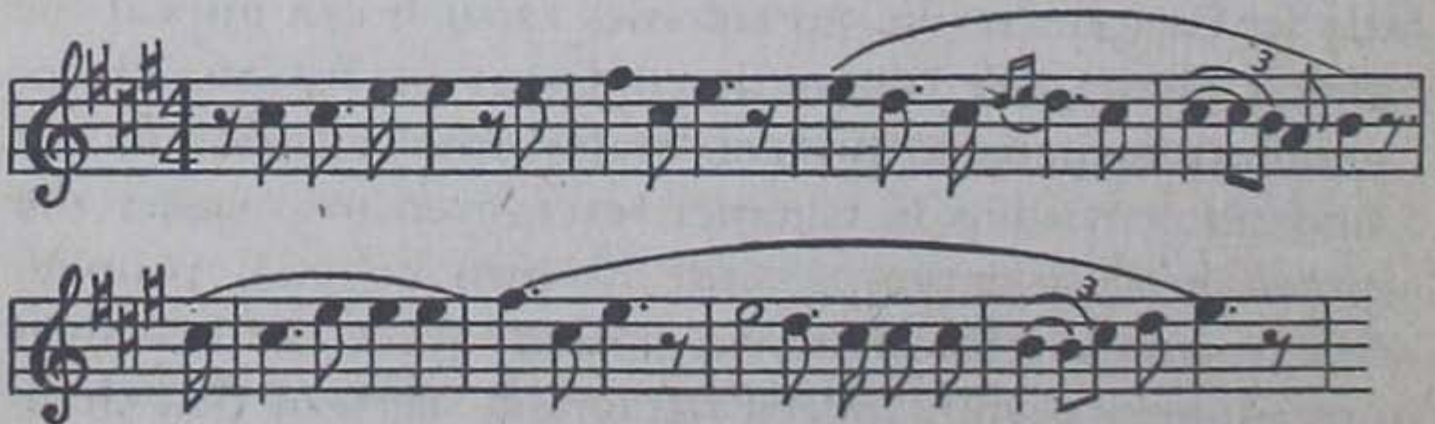
I summed the matter up at a conference in Washington when Mr. Stettinius called together ninety-six social organizations to study the proposals at Dumbarton Oaks: "As I have gone through the published proposals at Dumbarton Oaks, I am depressed to realize with what consistency the matter of colonies has been passed over. In Chapter one, paragraph three, the emphasis is on the fact that this is a union of nations, not of races, groups, or organizations of men not recognized as nations; in Chapter two, paragraph one, peace-loving 'States' alone may join the Union; in Chapter six, apparently an aggrieved party must be a state in order to complain or to appear before the Council; similarly in Chapter seven, no colonies as such can appeal for hearing before the International Court of Justice. Elaborate effort is made to protect 'States' from aggression, but I find no provisions in Chapter seven even to consider the aggression of a nation against its own colonial peoples, while apparently international military force can be called in to suppress revolt. Indeed paragraph seven of that chap-

ter seems to say definitely that colonial disputes lie entirely beyond the jurisdiction of this proposed government of men. The Economic and Social Council set up in this chapter can recommend and consider complaints and situations; but there is no direct power to investigate conditions. The Council is appointed by eighteen states, with no colonial participation indicated. In other words, this proposal, as I read it, virtually says to 750,000,000 human beings, if not to a majority of mankind, that the only way to human equality is the philanthropy of masters who have historical and strong interest in preserving their present power and income."

It is not today fashionable to quote the poet of the Victorian Age:

Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were  
furl'd,  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

Dumbarton Oaks is the latest of a long and desperate line of human endeavor seeking some modicum of unity in the government of mankind to displace the horror of the planned murder which is war. The Double Crown of Egypt, the Achaean League, the Empire of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire, the Holy Alliance and the League of Nations, all listened to that high and striving chord of human unity above the discord of hate, hurt, and pain—like the thrilling melody of Lohengrin's swan above his disaster:



## CHAPTER II

### *THE DISFRANCHISED COLONIES*

COLONIES AND THE COLONIAL SYSTEM MAKE THE COLONIAL PEOPLES IN A SENSE THE SLUMS OF THE WORLD, DISFRANCHISED AND HELD IN POVERTY AND DISEASE.

Colonies are the slums of the world. They are today the places of greatest concentration of poverty, disease, and ignorance of what the human mind has come to know. They are centers of helplessness, of discouragement of initiative, of forced labor, and of legal suppression of all activities or thoughts which the master country fears or dislikes.

They resemble in some ways the municipal slums of the nineteenth century in culture lands. In those days men thought of slums as inevitable, as being caused in a sense by the wretched people who inhabited them, as yielding to no remedial action in any conceivable time. If abolished, the dregs of humanity would re-create them. Then we were jerked back to our senses by the realization that slums were investments where housing, sanitation, education, and spiritual freedom were lacking, and where for this reason the profits of the landlords, the merchants, and the exploiters were enormous.

To most people this characterization of colonies will seem overdrawn, and of course in one major respect colonies differ radically from slums. Municipal slums are mainly festering sores drawing their substance from the surrounding city and sharing the blood and the culture of that city.

Colonies, on the other hand, are for the most part quite separate in race and culture from the peoples who control them. Their culture is often ancient and historically fine and valuable, spoiled too often by misfortune and conquest and misunderstanding. This sense of separation, therefore, makes colonies usually an integral entity beyond the sympathy and the comprehension of the ruling world. But in both city and colony, labor is forced by poverty, and crime is largely disease.

What, then, are colonies? Leaving analogies, in this case none too good, we look to facts, and find them also elusive. It is difficult to define a colony precisely. There are the dry bones of statistics; but the essential facts are neither well measured nor logically articulated. After all, an imperial power is not interested primarily in censuses, health surveys, or historical research. Consequently we know only approximately, and with wide margins of error, the colonial population, the number of the sick and the dead, and just what happened before the colony was conquered.

For the most part, today the colonial peoples are colored of skin; this was not true of colonies in other days, but it is mainly true today. And to most minds, this is of fatal significance; coupled with Negro slavery, Chinese coolies, and doctrines of race inferiority, it proves to most white folk the logic of the modern colonial system: Colonies are filled with peoples who never were abreast with civilization and never can be.

This rationalization is very satisfactory to empire-builders and investors, but it does not satisfy science today, no matter how much it did yesterday. Skin color is a matter of climate, and colonies today are mainly in the hot, moist tropics and semitropics. Naturally, here skins are colored. But historically these lands also were seats of ancient cultures among normal men. Here human civilization began, in Africa, Asia, and Central America. What has happened

to these folk across the ages? They have been conquered, enslaved, oppressed, and exploited by stronger invaders. But was this invading force invariably stronger in body, keener in mind, and higher in culture? Not necessarily, but always stronger in offensive technique, even though often lower in culture and only average in mind.

Offensive technique drew the conquerors down upon the conquered, because the conquered had the fertile lands, the needed materials, the arts of processing goods for human needs. With the conquerors concentrating time and thought on these aspects of culture, usually the conquered could not oppose the barbarians with muscle, clubs, spears, gunpowder, and capital. In time, the invaders actually surpassed, and far surpassed, the weaker peoples in wealth, technique, and variety of culture patterns, and made them slaves to industry and servants to white men's ease.

But what of the future? Have the present masters of the world such an eternal lien on civilization as to ensure unending control? By no means; their very absorption in war and wealth has so weakened their moral fiber that the end of their rule is in sight. Also, the day of the colonial conquered peoples dawns, obscurely but surely.

Today, then, the colonial areas lie inert or sullenly resentful or seething with hate and unrest. With unlimited possibilities, they have but scraps of understanding of modern accumulations of knowledge; but they are pressing toward education with bitter determination. The conquerors, on the other hand, are giving them only the passing attention which preoccupation with problems of wealth and power at home leaves for colonial "problems."

What, then, do modern colonies look like, feel like? It is difficult to draw any universal picture. Superficial impressions are common: black boys diving for pennies; human horses hitched to rickshaws; menial service in plethora for a wage near nothing; absolute rule over slaves, even to

life and death; fawning, crawling obeisance; high salaries, palaces, and luxury coupled with abject, nauseating, diseased poverty—this in a vague, imperfect way paints the present colonial world.

It is not nearly so easy as it would appear to fill in this outline and make it precise and scientific. Empires do not want nosy busybodies snooping into their territories and business. Visitors to colonies are, to be sure, allowed and even encouraged; but their tours are arranged, officials guide them in space and in thought, and they see usually what the colonial power wants them to see and little more. Dangerous "radicals" are rigorously excluded. My own visits to colonies have been rare and unsatisfactory. Several times I have tried in vain to visit South Africa. No visas were obtainable. I have been in British and French West Africa and in Jamaica.

In Sierra Leone I landed at Freetown in 1923. I was passed through the customs without difficulty, as my papers were in order. Then for some reason the authorities became suspicious. With scant courtesy, I was summoned peremptorily down to headquarters, to a room off the common jail, with pictures of escaped criminals decorating the walls. What did I want in Sierra Leone? I handed in my passport, showing that I was United States Minister Plenipotentiary to Liberia, stopping simply to visit on my way home. The commissioner unbent and dismissed me. That afternoon I was invited to a tea party at the governor's mansion! What would have happened to me if I had not had a diplomatic passport, or if I had been merely a colored man seeking to study a British colony?

The same year I visited Senegal and Conakry. I was received with great courtesy, but into the ruling caste; I had no contact with the mass of the colonial people. I lodged with the American consul; the French consul had me at dinner and the English consul at tea in his palatial man-

sion. But little did I see or learn of the millions of Negroes who formed the overwhelming mass of the colonial population.

In 1915, I visited Jamaica. I landed at Kingston and then, being tired and on vacation, did the unconventional thing of walking across the island to Mantego Bay. I immediately became an object of suspicion. It was wartime. I was in a sense, albeit unconsciously, intruding into Jamaica's backyard. I had proper visas, but I was not following the beaten path of the tourist. I was soon warned by a furtive black man that the police were on my track. My only recourse was to look up a long-time friend, principal of the local school. He ostentatiously drove me downtown, seated with him high in his surrey behind prancing horses. Thus was I properly introduced and vouched for. The point is that in all these cases one saw the possibility of arbitrary power without appeal and of a race and class situation unknown in free countries.

In the main, colonial peoples are living abnormally, save those of the untouched or inert mass of natives. Where the whites form a small ruling group, they are most abnormal and are not, as is assumed, replicas of the home group. They consist chiefly of representatives of commercial concerns whose first object is to make money for themselves and the corporations they represent. They are in the main hard-boiled, often ruthless businessmen, unrestrained by the inhibitions of home in either law or custom. Next come the colonial officials, either identical with the commercial men or more or less under their domination, especially through home influence. Colonials and businessmen clash, but business usually wins. Sometimes philanthropic career officials get the upper hand; but they are in danger of being replaced or losing promotion. The official class—heads, assistants, clerks, wives, and children—are apt to be arrogant, raised above their natural position and feeling their brief

authority; they lord it over despised natives and demand swift and exemplary punishment for any affront to their dignity. The courts presided over by whites are usually even-handed in native quarrels, but through fear are strict, harsh, and even cruel in cases between natives and whites. White prestige must be maintained at any cost. There is usually a considerable group of white derelicts, hangers-on, sadistic representatives of the "superior race," banished to colonies by relatives who are ashamed to keep them at home.

This whole group of whites forms a caste apart, lives in segregated, salubrious, and protected areas, seldom speaks the vernacular or knows the masses except officially. Their regular income from colonial services is liberal according to home standards and often fantastic according to the standard of living in colonies. Conceive of an income of \$10,000 a year for a colonial governor over people whose average income is \$25 a year! The officials get frequent vacations with pay, and are pensioned after comparatively short service. The pensions are paid for life by colonial taxation, and the pensioners are regarded as experts on colonial matters the rest of their lives.

Where the white resident contingent is relatively large, as in South Africa and Kenya, the caste conditions are aggravated and the whites become the colony while the natives are ignored and neglected except as low-paid labor largely without rights that the colonists need respect.

Below this group of white overlords are the millions of natives. Their normal and traditional life has been more or less disrupted and changed in work, property, family life, recreation, health habits, food, religion, and other cultural matters. Their initiative, education, freedom of action, have been interfered with to a greater or less extent. Authority has been almost entirely withdrawn from their control and the white man's word is law in most cases. Their native standards of life have been destroyed and the

new standards cannot be met by a poverty that is the worst in the world. The mass of natives sink into careless, inert, or sullen indifference, making their contact with whites as rare as possible, and incurring repeated punishment for laziness and infraction of arbitrary or inexplicable rules.

Up from these rise two groups: the toadies or "white folks niggers," who use flattery and talebearing to curry favor; and the resentful, bitter, and ambitious who seek by opposition or education to achieve the emancipation of their land and people. The educated and the half-educated, in particular, are the object of attack and dislike by the whites and are endlessly slandered in all testimony given visitors and scientists.

The missionaries form another class. They have been of all sorts of persons: unworldly visionaries, former pastors out of a job, social workers with and without social science, theologians, crackpots, and humanitarians. Their vocation is so unconventional that it is almost without standards of training or set norms of effort. Yet missionaries have spent tens of millions of dollars and influenced hundreds of millions of men with results that literally vary from heaven to hell. Missionaries represent the oldest invasion of whites, and incur at first the enmity of business and the friendship of natives. Colonial officials, on pressure from home, compromise differences, and the keener natives thereupon come to suspect missionary motives and the native toadies rush to get converted and cash in on benefits. The total result varies tremendously according to the pressure of these elements.

Despite a vast literature on colonial peoples, there is today no sound scientific basis for comprehensive study. What we have are reports of officials who set out to make a case for the imperial power in control; reports of missionaries, of all degrees of reliability and object; reports of travelers swayed by every conceivable motive and fitted or unfitted for testimony by widely varying education, ideals, and relia-

bility. When science tries to study colonial systems in Africa and Asia, it meets all sorts of hindrances and incomplete statements of fact. In few cases is there testimony from the colonial peoples themselves, or impartial scientific surveys conducted by persons free of compulsion from imperial control and dictation.

The studies we have of colonial peoples and conditions are therefore unsatisfactory. Even the great *African Survey* edited by Lord Hailey is mainly based on the testimony and the figures of colonial officials; that is, of men who represent the colonial organization, who are appointed on recommendation of persons whose fortunes are tied up with colonial profits, and who are naturally desirous of making the best-possible picture of colonial conditions. This does not mean that there is in this report, or in many others, deliberate and conscious deception; but there is the desire to make a case for the vested interests of a large and powerful part of the world's property-owners.

Other studies are made by visitors and outsiders who can get at the facts only as the government officials give them opportunity. Many opportunities have been afforded such students in the past, but the opportunities fall far short of what complete and scientific knowledge demands. Moreover, such visitors arrive more or less unconsciously biased by their previous education and contacts, which lead them to regard the natives as on the whole a low order of humanity, and especially to distrust more or less completely the efforts of educated and aspiring Natives. The native elite, when through education and contact they get opportunity to study and tell of conditions, often, and naturally, defeat their own cause before a prejudiced audience by their bitterness and frustration and their inability to speak with recognized authority.

Thus, unfortunately, it is not possible to present or refer to any complete and documented body of knowledge which can give an undisputed picture of colonies today. This does

not mean that we have no knowledge of colonial conditions; on the contrary, we have a vast amount of testimony and study; but practically every word of it can be and is disputed by interested parties, so that the truth can be reached only by the laborious interpretation of careful students. Nearly every assertion of students of colonial peoples is disputed today by colonial officials, many travelers, and a host of theorists. Despite this, greater unanimity of opinion is growing, but it is far from complete.

If, for instance, we complain of the conquest of harmless, isolated, and independent groups by great powers, it is answered that this is manifest destiny; that the leaders of world civilization must control and guide the backward peoples for the good of all. Otherwise these peoples relapse into revolting barbarism. If under this control colonial peoples are unhappy, it is answered that they are happier than they were formerly without control; and that they make greater progress when guided than when left alone.

If slavery and forced labor are complained of, the answer is that the natives are congenitally lazy and must be made to work for the good of mankind. Indeed, if they were not enslaved by Europeans, they would enslave each other. Low wages are justified by the fact that these peoples are simple, with low standards of living, while their industrialization is a boon to the world, and the world's welfare is paramount. Lack of broad educational plans is justified by their cost. Can England be asked to undertake the education of British Africa when she has not yet fully planned the education of British children at home? Moreover, why educate these simple folk into unhappiness and discontent? If they are trained at all, it should be to produce wealth for the benefit of themselves in part and of the empire in general. The seizing of the land and dividing it is looked upon not only as a policy which puts unused acreage into remunerative use, but also as one that compels folk to work who otherwise would sing and dance and sit in the sun. And in

general, is it not clear from the testimony of history that the mass of colonial peoples can progress only under the guidance of the civilized white people, and is not the welfare of the whites in reality the welfare of the world?

Practically every one of these assertions has a certain validity and truth, and at the same time is just false and misleading enough to give an entirely unfair picture of the colonial world. The recent advance of anthropology, psychology, and other social sciences is beginning to show this, and beginning to prove on how false a premise these assertions are based and how fatal a body of folklore has been built upon it. These beliefs have been influenced by propaganda, by caricature, and by ignorance of the human soul. Today these attitudes must be challenged, and without trying to approach anything like completeness of scientific statement we may allude here to certain general matters concerning colonial peoples the truth of which cannot be disputed.

These are the figures for colonies taken from the *Statesman's Yearbook* and the *World Almanac* for 1944:

## BRITISH EMPIRE

(Colonial domain, excluding white self-ruling Dominions, but including colonies of those Dominions and including mandates and condominiums)

	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
Asia		
Ceylon . . . . .	5,300,000	25,000
Hong Kong . . . . .	1,071,000	32,000
India . . . . .	389,000,000	1,580,000
Burma . . . . .	14,600,000	192,000
Malaya . . . . .	1,485,000	1,300
Federated Malay States . . . . .	2,200,000	7,900
Unfederated Malay States . . . . .	737,000	7,000
New Guinea . . . . .	50,000	93,000
Borneo . . . . .	270,000	29,000
	414,713,000	1,967,200

	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
<b>Africa</b>		
Kenya.....	3,690,000	224,000
Uganda.....	3,890,000	94,000
Zanzibar.....	250,000	1,000
Mauritius.....	408,000	720
Nyasaland.....	1,680,000	37,000
Somaliland.....	500,000	68,000
Basutoland.....	562,000	12,000
Bechuanaland.....	260,000	275,000
Swaziland.....	156,000	6,705
Southern Rhodesia.....	1,448,000	150,000
Northern Rhodesia.....	1,380,000	290,000
Nigeria.....	21,000,000	372,000
Gambia.....	14,000	69
Gold Coast.....	3,960,000	92,000
Sierra Leone Colony.....	121,000	2,500
Sierra Leone Protectorate.....	1,670,000	27,000
Sudan.....	6,590,000	967,000
Tanganyika.....	5,000,000	360,000
Southwest Africa.....	343,000	317,000
Union of South Africa (native, colored, Asiatic).....	7,586,000	300,000?
	<hr/> 60,508,000	<hr/> 3,595,994
<b>West Indies and South America</b>		
Bermuda.....	33,000	19
Guiana.....	361,000	89,000
Honduras.....	62,000	8,800
Bahamas.....	19,000	4,000
Barbados.....	156,000	166
Jamaica.....	1,237,000	4,000
Leeward Islands.....	98,000	422
Trinidad.....	522,000	2,000
Granada.....	90,000	133
St. Vincent.....	48,000	150
St. Lucia.....	73,000	233
	<hr/> 2,699,000	<hr/> 108,923
<b>Pacific Ocean</b>		
Pacific Islands.....	108,000	12,000
Papua.....	337,000	2,750
	<hr/> 445,000	<hr/> 14,750

	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
Near East		
Cyprus . . . . .	389,000	3,500
Palestine Mandate . . . . .	1,600,000	27,000
	<u>1,989,000</u>	<u>30,500</u>
 Total . . . . .	 480,354,000	 5,717,367

## THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Alaska . . . . .	72,000	586,000
Hawaii . . . . .	423,000	6,400
Puerto Rico . . . . .	1,869,000	3,400
Virgin Islands . . . . .	22,000	133
Philippines . . . . .	17,000,000	115,000
Samoa . . . . .	10,000	76
	<u>19,396,000</u>	<u>711,009</u>

## BELGIUM

Belgian Congo . . . . .	10,386,000	900,000
-------------------------	------------	---------

## CHINA

Tibet . . . . .	1,500,000	463,000
Mongolia . . . . .	850,000	1,875,000
	<u>2,350,000</u>	<u>2,338,000</u>

## FRANCE

Asia		
French India . . . . .	323,000	196
French Indo-China . . . . .	24,000,000	286,000
Syria and Lebanon . . . . .	3,630,000	58,000
	<u>27,953,000</u>	<u>344,196</u>
Africa		
Algeria . . . . .	7,200,000	840,000
Tunis . . . . .	2,600,000	48,000
French Equatorial Africa . . . . .	3,425,000	959,000
Madagascar . . . . .	3,800,000	241,000
French West Africa . . . . .	15,000,000	1,800,000
Togo . . . . .	780,000	33,700
Cameroons . . . . .	2,500,000	166,000
	<u>35,305,000</u>	<u>4,087,700</u>

	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
West Indies and South America		
Guadeloupe.....	304,000	688
Guiana.....	31,000	35,000
Martinique.....	246,000	385,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	581,000	420,688
 Total.....	 63,839,000	 4,852,584

## ITALY

Libya.....	888,000	679,000
Eritrea.....	600,000	15,700
Somaliland.....	1,000,000	194,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2,488,000	888,700

## JAPAN

Manchukuo.....	39,000,000	500,000
Korea.....	22,800,000	85,000
Formosa.....	5,800,000	14,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67,600,000	599,000

## THE NETHERLANDS

Surinam.....	187,000	54,000
Curaçao.....	114,000	400
Netherlands Indies.....	67,000,000	735,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	67,301,000	789,400

## PORTUGAL

10,800,000	800,000
------------	---------

## SPAIN

1,100,000	135,000
-----------	---------

In the compilation above, the self-governing colonies of the British Empire have been omitted, except that in the case of the Union of South Africa the native population

and the population of the mandate have been included as colonial. Summarizing these figures, we have this table:

## COLONIAL REGIONS

	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
British Empire.....	480,354,000	5,717,367
United States.....	19,396,000	711,009
Belgium.....	10,386,000	900,000
China.....	2,350,000	2,338,000
France.....	63,839,000	4,852,584
Italy.....	2,488,000	888,700
Japan.....	67,600,000	599,000
Netherlands.....	67,301,000	789,400
Portugal.....	10,800,000	800,000
Spain.....	1,100,000	135,000
	725,614,000	17,731,060

Thus we see that there live in colonies today more than one-third of the world's inhabitants, occupying more than one-third of the land space of the globe.

In Africa today the best estimates count 148,000,000 Natives, 4,000,000 whites, and 1,500,000 Asiatics, making something over 150,000,000 persons occupying 11,000,000 square miles of territory. This includes many territories, such as Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia, which are quasi-colonies rather than colonies. It includes French North Africa, partially absorbed into France and partially protectorates. It includes self-governing colonies, such as Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

The situation in Asia is even more complicated. There is the vast realm of China with at least 400,000,000 human beings, one-fifth of the total population of the world, and occupying 4,250,000 square miles. We may regard China as an independent country or as a quasi-colony of Europe and Japan. As an independent country, China controls, outside

of the main province, Tibet, Mongolia, and Sinkiang, with 2,500,000 inhabitants.

Then there comes the British Empire in Asia. Besides the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, here is a population (in Borneo, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Burma, Malaya, and Palestine) of 415,000,000, occupying 1,950,000 square miles of land. Before the present war, in Asia France governed 28,000,000 persons, occupying 344,000 square miles. The Netherlands ruled in Asia over 67,000,000 natives, occupying 599,000 square miles. To all this may be added the colonies in the West Indies, where Britain governs over 2,500,000 persons, and France and The Netherlands 1,000,000.

It seems queer to be able to omit Spain from any treatment of colonial powers. Time was when the Spanish Empire was the most grandiose of modern governments. The sixteenth century saw Spain lord of most of Europe and nearly all the Americas, with claims in Asia. The wealth of the empire was fabulous, and changed the financial organization of the modern world. Envious of this Spanish wealth, in the seventeenth century England, France, and Holland, by war, theft, and treaty, seized Spanish trade and colonies. In the eighteenth century England gained control of the lucrative Spanish slave trade, and in the nineteenth century colonial revolution, aided by Haiti, deprived Spain of her South American colonies. Finally, in the twentieth century civil war in Spain began world war in Europe. Today 26,000,000 Spaniards control 1,000,000 colonials, most of whom are in Morocco. As does no other empire, Spain illustrates the interaction between European labor and colonial slavery, between democracy and oligarchy. Today the valiant ancient heart of Spain lies near death, overrun with the lice of grandes, land hogs, and piteous ignorant masses. Only the beautiful limbs are alive and twitching with the dream of *La Hispanidad*.

The policies which the mother countries have adopted toward these colonies vary tremendously. There are deep racial tensions which made the Belgians fear the appointment of the Negro Eboué as Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa. There is the Union of South Africa, where 2,000,000 Europeans segregate and disfranchise 8,000,000 Africans and 200,000 Indians, and which has carried racial cleavage to an extent only paralleled by Hitler's attitude toward the Jews.

French policy has swung from concessions to forty exploiting companies to the enfranchisement of some of the Negroes of Senegal. The Belgian policy grew, after King Leopold, toward careful organization for industrial profit, with limited education for the natives. Labor policies varied from forced labor, which is practical slavery, to the beginnings of modern labor legislation.

Concerted attempt has been made recently to remove the discussion of India from the colonial category by calling it a dependency—just as other colonies are called protectorates or included in "spheres of influence." Change of name makes no essential change in fact. The history of India in the modern world is a disgrace to civilization. Granting the complication of problems exhibited there, we have a series of facts which cannot be denied. Nearly every Indian leader since 1920 has spent long years in jail and been permanently injured in health by imprisonment. Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Gandhi and his wife, Mrs. Sarojin Naidu, and Dr. Syed Mahmud are among those jailed and injured in health, not to mention Jawaharlal Nehru, now in prison for the ninth time, having spent fourteen years there in all. There is no possible defense for such a system of oppression by a great modern country.

The opinion of Ambassador William Phillips, grandson of the great abolitionist Wendell Phillips, gives ample testimony to this. Mr. Phillips is a conservative and not a radi-

cal. He went to India as the personal representative of the President of the United States. His conclusions in May 14, 1944, were as follows:

At present, the Indian people are at war only in a legal sense, as for various reasons the British Government declared India in the conflict without the formality of consulting Indian leaders or even the Indian legislature. Indians feel they have no voice in the government and therefore no responsibility in the conduct of the war. They feel that they have nothing to fight for, as they are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them. The British Prime Minister, in fact, has stated that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter are not applicable to India, and it is not unnatural therefore that Indian leaders are beginning to wonder whether the Charter is only for the benefit of white races. The present Indian army is purely mercenary and only that part of it which is drawn from the martial races has been tried in actual warfare; and these martial soldiers represent only 33 per cent of the army. General Stilwell has expressed his concern over the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of the Indian officers.

The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of the famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock.

While India is broken politically into various parties and groups, all have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence from British domination.

There would seem to be only one remedy of this highly unsatisfactory situation in which we are unfortunately but nevertheless seriously involved, and that is to change the attitude of the people of India towards the war, make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities to the United Nations and are prepared to give them facilities for doing so and that the voice of India will play an important part in the reconstruction of the world.<sup>1</sup>

As in India, so in other colonies there is little to prove that colonial policy aims at inducting the colonial peoples

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from a MS. letter sent to the officials of the N.A.A.C.P., October, 1944.

into self-government and independence. Britain has pursued this policy only in the case of colonies settled mainly by Englishmen and other white peoples. In distinctly colored colonies, little advance in this direction has been made for decades. In India, an Englishman says that in the states where political control is shared between the British and the Indians, and in a land where the average annual income of a family is \$25 a year, 80 per cent of the revenue is still demanded by the Imperial Government. With the 20 per cent left, the Indian Congress cannot work miracles for a people bled white to supply the 80 per cent. Yet if it does not work miracles, it is to be judged as incapable.

Also, in these states the final word on every law is still to be that of the Imperial Government. And in these states, the army is still entirely in the control of the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government remains as totalitarian as ever, since its power to enforce its will is almost absolute. Recently it has been announced that Burma will be granted greater freedom after the war. If 50,000,000 in Burma, why not 350,000,000 in India? Or is Britain less sure of Burma, and Burma less remunerative? Or is the cooperation of the Burmese essential to the recovery of Singapore?

Black West Africa remembers when the government of Queen Victoria promised independence and self-rule to the African Crown colonies. One hundred years later, ten British Crown colonies in Africa were still ruled through governors and legislative councils. The governor is appointed by the Colonial Office in England, where the Natives of the colony have no voice and little influence. The legislative councils are nominated by the governors and advise him; but the governor need not follow their advice, and himself makes and enforces the laws and interprets them through judges whom he appoints.

Much has been made of the fact that in some of these

colonies there are elected members in the legislative council; but these elected members form usually a minority, and even when they form a majority, they can only advise, not legislate or enforce. In the ten colonies mentioned there are altogether 169 members of legislative councils, of which 131 are ex-officio or nominated members. Of elected members there are only 41 in five colonies, and of these, 24 are whites elected in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia; in several other colonies there are no elected members at all. Moreover, in all these councils, industry is represented directly by delegates from the industrial corporations working in the colony, and these corporations, centered in England, exercise there large and decisive power upon Parliament and the Colonial Office.

Much has been made in England of the policy of "Indirect Rule," which has been advertised as a school of self-government for the natives. This is not necessarily so. Indirect Rule is a method of leaving as wide opportunity to local government, according to ancient native cultural patterns, as is compatible with imperial aims. In this way it would, to be sure, be quite possible to guide the native state gradually toward larger and larger control of its political and social life and toward independence. In no region of indirect control has there been any indication of continuous progress to these ends. Under strong and benevolent governors like Guggenheim on the West Coast and Cameron on the East, there has been considerable progress. But in no case has this progress been allowed to interfere with the controlling interests of industry and foreign investment. Britain gave no political protection to the Natives of South Africa when they were incorporated into the new Union, and but little in the Rhodesias. In the remaining protectorates, and in Kenya, she has repeatedly retreated before landlords and investors.

In the West Indies continued agitation during the last

fifty years is beginning to show results. Jamaica, after being deprived of effective representative government since 1855, has today a new constitution; but its democratic possibilities are under limitation and control backed by the governor's irresponsible veto, and right of independent legislation. Other English colonies are even less fortunate.

The French colonial system has always in theory contemplated the eventual incorporation of Africans into the French state. This has not had much practical effect. In 1936, there were less than 100,000 black French citizens in all Africa. There are four African Natives on the administrative council which advises the Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa. In the other French colonies a few Africans are members of these councils. In Senegal alone do the Africans have a decisive place in government, and some 80,000 vote. In that colony, three-fourths of the members of the colonial council are Africans. On the other hand, the mass of Africans in French colonies have little voice in government, although the new colonial policy as laid down by De Gaulle and Eboué looks toward distinct improvement in this respect.

Portugal for years made her colonial policy subservient to the South African demand for labor in the mines. At the same time, in theory she granted political freedom and privilege to the Natives without discrimination. Finally, in 1938, colonial status was recognized, with stronger legislation and the colonies bound more closely to the Portuguese home government; but in practice the theory has as yet hardly worked. There is, however, a minimum of race discrimination in Portuguese colonies, and racial admixture goes on.

Belgium has no colonial policy designed to elevate the political status of the native population. She has trained the natives for industry, but not for independent life. As an industrial policy she has paid attention to their health

and to village economy, and the great industrial organizations have many paternalistic policies. Large corporations like the British Lever Brothers, the Huileries du Congo Belge, and the Sucrière Congolaise have few restrictions upon their control which cannot be arranged to their advantage; the economic development is still largely a matter of compulsion. The Belgians have never made a statement concerning the ultimate end of their colonial policy.

In Asia, under The Netherlands the peoples of Indonesia have been given some advisory part in government, although native demands for greater freedom have been ruthlessly suppressed. There is no persecution of half-castes, as in British India, and intermarriage is legal. More effective partnership is forecast between the colonies and the mother country, without discrimination as to race or nationality. But this is a postwar plan, and much depends on how far the poverty and destruction in Holland will allow political freedom and industrial planning for the Natives to proceed in East Asia at the expense of Dutch investors.

Under governmental policies like this, colonies are being developed and industrialized, and to many this seems the logical solution to the colonial question. But is it? For whose benefit do industry and commerce invade Asia and Africa? For the benefit of the colonial power, or for the benefit of the Natives? This can be judged, certainly in part, by the wages paid native labor. These wages are low, varying from 25 to 75 cents a day; they are low even when they come into direct competition with European and American labor. They constitute the main cause of poverty in colonies. When the native economy is broken up, land sequestered, and tribal communism destroyed, the only recourse of the Native is to this poverty wage.

In the American colony of Puerto Rico, Diffie says that

all available land is being taken by the sugar barons. The oriental coolie laborer is obliged to spend 90 per cent of what he

makes on food and the European laborer 80 per cent; while the native Puerto Rican is obliged to spend 94 per cent, leaving only 6 per cent for all the other essentials. . . .

More than 40,000 women and children are working under sweat shop conditions, working on embroidery, at a wage which fluctuates between 15 and 25 cents a day. . . . To earn two dollars a week not less than sixty hours' work every six days is necessary. In 1889 (at the time the United States took possession) 17 per cent of the male population was unemployed. Bonds issued by the Puerto Rican Government (that is by the United States Government in Puerto Rico) amounted in 1930 to approximately \$50,000,000. These bonds are held in the United States, and American investors realize an annual income of more than \$2,500,000 a year therefrom. The interest is paid by the Puerto Ricans, who also pay the enormous salaries given to Americans. The absentee owners in the United States evade the greater part of the taxation which supplies this money, leaving it to the starving to pay.<sup>2</sup>

Sugar is almost entirely absentee-controlled. Tobacco is 95 per cent absentee-controlled; banks, 60 per cent; railroads, 60 per cent; public utilities, 50 per cent; and steamship lines, approximately 100 per cent. So that the dollars which on paper appear to give Puerto Rico a favorable trade balance are dollars which are never seen in Puerto Rico, but are given by the banks to the absentee holders of shares in industry.

The pay of African native laborers is often as low as 1 shilling a day; seldom, even in skilled labor, does the wage reach 2 or 3 shillings. Moreover, since labor thus remunerated does not attract laborers, contract and forced labor still exist widely in Africa, not only as a legacy of slavery and the slave trade but as a policy of twentieth-century industry.

War has increased labor conscription. At the end of March 1943, 16,000 Africans were conscripted in Kenya

<sup>2</sup> B. W. and J. W. Diffie, *Puerto Rico*, Vanguard Press, 1931, Chapters 4 and 8.

for forced labor by private employers. In Nigeria, 14,000 out of 70,000 workers in the tin mines were conscripted; and in Tanganyika the number of conscripts varied from 5,000 to 18,000.

Efforts by native workers to improve their condition through unionization have naturally been frowned on. They have led to the imprisonment of workers in West Africa, to strikes in the copper mines of Central Africa, to riots in the Caribbean area, and to the successful attempt in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa to protect union white labor and outlaw native unions. The report of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in 1939 said,

With some notable exceptions, the importance of labour policy in colonial administration has only begun to receive more than grudging recognition by colonial ministries and local governments during the last two decades. Even now, as recent events have brought only too clearly to notice, labour problems are sometimes disregarded until they lead to open troubles. As long as labour was docile and plentiful, the tendency in many colonial areas was to leave in operation that policy of *laissez faire* which had been largely abandoned in industrial relations in the home countries.<sup>3</sup>

The labor policies of Africa have disrupted the home life of the Natives, and the tribal organization. In some sections from 32 per cent to 55 per cent of the men have to leave home periodically in mass migrations to the mining areas and other centers of work in order to raise the poll taxes laid upon them.

The colonies, then, are poor. They know poverty such as has long disappeared from civilized areas. There are statistics which show that between 1800 and 1825 there were famines in India in which 1,000,000 persons were starved

<sup>3</sup> C. W. H. Weaver: *The Problem of Native Labour in Colonial Questions and Peace*, Paris, 1939, p. 220.

to death. The British Parliament took charge of India in 1813, and between 1875 and 1900 there were famines in which 15,000,000 Indians were starved to death. A thousand million Asiatics receive a real wage of less than \$1 a week.

This poverty has been increased by the extraordinary stealing of colonial land. Just as in the later Middle Ages in Europe seizure of the land forced the peasants into wage labor at low rates, so in Africa and elsewhere there is systematic effort to deprive the native of his land. In the Union of South Africa, the Europeans, forming only 20 per cent of the population, and of these only one-third living on farms, control 87 per cent of the land; the natives, forming 80 per cent of the population, have less than 13 per cent of the land. This situation exists even after long and repeated effort to better native land conditions.

In Southern Rhodesia, 60,000 Europeans have 47,000,000 acres of the best land, leaving 21,000,000 acres as reserves for 1,500,000 natives, and of these 17,000,000 acres may be given to whites. In Kenya less than 2,000 Europeans hold 4,500,000 acres of the best farm land in the country, which was practically given to them, and only 11 per cent of this is under cultivation. The native reserves are so crowded that in some places there is a density of 145 and even 283 persons per square mile.

Under these circumstances, native contribution toward social services is almost impossible. Recently the British Government allocated £5,000,000 annually for ten years as permissible expenditure for social services in the colonies—in agriculture, education, health, and housing. Some actual appropriations have been made. But it must be remembered that private investments in these colonies at that time reached a total of £250,000,000, in addition to £120,000,000 in public investment. The Natives would need increased ownership of capital, which their poverty cannot now afford, and increased political power of taxation of foreign

industry, which they do not have, to begin anything like adequate social service among themselves.

The result is that little is done for the development of possible democracy through education. It is ostentatiously pointed out that democracy is impossible in Africa, Asia, and many parts of the Caribbean because the people are too ignorant. This ignorance cannot be corrected by education because education is too costly. The possibility of paying for education and other social services is precluded by land sequestration and low wages. Here you have the perfect logical circle.

On the other hand, some education has been furnished, principally by the missionaries. The missionaries were not trained in modern business; they were economically illiterate; they were the easy prey of industry and commerce, who used them to open the way for forced labor and land theft. But from the time of the Protestant Reformation through the era of political reform in England and revolution in France, the missionaries did believe in education, and they carried that belief to Africa and Asia. They started schools; and industry, although it tried, was unsuccessful in closing them. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America declares that in Africa it is estimated today that 85 per cent of the educational load is still carried by Christian missions, the government controlled by invested capital furnishing less than 15 per cent.

The compromise reached was approached by means of agreement as to what kind of education should be given and who should meet the cost. The governments for the most part do not spend on education today as much as they raise from native poverty by taxation. Education in Africa and higher training in Asia are supported largely by charitable dole, and the education given is often limited to elementary and technical education, as in the Belgian Congo, which deprives the native of modern leadership in

teaching and medical and social development, but is building a middle class of skilled workers. Only one child in twelve is today receiving primary school training. In some colonies education is emphasizing class differences by giving special training only to chiefs' sons and thus erecting a social aristocracy; in other areas, effort is being made to confine native education to vernacular tongues, which will keep the natives from knowledge of modern literature and modern cultural patterns. The result of this is a sudden interest of industry in the preservation of native culture, which imperial policy has done everything to ruin for three centuries.

In one respect, much has been done for the natives of the colonies, and that is in health and sanitation; but this is primarily a matter of self-defense in order to preserve the life and health of the resident whites. The latter not only seize the healthy regions of Freetown and Kenya and the hills of India for residence, but provide careful study of tropical diseases and tropical medicine and some medical practitioners. But here again they face the paradox: If there is to be a sufficient number of physicians and nurses in colonies, a native professional class must be trained. To train such a class means education, and careful education, for a large number of natives. This is not available and the results of education are feared. We have therefore in the Union of South Africa and in the Belgian Congo only limited training for Negroes as physicians and nurses, because facilities are not provided and are being only partially planned.

As a result of all these reasons and movements between 1913 and 1939, rudimentary education was extended in the colonies; primary instruction was almost universal in the American Philippine Islands, and was general in Malaya, Burma, and the Netherlands East Indies. In the Caribbean area, primary education has become widespread, and in

American dependencies compulsory. Yet with all this, as the 1944 conclusions of the International Labor Office say of the school reports:

Only limited inferences can be drawn from them, since they represent mainly the nominal enrolment of children at elementary schools. The quality of the education varied widely. There were often neither the trained teachers nor the schools to provide for, still less to extend, the total numbers enrolled. In Puerto Rico, to cite one example, buildings and teachers only sufficed for one half of the child population, and a classroom with one book for every two pupils was considered fortunate. Progress had been accomplished, substantial in the number of children touched by school training, but ignorance and frustration were widespread, for the schooling, such as it was, had little relation to the lives of the people.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the greatest disaster that the colonial system has brought to primitive peoples is the ruthless and ignorant destruction of their cultural patterns. Family life has been disrupted, women have been violated, children corrupted and freed of control, political organization overthrown, property ownership and control overridden, and the whole of the primitive life caricatured and made mock of. Only in recent days have scientists called to the attention of the world the values of primitive culture—the fact that in many respects these ways of living have solved social difficulties better than civilized lands have been able to do.

Something has been rescued of African art, of Asiatic religion; but so long as colonial exploitation is looked upon as a necessity despite all its cost, just so long the development of human progress in colonial areas will be frustrated and misled. Today especially, when we face the problem of war, we have to remember that war has not brought peace to the colonies. As Anna Graves writes: "Colonialism has been the cause of still more deaths than

<sup>4</sup> *Social Policy in Dependent Territories*, 1944, p. 5.

have wars in their active phases in Europe and North America." <sup>5</sup> Marcel Sauvage says: "French Equatorial Africa had at the beginning of the century twenty million inhabitants. She had only eight million in 1920-31. . . . Today [1934] after a mortality due to an increase in the great colonial maladies, to a murderous extension of roads and railroads, to a badly understood exploitation, to famines, to lack of care, to emigrations . . . A.E.F. possesses no more than three millions, scarcely three millions, scattered over a territory five times the extent of France." <sup>6</sup> In Kenya during the First World War, fourteen thousand natives were enrolled as fighters and one hundred and fifty thousand as porters and stevedores. Of these black men, 1,743 were killed and 44,875 died of disease—a total loss of 46,618, which is greater than any loss through tribal wars for generations. The relatives of most of these dead men have never been traced and there was in 1924 a balance of pay and wages due them unclaimed, amounting to \$775,000.<sup>7</sup>

What is the reason for this? We may look first at colonial history. The earliest colonists were merchants and adventurers who went out from the mother city for trade and adventure; who became little centers of cultural dissemination, associated with native populations, until at last states grew which dominated the native populations with migrant masters and yet interfered little with these peoples, save to tax them and to require some submission to general laws. This culminated in the Roman Empire, and when that vast government of men fell apart, individual nations arose the world over, independent and coming in

<sup>5</sup> Anna Graves is a widely traveled student of social conditions much of whose valuable work is still in manuscript. The quotations from her writings used in this book are from her manuscript material, which she has kindly put at my disposal.

<sup>6</sup> M. Sauvage, *Les Secrets de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1937, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. N. Leys, *Kenya*, London, 1924, p. 287.

contact with each other only through trade and travel, with little or no foreign conquest.

The trade with India and the discovery of America changed this. India and early America furnished wealth which was brutally stolen by foreign peoples, and native power to resist was so reduced that vast regions became colonies. This new wealth was invested in the degradation of black labor through the African slave trade, in order to raise new crops in world-wide demand—tobacco, sugar, and cotton. New machines and techniques to process these materials made the Industrial Revolution. A new colonial era dawned upon the world. The people in the colonies sifted themselves into three sorts: the representatives of the mother country settled there for the most part temporarily for the one purpose of gain; other persons from the mother country fleeing to the colony as fugitives seeking intellectual and economic freedom; others stolen and transported to the colonies as slaves and indentured servants.

The fugitives and the indentured servants were despised and discriminated against, but the height of legal discrimination fell upon the Negro and other colored slaves. Then came the great era of investment, when the reason for the colony was not settlement but foreign profit, and during which the institution of slavery was rebuilt and revived in the modern world.

All this was quickly rationalized. It is the habit of men, and must be if they remain rational beings, to find reasons, and comforting reasons, for lines of action which they adopt from varying motives. First of all, religion rationalized slavery as a method of saving souls, but this bade fair to interfere with profit and investment and soon was changed by the new science to a doctrine of natural human inferiority on the part of the majority of mankind, making them forever inferior and subservient to the ruling nations of the world.

The doctrine of the "White Man's Burden" appeared. The motive behind this burden-bearing was income: first wealth, such as gold, silver, and jewels; then profit from the crops raised by slaves; then markets wherein goods processed at home from these crops could be sold for new materials; then lands and native labor in which capital could be invested for larger profit than at home.

Much has been said, for instance, of the fact that colonies do not pay the mother country, in the sense that usually the direct payments of the mother country to the colony exceeds the money returns of the colony to the country which owns it. This is true today, although in the sixteenth century it was not true. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the object of colonial territory was the direct returns in gold, silver, jewels, and luxuries. Why, then, does the mother country today not only wish to retain the colonies but also is willing to fight expensive wars for such retention and for increasing the colonial area? The answer to this question has often been that raw material in colonial regions is of such value that countries must control it in order to retain their "place in the sun." This was true in the eighteenth century, when cotton, sugar, tobacco, were the monopolies of empires owning colonies which raised these materials. But here again this was once true but is not universally true today. It has been shown recently that only 3 per cent of the more valuable raw materials of the world are in colonial areas. Still empires want colonies.

The answer to all this seeming paradox is the fact that colonies are today areas for the investment of capital in which the investor can make a rate of profit far beyond that which comes to him from domestic ventures. Profit in home industry is being increasingly limited by organized labor; by the demand for higher wages and shorter hours; by limitation of the labor of children and women; and by other devices for diverting the profit of the investor and

property-owner to the income of the wage-earner. Much accumulated wealth lies idle at home.

On the other hand, in colonial regions not only is there opportunity for investment, but the investor is part of the government or has large influence with the government, and can secure labor at the lowest wage and for the longest hours; he can evade taxation and profit-limiting legislation. American investors in Puerto Rico during recent years have received dividends of 6 to 100 per cent on their investments. Not only that, but the investor can often put upon the shoulders of taxpayers at home in the name of "Empire" colonial payments and improvements, especially in long-term investments such as roads and harbors, which will increase his profit.

Many unnoticed facts prove this thesis. The great Lever Brothers organization, which dominates the economic life of West Africa, announces that the net profits of their enterprises there after paying heavy taxes amounted in 1943 to \$26,000,000, which was divided between 200,000 stockholders in Europe. This involved the labor of many millions of Africans at less than 50 cents a day. The British Government took over during the war the cocoa-raising industry of 800,000 farms on the Gold Coast, West Africa; and from 1939 to 1943 made a net profit of \$1,200,000, while the black farmers fought bankruptcy. The head of the government cocoa-marketing board was John Cadbury, one of the greatest chocolate manufacturers of England. This body fixed prices without competition. This profit may be used for social purposes on the Gold Coast but if it is British industry will be the judge.

Today, when the use of industrial diamonds is necessary to the war effort, it is interesting to know that in 1939 the De Beers organization was buying material due to cheap black labor in the Belgian Congo at 7 cents a carat and

selling it for 80 cents. The price has dropped today, but it still stands at monopoly heights.

One of the most powerful cartels in Europe, the Société Générale de Belgique, collaborated with the Germans during the occupation and sold to the United Nations Belgian products, including industrial diamonds, cobalt, and radium, not to mention copper and rubber. The director of the Netherlands East India Rubber Institute is leaving for Australia to organize plans for the rehabilitation of the rubber industry in the liberated parts of the East Indies. He has funds available for the equipment and production of 25 per cent of the rubber resources of the Indies. When Queen Wilhelmina calls for a constitutional assembly after the war with full colonial participation, how far will Dutch investors allow these people to interfere with the profits of investment?

Under the covenant of the Versailles Treaty, the West African Cameroons became "a sacred trust of civilization," the largest part of which was transferred to Britain. The British auctioned fifty German estates, comprising 258,000 acres, to their former German holders, who were the only ones able to bid, and these got back their properties for a fraction of their real value. These estates are worked by Negro labor at the average pay of 1 shilling a day.

War and depression wreaked more havoc on colonial labor than on labor at home. The International Labor Office reports in 1944 that in colonies

the 1919-39 period proved the importance of the external aspects of economic policy. It showed the growing dependence of colonial social progress on world economic conditions, while the transition of colonial life and labour under the influence of the penetrating economic forces was complicated by the uncontrollable changes in these forces.

All was changed by the depression. So long as trade was on the whole expanding, the increasing integration of dependent terri-

tories in a world of imperial economy promised increasing financial resources for the development of social services and opportunities to remedy any lack of balance as between educational, public health and other forms of progress. With the collapse of markets from 1929, however, the weakness of the whole colonial situation was betrayed.

It became abundantly clear that a system, whereby the whole country was being wrecked economically through outside influences, could not be permitted to continue without radical modifications and it was also quite evident that the economic basis of society was much too narrow. When the hard-pressed estates in their fight for existence fired many thousands of workers, screwed down wages sometimes to below subsistence level, and repudiated on a large scale agreements with the Indonesian small holders for the lease of land, profiteering unduly from the typical Indonesian reluctance to hold a man to an unfavourable contract; when rice prices on which millions of Indonesian farmers depended, dropped steeply in sympathy with foreign cereals; when a shipping company got into difficulties and railroads failed to meet their obligations; when imports shrank and the regular buyers of our commodities in Europe became restless, because we could no longer afford their industrial products; when Japan, disguised as a blessing, flooded the country with cheap textiles, threatening to annihilate the young local weaving industry; when Government revenues became so meagre that the most essential health, welfare, educational, technical services had to be cut down to below a bare minimum, then there was a sharp reaction of public opinion. And when the play of free enterprise in these years developed into a death struggle for the survival of the fittest, bleeding the community white, while Government, according to the traditions of "laissez faire" had to remain a passive onlooker, there grew a general realisation that the system in its pre-World War I form had had its day and that it was the bounden duty of the Administration to intervene and to take over the supreme control of the country's economy.<sup>8</sup>

The whole economic situation in colonies is but imperfectly known. Professor Frankel estimates that down to the close of 1934, £1,222,000,000 had been invested by foreign-

<sup>8</sup> *Social Policies in Dependent Territories*, 1944, pp. 16, 17.

ers in capital enterprises in Africa south of the Sahara. Forty-three per cent of this went to the Union of South Africa and 55 per cent to British territory. Next to the British territories, the Belgian Congo received £143,000,000 and French Africa £70,000,000, Portuguese territories about £67,000,000.<sup>9</sup>

The diamond mines of South Africa between 1886 and 1934 paid £80,000,000 in dividends on an investment of £20,000,000; but how much of this £20,000,000 represented actual wealth and not stock dividends and speculation will never be known. Frankel believes that average investment in Africa received but moderate returns; but amid speculation, gambling, cheating and force, the expected gain is more potent than occasional loss. Indeed investments in American and English industry have not only averaged less than 4 per cent but even represent a loss. But there is no meaning in the word "average" in this case. What is of importance is that returns on investment in American and English industry have been in a sufficient number of actual cases so steady that they are the basis of our whole industrial organization. This, of course, is true in the colonies, but there is another truth there. The returns of investment which depend upon labor and raw material raised by labor may be very small on paper, because of low wages and prices deliberately kept down; but on the other hand, the processing of this material and its transportation have yielded correspondingly higher returns, although these profits are not credited to colonial investment. Herein lies the secret of the lure of investments in colonies. The actual profit was so high that in the twentieth century, long-term foreign investments by British, French, German, and American capital increased from £4,642,000,000 in 1900 to £7,770,000,000 in 1929; of this, three-fourths was sent to colonial and quasi-colonial territory.

<sup>9</sup> S. H. Frankel, *Capital Investment in Africa*, London, 1938, p. 170.

We append one illustration of actual investment:

The 1937 income and expenditures of the Copper Industry in Northern Rhodesia, under European control, read as follows:

<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>
Copper exported..... £12,000,000	1. Dividends..... £5,000,000
	2. Royalties..... 500,000
	3. Income tax..... 700,000
	4. Salaries of 1,690 Europeans..... 800,000
	5. Wages of 17,000 Africans..... 244,000
	6. Balance (other costs of operation, maintenance, stores, freight, insurance, etc.).... 4,756,000

(1) The entire output of copper for the year 1937 in Northern Rhodesia was sold outside the country and it yielded twelve million pounds. (2) Five million pounds of this sum went to shareholders as dividends, and not one of these shareholders was an African—nor was the money spent in or for Matabele. (3) One-half million was paid as royalty, not to the inhabitants of Matabele, but to the British South African Company because of the so-called treaty by which Lewanika, an African King, transferred the ownership of the minerals in this area to the Company. (4) Eight hundred thousand pounds of this money went in payment of the salary of sixteen hundred and ninety Europeans, *approximately five thousand pounds per person*; two hundred and forty-four thousand pounds went to the wages of seventeen thousand Africans, *which approximates fourteen pounds per person*.

In short, it means that of the twelve million pounds accruing from the copper industry of Northern Rhodesia, the inhabitants thereof, the legitimate owners of the land, got only one-quarter of a million pounds, while the balance of four and a half million pounds went to the imperialists.<sup>10</sup>

With this mere sketch of the meaning of colonialism to-

<sup>10</sup> A. A. N. Orizu, *Without Bitterness*, New York, 1944, pp. 191, 193.

day, let us now pause to see what the imperial setup between the First World War and the Second became. We note in that period six imperial powers. Naming them in the order of the number of people which they dominated, they were: first, Britain, who has in her colonies (not counting the autonomous regions like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) 495,000,000 persons ruled by the 50,000,000 in the United Kingdom, including the 2,000,000 whites in the Union of South Africa. Second comes Japan, where before the present war 73,000,000 in Japan proper ruled 80,000,000, including the disputed Chinese territory of Manchukuo. Next France, where 38,000,000 ruled 71,000,000. Then comes The Netherlands, where 9,000,000 ruled 67,000,000. Then the United States of America, where 130,000,000 ruled 19,000,000, including the inhabitants of Alaska and the Philippines. Finally comes Belgium, where 8,500,000 ruled 10,500,000 in the Belgian Congo, and Portugal, where 7,000,000 rule 10,000,000.

Another way of listing these colonials would be to take into account the disproportion between the numbers of the ruling class and of those ruled. This would put the British Empire again first, with each British subject ruling ten colonials. Next would come The Netherlands, where each Dutch citizen rules between eight and nine colonials. In France, a citizen rules something less than two colonials; in Japan and Belgium he rules a little more than one. The United States and Spain are the only imperial powers where the number of colonials ruled is very much smaller than the number of citizens, amounting for the United States to over six rulers to one ruled; and for Spain, twenty-six to one.

Of course mere numbers do not give the whole picture. A much more revealing study would give the extent and kind of land and the value of the materials furnished. Beyond this we need, and have never had, a very careful

study of the industrial and financial arrangements of colonial organization: just what has been actually invested and by whom; how the invested wealth has been used in the colony; what has been the rate of profit, and the wages paid; and how far the investment has helped the colony by taxation. By manipulation of investment figures, it has been rather easy in the past to argue that the rate of return for colonial investment has been low and the profit to the colonial peoples high. But such factual studies are absolutely disproved; first, by the astonishing way in which capital investment has poured into the colonies; and second, by the fact that the colonial peoples almost without exception have the lowest standard of living on earth, with the fewest social services for education, health, and other means of social uplift, and almost no chance to participate in government or even to voice their complaints in an orderly manner. In colonies today millions of normal human beings are deliberately held in poverty and ignorance by force and fraud, because of the often conscientious belief on the part of their masters that no other condition is either possible or desirable for colonial peoples.

A century ago the explanation of this whole development was clear, and it was something like this: You had in the world a minority of people who were capable of civilization, who by their inherent gifts and long and difficult trial and experience were the natural rulers of the world. They composed most of the white peoples of the world, although even among those peoples there was a certain proportion of the "lower classes" who were incapable, because of deficiency in natural gifts, of taking effective part in democracy.

On the other hand, the majority of the people of the world, consisting mainly of the brown, yellow, and black races, were naturally so inferior that it was not to be hoped that in any reasonable time, if ever, they would be capable

of self-government. This was supposed to be proved by their history, and current scientific investigation seemed to back up historical judgment.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century there has come great change in these judgments. In the first place, we have practically given up the idea that there is any considerable portion of the civilized peoples who cannot by education and by the training of experience be made into effective voters and administrators in democratic governments. Further than this, we are not nearly so sure today as we used to be of the inherent inferiority of the majority of the people of the earth who happen to be colored. We know, of course, that skin color itself has no particular significance, and the other physical characteristics, whatever their significance, are not certain indications of inferiority.

The testimony of history we naturally realize is not decisive. History has been written deliberately to emphasize the accomplishments of certain peoples and to decry or omit the work of other peoples. It is always astonishing for Americans to contrast the history of the Revolutionary War as set down in English and American textbooks.

In addition to that, the testimony of biology and anthropology and of various social studies convinces us more and more that absolute and essential differences between races as self-perpetuating groups are difficult to fix, if not non-existent. And that consequently we have no way of being certain that education and experience will not do for the backward races of man what it has already begun to do for the depressed classes in civilized states.

But these facts do not affect our actions today, because government and economic organization have already built a tremendous financial structure upon the nineteenth-century conception of race inferiority. This is what the imperialism of our day means.

Not until we face the fact that colonies are a method of investment yielding unusual returns, or expected to do so, will we realize that the colonial system is a part of the battle between capital and labor in the modern economy. This profit has been the foundation of much of modern wealth, luxury, and power; and the envious competition to dominate colonial fields of industrial enterprise led to the First World War and was a prime cause of the Second World War. Its vicious influence was attacked by the legislation which established the Mandates Commission in the League of Nations; but this proved abortive, because that Commission was denied all real power.

Attempted sanctions against Italy at the beginning of the Second World War again failed, because of the sympathy which her colonial ambitions aroused in England, France, and the United States. Then arose another phase of colonial competition: Japan was determined to supplant Europe as the chief exploiter of Asiatic labor and materials. Thus a new and vaster social problem in the guise of world race rivalry in Asiatic investment came into the picture, and remains there threateningly today.

The depressed standards of living in colonial areas, the poverty, disease, and ignorance, are an enduring threat to civilization, backed by the insatiable demand for high profit in commerce and industry. The world wails with Conrad Aiken,

It is a sound of everlasting grief,  
The sound of weeping,  
The sound of disaster and misery,  
The sound of passionate heartbreak at the centre of the world.<sup>11</sup>

After the Second World War we are going to be faced by an attempt to extend and reorganize the colonial system.

<sup>11</sup> "Priapus and the Pool," quoted in Alfred Kreyborg, *Lyric America*, new ed., Tudor Publishing Company, 1925, p. 518.

Britain is going to insist upon her prewar colonial empire, including the mandated German territories and Chinese Hong Kong. Strong interests in the United States are going to ask for colonial outposts in the guise of defense stations throughout the Pacific and in the Caribbean area. France wants her colonies in Asia and her mandates returned; and a newly reformed and reborn Germany is bound to push the question of colonies again to the front.

This finds us today facing an unsettled problem, and a problem far greater than the number of people apparently involved might lead us to think. The colonial organization today is primarily economic. It is a method of carrying on industry and commerce and of distributing wealth. As such, it not only confines colonial people to a low standard of living, and encourages by reason of its high profit to investors a determined and interested belief in the inferiority of certain races, but it also affects the situation of the working classes and the minorities in civilized countries.

When, for instance, during and after this war the working people of Britain, The Netherlands, France, and Belgium, in particular, are going to demand certain costly social improvements from their governments—the prevention of unemployment, a rising standard of living, health insurance, increased education of children—the large cost of these improvements must be met by increased public taxation, falling with greater weight than ever heretofore upon the rich. This means that the temptation to recoup and balance the financial burden of increased taxation by investment in colonies, where social services are at their lowest and standards of living below the requirements of civilization, is going to increase decidedly; and the disposition of parties on the left, liberal parties, and philanthropy to press for colonial improvements will tend to be silenced by the bribe of vastly increased help by government to better conditions. The working people of the civilized

world may thus be largely induced to put their political power behind imperialism, and democracy in Europe and America will continue to impede and nullify democracy in Asia and Africa.

In this way the modern world after this war may easily be lulled to sleep and forget that the exclusion of something between one-fourth and one-half of the whole population of the world from participation in democratic government and socialized wealth is a direct threat to the spread of democracy and a certain promise of future war—and of war not simply as justifiable revolt on the part of colonial peoples who are increasing in intelligence and efficiency, but also of recurring wars of envy and greed because of the present inequitable distribution of colonial gain among civilized nations.

Moreover, the continuation of the belief of vested interests in the theory of racial inferiority and their dislike of minorities of any sort will be encouraged by failure to face the problem of the future of colonies—the problem of those hundreds of millions of people on whom the world long has walked with careless and insolent feet.

## CHAPTER III

### *THE UNFREE PEOPLES*

IN ADDITION TO THE SOME SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS OF DISFRANCHISED COLONIAL PEOPLES THERE ARE MORE THAN A HALF-BILLION PERSONS IN NATIONS AND GROUPS WHO ARE QUASI-COLONIALS AND IN NO SENSE FORM FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

From Shanghai in 1936, I went down to the ghost capital of New China. Here on the flat alluvium of the Yangtze Kiang and between the great port of Shanghai dominated by Europe and the sea, New China was building a beautiful city. Some half-dozen of its marble palaces were finished and waiting. Eventually, without the difficulty and pain of ousting the foreigners from Shanghai, this new port would intercept and dominate the commerce between China and the world. But the city was still empty; the palaces were untenanted and the dream has not yet come true.

I was still in Shanghai when the northern Chinese war lords seized Chiang Kai-shek and made him fight Japan. I remember sitting with a group of Chinese leaders at lunch; there was the superintendent of the Chinese schools of the city, editors of leading papers, the president of a university supported by American funds, and various publicists and officials. I said to them tentatively that I could well understand the Chinese attitude toward Japan, its bitterness and determined opposition to the substitution of Asiatic for an European imperialism; but what I could not quite understand was the seemingly placid attitude of the

Chinese toward Britain. That very day I had seen a little six-year-old Britisher order two Chinese children to walk in the gutter and they had silently complied. I had seen the race track where until 1912 no Chinese could be admitted; and I knew the shameful history of the determined and unrelenting aggression upon China by the British Empire and other European and American nations, beginning with the Opium War in 1839. China had been browbeaten, cheated, oppressed, and dominated until at the beginning of the twentieth century she was all but a colony or a series of colonies of European masters.

To this the Chinese made no reply. They talked long and informingly; they pointed out the fact that China was regaining her independence; Chinese customs were at last being controlled by the Chinese; Chinese currency had replaced foreign currency; and there were other like developments. They talked long, but they did not really answer my question.

All this reminds us again that there is something unreal in the almost ostentatious way in which China is being built up today as one of the world's great nations, destined to sit with Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and France as co-ruler of the world. This development is devoutly to be wished. The contribution of Chinese culture to the world has been splendid and peculiar. Here is a nation that accomplished peace to a greater degree than any other culture. I walked once in the Summer Palace, in that marvelously beautiful estate with lovely buildings, lakes, and gardens which the Empress Dowager laid out with moneys designed to establish a Chinese navy for defense against Europe. There was something splendid in this gesture of ignoring barbarism and aggression by building a supremely beautiful monument.

In the history of Chinese culture, there has been repeated retrogression and recovery; but there has always remained

that fine central core of effective human progress. Given time and opportunity, China will again become great and powerful. For causes that are not far to seek, although perhaps difficult to evaluate, we all know that today China is broken and weak—poor and ignorant, torn by internal dissension and hag-ridden by graft and incompetence. But we know also that it is because of Japan rather than of China herself that she is being pushed forward in theory as the representative of Asiatic peoples and as promise of Western sincerity toward the yellow race. All this, lest the cry of Asia for the Asiatics make peace between East and West impossible.

Under such circumstances the situation is dangerous. The restoration of China can be accomplished most expeditiously only with Western capital and techniques, together with a policy of non-interference; that is, by a new philanthropic, industrial colonialism without imperial control. Especially, the object of the rebuilding of China cannot be mainly private profit for foreign investors. Can we hope for this? Can we hope that the chance for remunerative investment in Chinese cheap labor and rich natural resources will yield to the great object of establishing independence and autonomy in the East and peace on earth?

One fears not. One fears that China, even though today she may be nominally recognized as among the leading nations, will not be allowed autonomy and will not be able to achieve freedom in our time. Great Britain, France, and the United States will have eyes fixed upon the wealth of China and her possibilities as a subject nation; and thus, like many another people, the Chinese will remain bound by debt, by commercial combines, and by monopoly industry in continued subjection to the great industrial nations of the West.

The phrase "free states" as used in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is based upon the theory that the United Nations

are predominantly democratic, with enjoyment in great degree of the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter. As a matter of fact, only a few nations of this world are free in this sense. There are many states which will sit in the General Assembly without having independent power.

Consider first the Free Commonwealths (Dominions) of the British Empire: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. Canada is dependent upon Britain for military and naval defense and for large investments in her land and resources. In Australia we have a group of white people corresponding in number to the inhabitants of the city of New York who dominate a land quite as large as the United States, though poorer in natural resources. They are deliberately holding this as a bastion to keep out the crowded and land-hungry millions of Asia; and to make it a point d'appui for the impact of Western power upon the East. Australia again is guarded not only by the British navy, but also by the American navy. She will sit among the free states of the United Nations, but she will not be free.

One country which has already been referred to stands out as an extraordinary case of paradox and deliberate confusion of thought—the Union of South Africa. Here a group of 2,000,000 whites absolutely dominates the lives and destinies of over 8,000,000 black natives, colored folk and Indians; and yet this country poses as one of the “free nations” fighting for “democracy.” In truth, its whole internal economy is dominated by the enormous investment in gold, diamonds, copper, and other raw materials made by the businessmen of Britain and the United States. The integrity of the country has long been guaranteed by the British navy. The Union of South Africa will sit in the council of the United Nations, but its vote and policy will of necessity be dictated from without.

In all these Free Commonwealths, not only is there the domination of the physical force of the imperial army and navy, but the much more effective domination of debt, investment, and commercial monopoly; and also social ties with rewards and distinctions, with the prestige of being a British subject and occupying a position in many respects superior to other persons in the world. Canada, despite her strong economic ties with the United States, is held strongly in leash to Britain by such considerations.

The history of the rise and multiplication of the unfree nations is clear and logical, but seldom considered in proper perspective. The fall of the Roman Empire was the occasion for the rise of small separate countries in Europe. Nationalistic aims led to wars designed to increase the size of these nations and fix their boundaries. But these nationalistic wars soon changed in character and became wars in which the dominant element of each state tried to annex to their states areas and persons whose ownership would be to their advantage.

This was the genesis of imperialism, and at this stage the first modern empire, that of Spain, arose when the peoples and countries annexed were those which furnished gold and silver, jewels, and other materials for the dominant aristocracy of Spain. But the real modern imperialism arose when the state came more and more to be dominated by the owners of capital, who wished to use that capital for owning labor, raising material, and processing that material. It was at this stage that the British, French, American, and other empires arose.

When the Spanish Empire fell, the British Empire first, then the French, and finally the American tried to take her colonies and colonial labor. The Haitian revolt frustrated this by help twice at critical times which enabled Bolívar to make the revolt of South American nations against

Spain successful. Out of that revolt there arose a group of nations nominally free, but bound by investment interests and continual danger of political conquest. We must therefore today regard as among those unfree nations such countries as Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine. These countries were threatened with annexation by Britain and later by France and the United States. Brazil also falls in this class, although her revolt came later and was against Portugal.

Britain and France were ruled out by the Monroe Doctrine, which was first a defensive measure but later became a measure back of which the United States tried to dominate the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. This explains the Mexican War and the repeated filibusters in Central America and the Caribbean by means of which slave power sought to establish a slave empire. Later the United States dominated Panama and browbeat other Central and South American countries, temporarily seized Haiti, took Puerto Rico and, partially, Cuba from Spain, and today has in mind taking over certain of the British West Indies. Political domination changed later to domination through invested capital, a stage in which we are today.

Britain succeeded in seizing parts of Central America and the Caribbean and a bit of South America and then turned to domination through invested capital. Anna Graves writes: "In 1934, I visited the gold mines at Moro Velho, in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. They are British owned. They are said to be the deepest mines in the world. The conditions are so appalling and the pay so little that it is said that every miner who does not die because of accident dies sooner or later of tuberculosis. I said to a manager who was showing us around, 'Suppose Brazil should have a Labour Government and minimum wage and maximum

trol and so long as the richest of her provinces, like the Sudan, are under British condominium. "In 1936, there was an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance signed in London. According to the terms of the treaty, England was allowed to maintain for twenty years a military force up to 10,000 men and 400 airplanes at the Suez Canal 'till such time as Egypt could build up a force sufficiently powerful to take over such duties.' The British were also allowed to use Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases, and their troops could be moved over Egyptian territory."<sup>2</sup>

Egypt has had a long history of aggression from investing countries, and is perhaps one of the typical examples of European investments being made in such a way and of such kind and by such methods that the country practically loses all political and economic freedom. Much of that debt control still remains in water development and railway ownership.

Along with that we may consider the promises of freedom to certain countries: to the Arabs of the Middle East and to Palestine. One has only to read of the chagrin and despair of Lawrence when a promise of Arabian freedom turned into further experiment in imperialism; or the history of Balfour's promise of a homeland to the Jews. As Freda Kirchwey writes:

Palestine was not the intellectual creation of persons searching, objectively, for a solution of the specific problems of Jewish minorities. It was much more truly an organic outgrowth of that problem. . . . To a western mind, all the old difficulties still obstructed the road, and do today: the political problem of reconciling a Jewish National Home with the political expediencies of British imperial ambitions; the problem of Arab-Jewish relationships, both as part of the political problem and as part of the social-religious complex of the Middle East; the internal Jewish problem, bound up in the divergencies of opinion and of interests in Europe and the West. These are complicated enough to

<sup>2</sup> Orizu, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

afford the subject matter for endless arguments, to create international controversies and partisan divisions. But they become relatively simple if they are viewed in the light of a warm yet realistic understanding of all the human needs involved.<sup>3</sup>

In the Balkans are 60,000,000 persons in the "free states" of Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece. They form in the mass an ignorant, poor, and sick people, over whom already Europe is planning "spheres of influence."

Even greater is the pressure upon negroid nations, a pressure which depends not simply upon investment and prospective investment in Ethiopia, Haiti, Liberia, and the Dominican Republic, but even more than that upon deliberate and persistent propaganda. It has for years been the unquestioned dictum of literature and history that the inferiority of Negroes could be proved by the failure of efforts like those of these countries to establish independent nations. As proof of this, the world has long asserted that the attempts of Liberia, Haiti, and even Ethiopia to be progressive independent nations have utterly failed. Yet this is no proof of inferiority in ability, but only one of weakness before greater and organized force. The proof of this is easily adduced: Liberia for a century has had to fight first the natives for a foothold on the continent and has then been browbeaten and held in leash and coerced by Great Britain and France and now by the United States. For a hundred years Britain, France, and Italy have oppressed and outmaneuvered Ethiopia. The freeing of Ethiopia by British and Ethiopian troops was hailed by Churchill as the beginning of the fall of Fascism; and yet Great Britain today by treaty and military pressure is seeking to deprive Ethiopia of territory, seaport, and independent action. The rise of Haiti has been a splendid triumph of unlettered

<sup>3</sup> "Zionism and Democracy," a chapter in the book *Chaim Weizmann*, ed. by Meyer W. Weisgal, Dial Press.

slaves against the world. History has no parallel of equal accomplishment. Haiti needs today only freedom from unjustly imposed American debt, and from industrial fetters laid upon her agriculture and commerce, to prove again to the world her ability and progress.

Even the freer small nations were unhappy and apprehensive under the League of Nations, and perhaps will be more so under the United Nations. Holland and Belgium are deeply intertwined with the industrial organization of Britain; France was partly subservient to the industry of Germany. All South America is a fief in the feudal organization of the modern organization and power from without, which varies from domination of the tin mines of Bolivia and the petroleum of Venezuela to that of the cattle and coffee of Argentina and Brazil. As Sumner Welles has said recently: "The larger nations must not be permitted to set up spheres of influence 'behind a façade of world organization' and 'ride roughshod over the sovereign liberties of their small neighbors.' Many of the smaller nations," he declared, "were profoundly concerned by some recent developments." He asserted that they had obtained as yet "no satisfactory assurance that as a result of the plans for world organization which were devised at Dumbarton Oaks they are going in fact to obtain the authority and the rights to which they believe themselves legitimately to be entitled."<sup>4</sup>

One has only to look at a map of the world (not a mercator projection, which distorts relative size, making Greenland look as large as South America, India look tiny and Norway and Sweden monstrous.) One has only to look at a political map of the two hemispheres and cannot help but see who are the great grabbers of others' land and liberty and the great holders of others in chains. And even the pink and green on the world do not tell all, for south China and Egypt and Iraq, and Portugal and still

<sup>4</sup> Public address, October, 1944, reported in *New York Times*.

more lands should be pink, too, if *practical* subjugation were recognized as what it really is. What colour should Cuba be? <sup>5</sup>

The situation in the Middle East—the oil of Iran, the subjugation of Syria, the unrest among the Arabs—is a serious threat to the possibility of maintaining peace after this war. As Walter Winchell said to Churchill in a column which was suppressed,

From Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and Ethiopia—the list is large—Americans bring back the same story. No Atlantic Charter, no self-determination, pro-English quisling-like governments—effected at the point of British arms. Rightly or wrongly, the American people believe this is the policy of your government—and they are against it. They are determined to fight Hitler to the finish, but they will not see an English reactionary program substituted for a German one. <sup>6</sup>

The situation in Europe is not hopeful: France has survived the persistent lack of sympathy of the United States; the determination of Britain to control governments in Belgium with her vast colonial Congo; Italy with its geographical domination of the Mediterranean, and residual claims in Ethiopia; and in Greece—all this is all too well known. In fact, the nineteenth-century dream of the poets of a world filled with peaceful but independent nations each pursuing its own variety of culture, supremely valuable in their very difference and nonconformity with set patterns, was a dream of real intellectual and political freedom. It had been illustrated in the settlement of Massachusetts and Maryland and even in Oglethorpe's Georgia. It was proclaimed by Toussaint and Dessalines in Haiti; it was even planned in the Balkans and Far Asia. Then gradually it was overwhelmed, and with a dying gasp in 1919 was beaten back by recurrent and mounting waves of imperial-

<sup>5</sup> Anna Graves' MS.

<sup>6</sup> Radio broadcast, October, 1944.

ism, compelling the world to follow one increasing line of profitable industry, concentrated luxury, and power. The small free nation began to disappear from reality. The one great ideal was empire, and increasing empire. The one sure outcome was war.

If now we are going to re-establish peace on earth and goodwill toward men, we must re-establish the right of small nations really to be free. So long as the chief business of free nations today is to tax and starve their peoples so as to pay their debts to the empire, and so long as these imperial debts do not always represent actual hire of real wealth so much as speculation, legal claims, and threats of aggression, just so long world politics will be bedeviled by hunger and hate.

Beyond the colonies and the free nations which are not free, is the plight of the minorities in the midst of both the great and minor nations. There are the Jews of Europe, the Negroes of the United States, the Indians of the Americas, and many other smaller groups elsewhere. They form often little nations within nations, who are encysted and kept from participation in the full citizenship of their native lands.

The greatest tragedy of this war has been the treatment of the Jewish minority in Germany. Nothing like this has happened before in modern civilization. Out of a total Jewish population of 6,000,000 souls 1,000,000 have migrated from Germany and other parts of Europe; 500,000 have been forcibly deported; over 4,000,000 have died or been deliberately killed. Three hundred thousand Jews survive in poverty and helplessness. Considering the cultural accomplishments of this group of people, the gifts they have made to the civilization of the world, this is a calamity almost beyond comprehension.

The Negroes in the United States, despite a determined and unremitting effort to achieve freedom and citizenship,

have not yet escaped the position of a submerged group under a system of legal caste. We are farther in thought than in fact from Whittier's forgotten song of nearly a century ago:

Oh, goodly and grand is our hunting to see,  
In this "land of the brave and this home of the free."  
Priest, warrior, and statesman, from Georgia to Maine,  
All mounting the saddle, all grasping the rein;  
Right merrily hunting the black man, whose sin  
Is the curl of his hair and the hue of his skin! <sup>7</sup>

The Indians of the Americas are for the most part disfranchised, landless, poverty-stricken, and illiterate, and are achieving a degree of freedom only as by the death of individuality they become integrated into the blood and culture of the whites. This is widely approved as the only sensible outcome.

There are other groups and classes, part and parcel of the great nations, who because of their incomes live in a degree of poverty which makes it impossible for them to take any effective part in democratic procedure. This is true to a great degree in Britain, France, and Italy, to a lesser degree in Scandinavia and the United States; but even in the United States, the number of people who live with an income below the limits of proper subsistence constitutes a major part of the nation.

If the social development in these cases led to the gradual integration of mass and class, of minority groups into the dominant culture, bringing with them such cultural gifts and modifications as would enrich and vary that culture into a new national unity; if the colony gradually became the partially autonomous dependency and eventually a free and independent nation—this would be a development satisfactory in the end and calling for patience in

<sup>7</sup> "The Hunters of Men."

the process. But no, the development as we see it is cock-eyed and illogical; the group antagonism leads to friction and tensions in the country, and is usually solved only by the physical elimination of some minorities or the cultural disappearance of any individual patterns which they might contribute. Americanization has never yet meant a synthesis of what Africa, Europe, and Asia had to contribute to the new and vigorous republic of the West; it meant largely the attempt to achieve a dead level of uniformity, intolerant of all variation. The ideal of the poor in America is usually to become rich and ride on the necks of the poorer.

The free nations tend to sink into "spheres of influence" and investment centers, and then often succumb into disfranchised colonies. All this has been rationalized by universal sneering at small nations, at "Balkanization" and helpless Haitis, until the majority of the world's people have become ashamed of themselves. As Harold Vinal says in "Voices":

But Aegir is no more, Zeus is a dream,  
The valiant, the mighty are fled and lost forever,  
And what are we but sleepers lost in sleep.

Thus in much current literature of the early twentieth century the Latins were inferior and ineffective; the French were "frogs"; the Mexicans and South Americans were "mongrels"; the peoples of Asia and Africa were nothing and of no worth. The hope of the world lay in the union of Britain and the United States to dominate mankind. Yet up from the throats of these peoples—the colonials, the minorities, and the depressed classes—one increasing cry for freedom, democracy, and social progress continually wells.

## CHAPTER IV

### *DEMOCRACY AND COLOR*

THE EFFECT WHICH THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF COLONIAL PEOPLES AND THE DEPENDENCE OF FREE NATIONS ON THE EMPIRES HAS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD.

In this war even more than in the last we face the problem of democracy. How far are we working for a world where the peoples who are ruled are going to have effective voice in their governments? We have stated and reiterated that this democratic method of government is going to be applied in the future as widely as possible. But of course in this program we are compelled to recognize that beyond this logic of democracy looms the fact that most people in the world have not in the past been ruled by democratic methods, and that even in the so-called democracies now fighting for democracy democratic methods have been only partially successful.

The experiment of democracy has proceeded slowly because the mass of people do not have the intelligence, the knowledge, or the experience to enable them to bear the responsibility of rule. This lack of intelligence is not a matter of congenital stupidity or of biological race. Indeed, the rise and development of the so-called lower classes among the leading nations during the last century has been phenomenal. The working people of Britain, France, and the United States have increased markedly in intelligence and in influence upon government. The forward rush of

the Russian worker and peasant has been the miracle of our age. Within less than a generation Russian illiteracy has been reduced from 90 per cent to less than 10 per cent, and the industrial and social efficiency of this vast nation has placed it in the front rank of modern states. The Webbs declare: "There is no other fragment of the earth's surface, at all comparable in extent, where anything like this conception of an educational service prevails."<sup>1</sup> No one today doubts that with time and opportunity the descendants of American freedmen and the peoples of Italy, Spain, and the Balkans can equal, if not surpass, the progress of Russia.

The real reason for lack of intelligence and experience among the mass of people is poverty. Poverty and its accompanying problems of ignorance, sickness, and crime remain major problems in every leading country of modern civilization. Unless these problems are sincerely and frankly faced and solutions attempted for their settlement, there can be no satisfactory development of the democratic ideal.

Assuming then, as we logically must, that poverty is the basic problem and the problem chiefly responsible for ignorance, ill-health, and crime, we are confronted by the question: How is it possible in an age when the use of natural forces and technical ingenuity for the conversion of raw material into consumable goods, and the consequent enormous increase in the potency of human services, has reached a degree of efficiency never dreamed of, that poverty has only begun to be abolished?

The possibility of producing wealth in our age has repeatedly been estimated to be great enough to furnish all the peoples of the world with the necessities of life and some of the comforts. Despite this, we have not only the miserable poverty of colonial peoples and the great poverty among most of the smaller nations of the world, but a prob-

<sup>1</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, 2 vols., Scribner, 1936, Vol. II, p. 891.

lem of poverty in the richest and most intelligent countries which leaves the majority of their peoples below the line of healthful existence.

There can be no question that the answer is that most modern countries are in the hands of those who control organized wealth, and that the just and wise distribution of income is hindered by this monopoly. This power is entrenched behind barriers of legal sanction, guarded by the best brains of the country trained as lawyers, appointed to the bench, and elected to the legislature. The retention of this power is influenced tremendously by the propaganda of newspapers and news-gathering agencies, by radio, and by social organization.

The hand of organized wealth guides the education of youth. It not only furnishes the endowment and influences the teaching in great private institutions, but throughout the whole school system it makes any real, frank study of the production and distribution of wealth so difficult that the great danger of our age is economic illiteracy—the fact that professional men, businessmen, and even workers are trained not simply to believe in the present organization of industry as the best possible, but to refuse to let anyone study or question it intensely. We are taught to regard poverty as inevitable.

We produce goods, share them, and allocate services for the well-being of mankind. This is no fixed mechanical process. It is in part a matter of choice and plan. We ought to know accurately the facts of the situation, the amount and distribution of property, the amount and distribution of income, the kind of work that people do and how it is rewarded. If after knowing matters of this sort we decide that present conditions are either inevitable in the nature of things, or on the whole fair and just and need only to be corrected in particulars and in application, then our

civilization is safe. But if, on the other hand, such a body of knowledge should discover such injustice, inefficiency, waste, and deliberate oppression as stops and turns awry the chief objects of work and wage, then we must seek such change in our basic industrial system as will avoid disaster. This knowledge at present we do not have in accurate and complete form. It is not fully available and may not be frankly and openly studied. The result is that our whole industrial progress resolves itself continually into blind leadership of the blind.

None of the democracies fighting for democracy today is really democratic. Britain is ruled by concentrated and organized wealth derived not simply from her own labor but from the exploitation of colonies and dependencies. Her government is limited by ideals of hereditary privilege carried out by an aristocracy whose influence is carefully increased by propaganda and social distinctions.

Against this combination of influences, nonetheless the democratic control by the mass of the people has progressively increased during the last century; but even today majority rule in Britain is limited by the suspensory vote of the House of Lords and by a series of cultural patterns and inhibitions. Only overwhelming mass public opinion can overcome these hindrances. Britain, therefore, is at home a democracy not by majority but by a vote which must sometimes approach unanimity to become law; while throughout the British Empire democracy is recognized and implemented only in the white dependencies.

In France the democratic method has had wider scope, but here again it has been limited by the conservatism of the small peasant property-owners and by the path of escape which the French freedom of learning, thought, and art has kept open to the gifted of every class and race.

The recent history of Germany is an extraordinary commentary on the way democracy has fought for expression in a great modern land. Back in the nineteenth century there was a strong drive to increase the income of the ruling classes by expanding Germany into an empire with wide-flung colonies. This was only partially successful, and was succeeded in the twentieth century by the rationalization movement in German economy. Rationalization meant planning. It is full mobilization of all scientific information and techniques, and the utilizing of all possible means for one end. The end sought by these means was a new economic system which foresaw the fall of Manchester economics, and the beginning of a new era to meet the rising pressure of democracy and furnish an object for the State Socialism upon which Germany embarked during the Bismarckian era.

The effort to accomplish this by world war for colonies and commercial empire failed. Then came revolution in Russia and finally the Treaty of Versailles. Germany entered upon another phase of development, which culminated in the Second World War and which in the end will either reorganize modern culture or destroy it.

After the First World War, a series of penetrating government reports and studies by individual students began searching analysis into the economic condition of Germany.<sup>2</sup> These studies brought extraordinary results. Vast inflation had destroyed fixed incomes, investments, savings, property values, pensions, and the like. At the same time it enabled big industry to pay off its debts, scrap its old equipment, and rebuild in preparation for a planned econ-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. A. Brady, *The Rationalization Movement in German Industry*, University of California Press, 1933.

omy in a German industrial world mastery. The opportunity for positive rationalization followed; that is, for the systematic introduction of thoroughly scientific techniques, methods, and equipment covering every aspect of production, distribution, and consumption.

Prosperity based on borrowing followed, raising speculative values and the hopes of middle-class citizens. In 1929, came sudden deflation. The middle class of civil servants and clerks suffered more than industrial leaders or laborers, and was even more racked by fear of being leveled down to workers. The revolution thus threatened found no united program among the workers, who were distracted by contradictory advice from poor leadership.

I knew Germany as a student in the last decade of the nineteenth century and as a visitor in 1928 and 1936. In the Germany I knew before the First World War, the people who counted, the people for whom Germany was primarily administered and arranged, were the nobility, high and low, and the rising capitalists in finance and large industry. The members of the large civil service, including professors and teachers, were in the near background, but they depended for advance and favor on monarchy, nobility, and capital. Defeat in war permanently changed this. The monarchy and the ruling nobility were gone forever.

The Weimar Republic was based on a more democratic foundation: the upper classes of workers, the shopkeepers, and the civil servants, with the still powerful influence of the Junkers and the captains of industry on one side and the rising threat of the proletariat on the other. In big industry, the power of engineers and technicians increased, and they and salaried clerks rose in comparison with the hand laborers.

An extraordinary revolution ensued. It was a class strug-

gle, but there was no unity in the groups on either side. The bourgeois were divided into big landholders, captains of industry, leaders in the Catholic Church, and many of the petty bourgeois. The laborers were even more hopelessly divided into Social-Democrats and Communists and such petty bourgeois as grim necessity forced into the laboring class.

Logically, the next step in this planning was to determine whom the results of planned industry should primarily benefit—who would reap the profit? The logical answer here seemed that of Russian Communism. Industry would be planned for the economic uplift of the mass of workers. This was the specter that scared the industrial owners and leaders of Germany to death and threw the country headlong into the arms of Hitler. Hitler, swinging from the worker as an object of planning to a powerful Germany as a greater object, soon interpreted Germany as representing the industrialists, the Junkers, and Hitler's own compact party. Out of this he welded National Socialism and regimented Germany into a planned economy for the benefit of capital and political oligarchy.

This compact inner group which rose to rulership was composed of former soldiers, unemployed white-collar workers, socialists, capitalists, Jew-baiters, and psychopathic fanatics, united into a most dangerous unity by the boundless energy and single-aimed will of Adolf Hitler. But back of it and conditioning it was the increased democratic consciousness of a new Germany, of a Germany which dreamed of a wide democratic basis for the nation, if not the widest. To this movement Hitler seemed the Messiah. Financed by industry and popular contributions and inflamed by one of the most extraordinary efforts at national propaganda ever attempted, the Nazis drove their compact machine in

among the bickerings, hesitations, and deceptions of the other parties, and by murder, mobs, intimidation, lies, and frantic appeals changed a ridiculous handful of fanatics and bullies into one of the greatest of modern political parties.

By the ineptitude of the Junkers, the jealousies of the workers, and the senile betrayal of Hindenburg, the Weimar Republic was sabotaged and a Nazi oligarchy was erected on its ruins. Once Hitler and the Nazis had obtained power, they built an oligarchy, not a democracy. They seized and monopolized a long-neglected weapon of democracy: they began a course of Adult Education on a tremendous scale, helped enormously by recent inventions—the radio, the loud-speaker, the airplane. The older democracies in the world had left popular education as a privilege of freedom, without at first bothering to see whether the masses could afford to buy it with their low wage. The state had eventually been forced to furnish elementary instruction in reading and writing, but went little farther than this, except for the richer few. The education of the masses for the major part of their lives was left to chance or to the will of private profit.

Russia started mass education by propaganda, and Mussolini followed. Hitler took up this technique with a population much more intelligent than the Russian or the Italian, and a population peculiarly susceptible in a critical time to suggestion for methods of maintaining public order, private discipline, authority, employment, the reconstitution of German confidence in Germany, and defense against Germany's enemies. At the same time Hitler's propaganda was aimed at a lower level of the national intelligence than that which dominated prewar German thought.

To accomplish his aim, Hitler did not hesitate to borrow the technique of Russia: dictatorship of one party, with

limited membership; special education of youth and children for membership in this party; propaganda for justification; stern repression of counterrevolution; attack on the Church. His oligarchy of a million Nazis succeeded, by arms and a wide spy system, first, by beating all opposition into submission by force, imprisonment, exile, or death; second, by smashing the particularism of the separate German states and concentrating power in the central government; third, by rearming Germany and reasserting sovereignty over the industrial Rhineland.

To obtain the power to do this, Hitler must in his propaganda and acts offer the people an ideal. He could not offer the rule of the workers in a democracy of equal economic opportunity, for this would destroy the private profit of his backers, who were armed with the elaborate planned industry of the German engineers; but he could attract followers by various devices: to the powerful bodies of civil servants and shopkeepers, he appealed by a vicious attack on the Jews, who were their intellectual rivals and commercial competitors. This effort too pleased many of his big-business backers and gave him a new racial slogan; the racial slogan helped to gain the allegiance of labor: he substituted "Germanism" for the class struggle; Germans belonged to the noblest breed on earth—far superior to Jews, Asiatics, or Africans, and also to Latins, "Negroid" French, and Slavs. He proposed to build a new Germany in which all Germans would share; he stressed the solidarity of *Deutschtum*, which included employer and worker; to prove this he formed the Work Front—*Arbeitsfront*—into which he put employer and employee, disbanding the trade-unions and referring all work disputes to compulsory arbitration by his appointees. He ended unemployment by labor in munitions and armament; by a vast program of housing; by building a new network of roads suitable for

military use as well as automobiles; by compulsory labor service on military lines; and by wholesale resettlement of workers from city to country and from region to region. With all this went a continuous fanfare of propaganda, vacation excursions, national guest houses, celebrations; and above all a new army in air and on land and sea, which brought back the dream of the lost glory of German militarism.

No such mighty military and civic displays ever glorified even William II as Hitler staged, and in Hitler's case the pomp and circumstance could be heard and seen by every German in every corner of the land, and it was repeatedly re-enforced by subtle allusions to the fact that the Führer had been a paperhanger.

The middle class, having lost all economic foundations, was easily integrated into the new attitudes offered. The farmers and peasants, on the other hand, were reduced to subjection by catastrophic changes: their old indebtedness had been swept away in the inflation, but their soil was depleted, their methods were obsolete, their tools old-fashioned, and they had to compete with the best agricultural areas of the world. They were at the absolute mercy of the new Nazi state and that state, far from neglecting them, organized them and directed their work and made them an integral part of the whole industrial planning. They became in that way allies not of a radical laboring proletariat, but of the newly organized business and industrial interests under state direction.

On the other hand, the business interests gradually succumbed to the state, because of losses which Germany had endured through war and treaties, inflation and deflation. Something between a third and a half of her prewar capital disappeared. The state became, therefore, the source of new capital and absolute master of industry.

What German technocracy did then was to take advantage of nearly total revolution in Germany to establish the most complete and efficient planned economy that the modern world has seen since the rise of the Industrial Revolution—a planning which must not be ignored nor lost, as Anne Lindbergh sought to say. Then Hitler and his gang hurled themselves into the picture and undertook to divide the profit: more to labor, in wage, enjoyment, and perquisites, than ever before—which explains its desperate loyalty; but by far the most of the profit to his cronies, his industrial backers, and the Junkers, who despised him but had to hold on. But Hitler could not stop here, lest German labor follow Russia. Labor must be diverted by nationalism, pride of race, and hope of world conquest. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and France fell; Britain sank to her knees, but stubbornly stuck. Russia must therefore be liquidated, so that the full force of Germany could be brought to bear on Britain without threat in the rear. Hence the last throw of the dice—and failure.

The inner significance of this movement is that under these revolutionary ideas, started by the Russian experiment, the state with Germany changed from a political to an economic organization; and within this new economic state the whole fight for democracy, for the power of the individual to determine policies and for the freedom of individual thought and critical opinion, must be fought again, not only in Germany and in Europe, but in the world.

In the dictatorships developed in Russia, Germany, and Italy there was a certain scientific foundation. The social sciences have been remiss in not pointing out a natural realm of dictatorship to which all government must bow; that is, the physical laws governing the constitution of materials, the application of natural force, and the availability

of certain techniques in using matter and force, which are all subject to law and cannot be changed by popular vote. Thus the production of goods and to some degree their distribution is not a matter of argument, decision, or majority opinion, but an inexorable system which men must follow under the trained guidance of managers and technicians if they would get the necessary results.

On the other hand, questions as to the kind of goods to be produced and their distribution among nations, classes, and individuals for consumption, and most questions of personal service, as to both recipient and servant, are questions where democratic argument and democratic decision are absolutely necessary to the widest human happiness. It may well be that the real fight which is dividing the world today is the question as to how much of human action must by the laws of science be subject to scientific control; and on the other hand, how large a section of life, above the absolute necessities of health and subsistence, can be reserved as the area of human freedom for individual action, creative thought, and artistic taste.

Meantime, however, the mounting pressure of popular demand for democratic methods must be counted on throughout the world as popular intelligence rises. Its greatest successful opponent today is not Fascism, whose extravagance has brought its own overthrow, but rather imperial colonialism, where the disfranchisement of the mass of people has reduced millions to tyrannical control without any vestige of democracy.

It happens, not for biological or historical reasons, that most of the inhabitants of colonies today have colored skins. This does not make them one group or race or even allied biological groups or races. In fact these colored people vary vastly in physique, history, and cultural experience. The one thing that unites them today in the world's

thought is their poverty, ignorance, and disease, which renders them all, in different degrees, unresisting victims of modern capitalistic exploitation. On this foundation the modern "Color Line" has been built, with all its superstitions and pseudo-science. And it is this complex today which more than anything else excuses the suppression of democracy, not only in Asia and Africa, but in Europe and the Americas. Hitler seized on "negroid" characteristics to accuse the French of inferiority. Britain points to miscegenation with colored races to prove democracy impossible in South America. But it is left to the greatest modern democracy, the United States, to defend human slavery and caste, and even defeat democratic government in its own boundaries, ostensibly because of an inferior race, but really in order to make profits out of cheap labor, both black and white.

The attitude of the United States in this development puzzles the observing world of liberalism. Intelligence and high wages in this land are linked with an extraordinary development of the rule of wealth and sympathy with imperial ambition in other lands, as well as steps toward greater American imperialism. Why is this? The answer lies in two parts: first, in a peculiar extension of provincialism which exhibits itself in the composition of the United States Senate and springs from colonial America before the nation had become democratic. The second cause lies in the Negro problem. Both these tie in with empire and the disfranchisement of a majority of the peoples in the world. The following figures, maps, and plans show why American democracy cannot be rational and progressive. Basing our study on the presidential election returns of 1944, we may divide the United States into groups based on historical, conventional, and economic factors. We have the following:

	<i>Representatives Elected to Congress 1944*</i>	<i>Total Vote</i>	<i>Per Representative</i>
<i>The New England states</i>			
Connecticut.....	5 (+ 1 at large)	825,116	
Massachusetts.....	14	1,889,753	
New Hampshire.....	2	215,857	
Vermont.....	1	123,036	
Maine.....	3	183,771	
Rhode Island.....	2	293,481	
	27	3,531,014	130,778
<i>Middle Atlantic states</i>			
New Jersey.....	14	1,859,425	
New York.....	45	6,024,597	
Pennsylvania.....	33	3,712,570	
	92	11,596,592	126,049
<i>The Border states</i>			
Delaware.....	1	126,440	
Kentucky.....	9	843,843	
Maryland.....	6	544,324	
Missouri.....	13	1,520,412	
Tennessee.....	10	398,622	
Virginia.....	9	342,980	
West Virginia.....	6	718,509	
	54	4,495,130	83,243
<i>Southern former slave states</i>			
Alabama.....	9	222,338	
Arkansas.....	7	217,207	
Florida.....	6	416,353	
Georgia.....	10	274,374	
Louisiana.....	8	282,569	
Mississippi.....	7	152,712	
North Carolina.....	12	754,658	
Oklahoma.....	8	684,560	
South Carolina.....	6	100,862	
Texas.....	21	1,058,419	
	94	4,164,052	44,298

	<i>Represent- atives Elected to Congress 1944*</i>	<i>Total Vote</i>	<i>Per Repre- senta- tive</i>
<b>The Middlewest</b>			
Illinois.....	25 (+ 1 at large)	3,874,845	
Indiana.....	11	1,651,216	
Iowa.....	8	972,759	
Kansas.....	6	664,192	
Michigan.....	17	2,163,487	
Minnesota.....	9	1,109,109	
Nebraska.....	4	514,926	
Ohio.....	22 (+ 1 at large)	2,954,334	
Wisconsin.....	10	1,162,858	
North Dakota.....	2	197,594	
South Dakota.....	2	225,738	
	116	15,491,058	133,543
<b>The Far West</b>			
Arizona.....	2	128,036	
New Mexico.....	2	151,888	
California.....	23	3,007,499	
Idaho.....	2	205,579	
Montana.....	2	197,217	
Nevada.....	1	51,744	
Oregon.....	4	442,476	
Utah.....	2	247,681	
Washington.....	6	803,093	
Wyoming.....	1	96,102	
Colorado.....	4	493,862	
	49	5,825,177	118,881
<b>Total.....</b>	432	45,103,023	104,405

\* These figures are based on the *Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 7, 1944* . . . compiled from official sources by William Graf under direction of South Trimble, Clerk of the House of Representatives, corrected to January 16, 1945, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1945. The figures are based on the recapitulation of votes cast for United States Representatives, p. 52. The figures for Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico are omitted. In case of Representatives elected at large, no account is taken of their vote, but the vote is calculated on the total cast by the various districts.

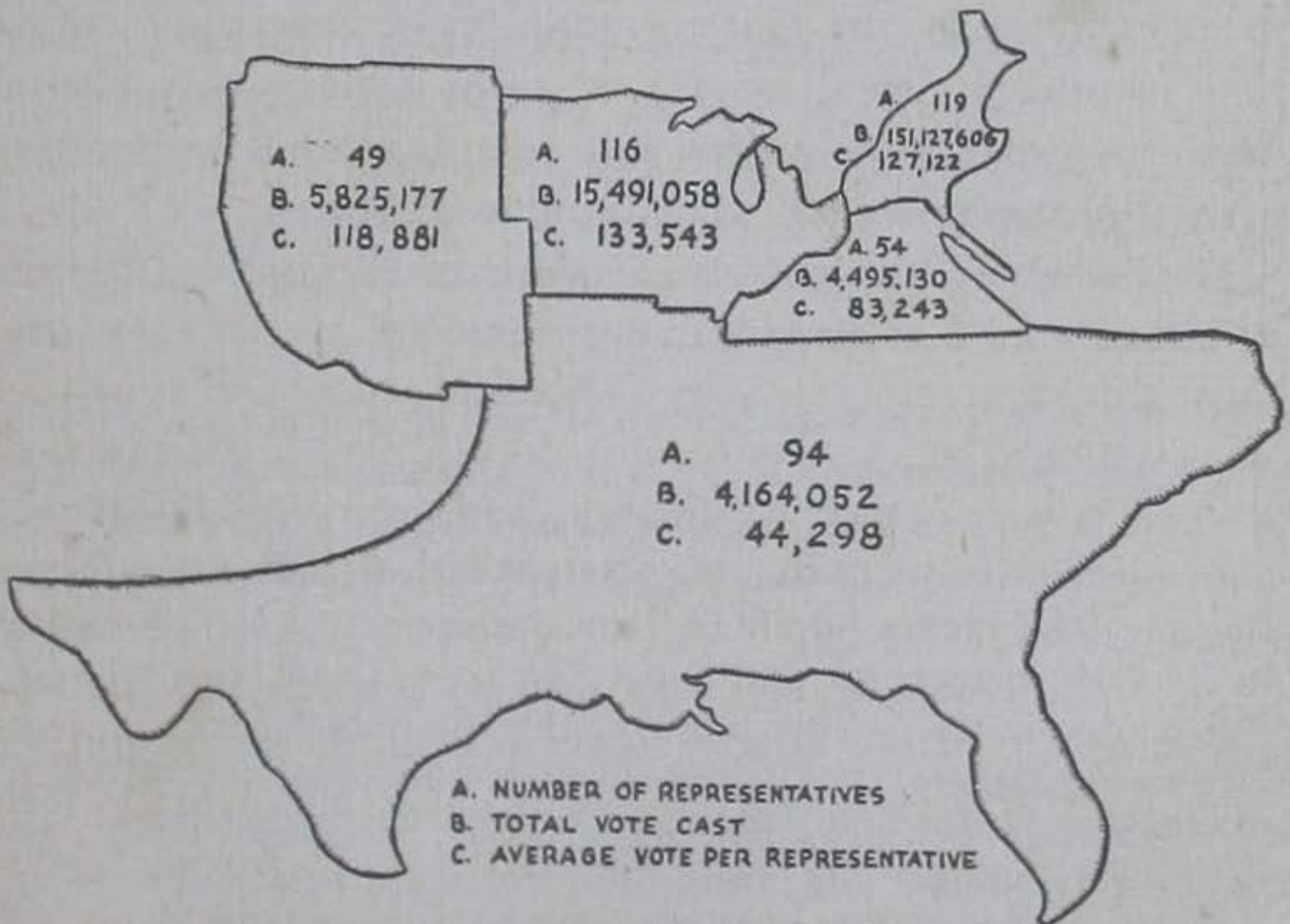
In the late election the composition of the Senate was determined in an extraordinary way: In Mississippi 172,000 voters have the same power in the Senate as 6,000,000 voters in New York. In Delaware 125,000 voters balance 4,000,000 in Illinois, and the same figures apply to Vermont and Pennsylvania. Massachusetts and New Jersey each have about 2,000,000 voters and are balanced by 100,000 voters in Wyoming and 54,000 voters in Nevada. In fact, 28,000,000 voters in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, California, Indiana, and Michigan will have any wishes that they may care to express on the peace treaty in the Senate absolutely balanced by 1,250,000 voters in Mississippi, South Carolina, Wyoming, Nevada, Delaware, Vermont, Rhode Island, Arizona, and New Mexico. The Middle Atlantic states with 12,000,000 votes sent 6 members to the Senate, while the Southern former slave states with 4,500,000 voters sent 20 Senators.

To this extraordinary situation there is neither rhyme nor reason. It is a survival of eighteenth-century American Tory hatred and fear of democracy, surviving as a fetish, like the German particularism, the abolishment of which was Hitler's one gift to civilization. In certain small states monopoly and industry can by this rotten-borough system turn the state into a medieval fief and usurp the functions of the state in education and road-building. The scandal of our silver policy rests on the composition of the Senate. In the main this situation serves neither democracy nor industry, but makes government a matter of chance rather than one of majority rule, with some analogies to the suspensory veto of the British House of Lords in the case of senatorial "courtesy." By national tabu, the situation in the Senate must not be discussed; it includes "States Rights" and local government—two contradictory terms. Of course it all adds up to one result: the frustration of popular rule.

This lack of democratic methods not only gives the South four times the political power of the Middle West, but also gives it control of some of the most powerful committees in the Senate.

Naturally, other and different discrepancies based on different reasons appear in the election of Representatives, as the following table and map show:

<i>Section</i>	<i>Votes Cast</i>	<i>Repre- sentatives Elected</i>	<i>Votes per Repre- sentative</i>
South.....	4,164,052	94	44,298
Border states.....	4,495,130	54	83,243
Far West.....	5,825,177	49	118,881
Middle West.....	15,491,058	116	133,543
New England.....	3,531,014	27	130,778
Middle states.....	11,596,592	92	126,049
Total.....	45,103,023	432	104,405



Why is it that 44,000 voters in the former slave states have power equal to 134,000 in the Middle West or 140,000

in the Middle Atlantic states? The first is the part of the United States which, as the President has said, constitutes our major economic problem in its poverty, illiteracy, and disease. It is the national slum area of our country. But its political power is distorted because of the Negro problem. The race problem has been deliberately intermixed with state particularism to thwart democracy. The former slave states, with their illiteracy, sickness, poverty, and crime, not only among the children of freedmen but too largely among the whites, have made it impossible since the Civil War to get an honest and intelligent expression of public opinion from this part of the nation. Consequently a block of 134 electoral votes is quadrennially delivered to one party, in defiance of law and justice.

Not only that, but the democratic process in the whole nation is thus frustrated and crippled. Alone and among modern countries the United States has set up in the twentieth century a legal system of caste among its citizens. This body of law interferes with marriage and the family, with education, health, work, and wealth.

For instance, a report made to the city by Negroes of Atlanta shows this discrimination today:

Of the 70,894 Atlanta children of school age 26,528 are Negroes; 44,456 are whites. There is one school for every 855 white children but one school for every 2,040 Negro children. We invest in school land and buildings \$2,156 for each white pupil but \$887 for each Negro pupil. In 1942, we expended for education \$108.70 for each white pupil but \$37.80 for each Negro pupil. The double session is the black market of public education for Negroes in Atlanta. The white child goes to school 6½ hours a day from nine a.m. until three-thirty p.m. The Negro child goes to school 3½ hours a day from nine a.m. until twelve-thirty p.m. or twelve-thirty p.m. until four p.m. The Negro pupil thus loses at least 2,700 class-hours during the first six years of his elementary school education.

The results are unsupervised leisure hours; ineffective compulsory education laws; irregular attendance, retardation, delinquency; reduced efficiency of overburdened teachers. The Negro pupil lacks: teachers; the teachers have an average of forty pupils in each class compared with twenty in white classes; library facilities, an average of 1.4 books per pupil compared with 6.5 for whites; vocational training facilities; only a few ill-equipped shops at Booker T. Washington High School; kindergarten, no Negro school has one; clerical help, no Negro elementary school has any clerical help.<sup>3</sup>

Such discrimination turns 13,000,000 Americans into second-class citizens, with rights which the rest of the nation need respect only in partial and limited degree. Nothing like this has happened among other civilized peoples except in colonies and in quasi-colonies like the Union of South Africa.

The Negro problem forces the United States to abdicate its natural leadership of democracy in the world and to acquiesce in a domination of organized wealth which exceeds anything elsewhere in the world. It gives rein and legal recognition to race hate, which the Nazis copied in their campaign against the Jews, establishing it on American lines of caste conditions, disfranchisement, mob murder, ridicule, and public disparagement.

The methods of carrying through this discrimination against Negroes are extraordinary. For instance, in the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice passengers arriving on aircraft are to be labeled according to "race," and race is determined by the stock from which aliens spring and the language they speak, and to some degree by nationality. But "Negroes" apparently can belong to no nation: "Cuban," for instance, refers to the Cuban people "but not to Cubans who are Negroes"; "West Indian" refers to the people of

<sup>3</sup> "A Report of Public School Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia," The Atlanta Urban League, 1944.

the West Indies "except Cubans or Negroes"; "Spanish American" refers to people of Central and South America and of Spanish descent; but "Negro" refers to the "black African whether from Cuba, the West Indies, North or South America, Europe or Africa," and moreover "any alien with admixture of blood of the African (black) should be classified under this heading" ["Negro"].<sup>4</sup>

The awareness of Negroes of their second-rate citizenship can no longer be questioned. There was a time when a number of Negro voices, timid or afraid of personal repression and mob violence, asserted their general agreement with present policies in the United States. This is no longer true, as the recent book *What the Negro Wants*<sup>5</sup> proves. The book had an extraordinary birth. It was asked for by the director of the University of North Carolina Press. When a well-known Negro scholar secured manuscripts representing all shades of Negro opinion, the director of the press was so disturbed and angered by the evident and clear statement of Negroes as to their wishes that he refused to publish the book. When threatened by a lawsuit, he finally published the book, but inserted without the editor's consent a "Publisher's Preface" which was practically a repudiation of everything the authors said.

This man represents a singularly large and dangerous section of American public opinion, not only in the South but throughout the country, which is forced to yield even the dogma of "race inferiority" but still clings to subordination. In the South, according to a survey made by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver, less than one-fifth of the population would give Negro workers an even chance at jobs; and throughout the nation

<sup>4</sup> United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Form 1-466 (see instructions on back).

<sup>5</sup> *What the Negro Wants*, ed. by R. W. Logan, University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

only 42 per cent. Three-fourths of the Southerners would not work beside the Negro at the same job, and throughout the nation only 43 per cent would be willing that a Negro should get a better job than a white man, even though he were better qualified.

The young Negro attitude as voiced by the All Southern Youth Conference is clear, calm and logical:

We stand prepared to play our rightful part in making available to all Americans the fruits of industry, the benefits of enormous resources, and the application of the democratic tradition—with which blessings our country is so richly endowed.

In this spirit, Negro youth are called to counsel and to action! Negro youth are asked to turn their eyes to an America which can afford:

1. The unrestricted right of franchise;
2. The security of jobs with adequate pay and opportunity for advancement;
3. Equal opportunities for our veterans and service men and women;
4. An education improved in quality and available to all;
5. Recreational, health and housing facilities corresponding to our community needs;
6. The strict and impartial enforcement of constitutional liberties;
7. A steadily advancing level of culture.<sup>6</sup>

The extent to which the American state is controlled by organized wealth cannot be definitely stated, because scientific study in this direction has been successfully hindered or carelessly neglected; but we do know certain facts. We know that international cartels have kept their organization and their profits even in time of war and across the lines of warring nations. This has been shown in the case of the dye trust and that of synthetic rubber, and in other patented processes. We know that during the First World War and during this war there have been made immense

<sup>6</sup> Manifesto, October, 1944, Birmingham, Ala.

unearned fortunes in capital and accumulated incomes of financial and industrial combinations. The People's Lobby reports

unearned fortunes in capital and accumulated incomes of industrial and financial combinations would pay at least a sixth of the national debt. . . . The result of concentration of war orders in a few great corporations has been to give 16 non-financial enterprises, 50 per cent more assets than all the corporations the Government owns. The assets of these 16 concerns increased in the four war years from 1939 to 1943 by \$5,239,000,000—that is 20.2% or one-fifth. On December 31, 1940, the total assets of the 403 corporations having over \$100,000,000 assets, were \$153,711,500,000, an increase in one year of \$9,506,700,000, or 6.6%. The assets of these corporations amounted to 48%—nearly half of the total assets of the 413,716 corporations reporting. In 1940 these 403 corporations had surplus reserves and surplus and undivided profits of \$23,400,200,000. Their net profit was \$2,823,500,000 and some of them have doubled their net profit, above taxes, in the war years since 1940.<sup>7</sup>

The extraordinary profits rolled up today by department stores, meat-packing companies, and such firms as the American Tobacco Company do not mean necessarily the addition of actual wealth to the nation. They mean the increased legal rights of certain persons to take from the current income of the nation after the war large percentages of consumable goods and services which consequently cannot be distributed among laborers or go to the common funds of the nation, states, and cities—unless the tax on such profits is increased rather than lowered, as present demands ask.

All the facts and all the implications of figures like these are not sufficient for scientific conclusions; but they certainly indicate that wealth today is centered in the hands of certain powerful corporations, not according to the labor that has been expended, nor the actual capital invested, nor

<sup>7</sup> Published newspaper reports, October, 1944.

the public service rendered, but rather by chance, power, and intrigue; and that the distribution of this wealth is determined by custom or monarchical or oligarchical decision and not by democratic methods. Nor is public welfare necessarily the object and the method of its expenditure. These conclusions are not the ranting of revolutionists or the envious gossip of persons of small ability. They are the clear conclusions of reasonable men who scan the facts and who ask for more and more scientifically gathered facts in order to be surer of their conclusions.

It is the concentrated power of wealth that is putting the United States side by side with Britain against all the leftward trends in democracy in Europe. Every country that has been conquered by Hitler and is now regaining its freedom is tending toward greater democracy in industry, greater government control of industry, and economic planning for the future. Against this democracy in Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece, and other countries, the organized political and military might of the United States and Britain is apparently being organized and exercised.

More important than political democracy is industrial democracy; that is, the voice which the actual worker, whether his work be manual or mental, has in the organization and the conduct of industry. The organization of industry is of first importance in the state and determines its political pattern. For a long time in American labor unions the Negro was practically disfranchised. Since the Civil War he has been gradually forcing himself into recognition. The Knights of Labor tried to include him; the AFL for many years usually excluded him, and in some of the large unions, continues to exclude him; the CIO in most unions has from the beginning sought to bring him into membership.

Increasingly in the annual convention of the AFL the discrimination against the Negro is debated. The Machin-

ists and the Boilermakers defend their discriminatory tactics and cling to them. The railway unions are silent, although they exclude the Negro by positive legislation; but most disgusting is the case of unions—like that of the Fireman's Union recently adjudicated before the Supreme Court, which had been given by law the sole right to represent Negro labor in negotiation with employers, and yet excludes Negroes from membership and is using its power to eliminate him entirely from the vocation.

It only increases the paradox when we remember that organized labor in the United States and Europe has seldom actively opposed imperialism or championed democracy among colonial peoples, even when this slave labor was in direct competition with their own. The Social-Democratic party of prewar Germany once openly declared that the wages and working-conditions which it asked for white labor did not include any such demand for yellow labor.

One writer says of colonial labor:

If it is said that the raw materials which these lands contain should be produced for the benefit of "all humanity," why is it that the people of these colonial lands are not considered? Are they not a part of "all humanity"? The production of raw materials in their lands, the working and developing of these raw materials cannot be done for their benefit, if they are held in subjection. And also the production, working and developing of the raw materials in the lands of the subjugated peoples is not done for the benefit of the majority of the people in the lands of the possessing powers. Ask the people of the "depression areas" of England, Scotland and Wales, and the miners of England, Scotland and Wales how much their well-being is considered. And they are inhabitants of Great Britain which owns as colonies, or controls as semi-colonies, almost one third of the world.<sup>8</sup>

The so-called democracies, Britain, France, and the United States, have become lands where back of a façade of

<sup>8</sup> Anna Graves, *op. cit.*

political "freedom" dictatorship helped by imperialism and under the guise of economic anarchy has had a chance to develop to such a colossal degree that it has practically committed suicide. The only remedy for this which is for a moment listened to in the United States is a continuance of this "freedom for industrial enterprise" and "rugged individualism," remedied of its worst excesses and failures by various types of state intervention. Such intervention however must not, to any great extent, interfere with the "freedom" of private profit-making. Britain under war pressure is growing less dogmatic. Pushed by her suffering, she realizes that whenever and however peace comes, the control of industry by the state is going to increase and more and more largely yield to democratic processes.

So long as the colonial system persists and expands, theories of race inferiority will help to continue it. Right here lies the great danger of the future. One of the vast paradoxes of human nature is that no matter how degraded people become, it is impossible to keep them down on a large scale and forever. Rebellion will certainly ensue. If this is true of Europe, it is just as true and just as significant for Asia and Africa. The continents which have withstood the European exploitation of the nineteenth century are for that very reason not going to remain quiescent under a new order—unless that new order has a distinct place for them which allows their progress, development, and self-determination.

There is no reason to believe that the domination of Europe over Asia and Africa would have had any greater chance for ultimate success under the leadership of rationalized industrial Germany than it had under the freebooting, slave-trading Crown-colony economic anarchy of the British Empire. At any rate, the will to revolt on the part of the colored people is immeasurably greater today than yesterday, and the attempt of Britain or Neuropa abso-

lutely to dominate the world without fundamental change in methods and objectives is inconceivable. Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe" is a world figure in colonies as well as in empires:

Down all the caverns of Hell to their last gulf  
There is no shape more terrible than this—  
More tongued with cries against the world's blind greed—  
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—  
More packt with danger to the universe.

The present attitude of the United Nations is bound to invite paradox and failure. The new planned economic order in Europe cannot be smashed physically and will not die with German defeat. There is not enough physical power and certainly not enough reason in the attitude of the United States, combined with that of Britain, to accomplish this. If, on the other hand, the United States, seeing the movement of the stars in their courses, realizes that American industry has got to be rationalized and controlled, that profit-making must be made absolutely subordinate to the general will, then it can join with the new order in any economy carried on for the benefit of all the people.

If the United States really wishes to seize leadership in the present world, it will attempt to make the beneficiaries of the new economic order not simply a group, a race, or any form of oligarchy but, taking advantage of its own wealth and intelligence, will try to put democracy in control of the new economy. This will call for vital, gigantic effort; real education for the broadest intelligence and for evoking talent and genius on a scale never before attempted in the world, and putting to shame our present educational camouflage. With that program the sympathy and interest of the majority of the people of the world, particularly of the emerging darker peoples, will make the triumph of

American industrial democracy over the oligarchical technocracy of Neuropa inevitable.

Democracy has failed because so many fear it. They believe that wealth and happiness are so limited that a world full of intelligent, healthy, and free people is impossible, if not undesirable. So the world stews in blood, hunger, and shame. The fear is false, yet naught can face it but Faith. Once two great Germans appealed to this faith in brotherhood. With high art in word and melody, they called all men to the magic of life; they summoned them, fire-drunk and reeling through stars of God into the sanctuary of Joy, daughter of Elysium:

*Alle menschen—  
Seid umschlungen, Millionen!*



## CHAPTER V

### *PEACE AND COLONIES*

IS PEACE POSSIBLE BY FORCE IN THE HANDS OF THE WORLD'S GREAT NATIONS SO LONG AS THESE NATIONS, IN THE MAIN, FOLLOW THE PLAN OF IMPERIAL CONTROL OF COLONIAL PEOPLES AND OF OTHERS WHO HAVE NO EFFECTIVE VOICE IN GOVERNMENT?

We are seeking desperately to save modern civilization from the repetition of two disastrous and world-wide wars. We hope to do this by a union of nations who will collectively organize to stop aggressive action on the part of other nations with selfish programs or programs incompatible with reasonable human progress. For a time it was argued that the main protagonists of the new order thus united were nations which professed and followed the democratic method of government, and that they were fighting against two or three dictatorships where the power of great nations had been concentrated in the hands of a few leaders backed by organized power and determined to dominate the world.

Unfortunately this theoretical pattern, as the last chapter has shown, is not altogether true to fact. As we have pointed out, in the first place the united free nations own colonies with some 750,000,000 inhabitants and occupy perhaps one-third the area of the earth where there is at present no definite plan of spreading democracy and lifting the standards of life out of poverty, ignorance, and sickness. In the next place there are masses of people living within the

free nations, and others in nations which are not really free, whose government and social status are dominated by current demands for individual profit in organized industry and commerce.

There is consequently not only the danger of eventual colonial revolt, of class struggle and minority discontent, but the continual danger of that rivalry for the distribution of profit among dominant nations which has already caused two world wars in our time, as well as being a partial cause of endless wars in the past, and a temptation to murder, destruction, and disorder in the future.

The conference at Bretton Woods was called to explore the economic reorganization of the world after the Second World War. It gave its chief attention to the stabilization of currencies and loans for reconstruction; but it gave no attention at all to colonies and investments in colonial cheap labor and raw materials. Yet here, more than elsewhere, lurk the main causes of modern war.

It is impossible, of course, to determine with accuracy the causes of particular wars. Just because war is not rational, there are many threads interwoven to make the fabric of dissension, organized murder, and destruction. But back of the history of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth, and even the seventeenth, we can see how national defense and group self-expression gradually became transformed as the Industrial Revolution was ushered in by the new capitalism and the annexation of territory came more and more to be confined to and aimed at the annexation of certain kinds of territory; that is, of territory inhabited by "lesser" peoples, of territory rich in the possibilities of exploitation.

In the Seven Years' War, which became a world war, some of these new patterns were evident; and in the continuous war between Europe and Asia which resulted in the subjugation of India, the new colonialism was born. In

Africa, from the investment imperialism which subdued Egypt and North Africa there was developed the missionary imperialism of the Congo Free State and the Congress of Berlin. Fire and blood swept over Africa in continuous flood from the beginning of the nineteenth century until well into the twentieth. There was increased effort, however, to keep the wars against the natives of Asia and Africa confined to limits where they would not set the peoples of Europe aflame in their relations to each other.

Throughout the Napoleonic Wars this danger was faced and partially averted. It was present in the holocaust of Haiti. It appeared in the War of 1812, it smoldered in the troubles of the Near East. It came near setting fire to the world in the Boer War and in the incidents of Khartum and Fashoda. But on the whole, European diplomacy succeeded until 1914 in keeping most European nations from each other's throats in armed rivalry for the proceeds of investment in Africa and Asia. Then it failed, and the world fell.

As Alvin Johnson says in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*:

In the second half of the nineteenth century the development of high capitalism with its dependence on foreign supplies of raw materials and on foreign markets gave new value, in the eyes of statesmen, to colonial dominion. Colonies could be handled as closed trading areas, if necessary. Hence a new imperialism, which resulted in the swift partition of Africa, the extension of British and French dominion in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, extensive schemes for the partition of China and a disposition on the part of the stronger powers to wrest colonial dominions from the weaker ones. Among the results of this imperialistic movement were the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese War, the Boer War and the Spanish American War. The Fashoda incident came near involving France and England in war, as the Morocco dispute came near involving Germany in war with England and France.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XV, p. 335.

Today as we try in anticipation to rebuild the world, the propositions of Dumbarton Oaks center their efforts upon stopping war by force and at the same time leaving untouched, save by vague implication, the causes of war, especially those causes which lurk in rivalry for power and prestige, race dominance, and income arising from the ownership of men, land, and materials. So long as colonial imperialism exists there can be neither peace on earth nor goodwill toward men.

If we confine ourselves to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when colonial imperialism became a dominant world force, we have the following wars which seem to have been mainly wars between imperial powers for colonies; wars for "spheres of influence"; wars against countries or groups to reduce them to colonial status and to annex their territory and labor; wars against subordinate and unintegrated groups at home, such as the American Indians in the United States; revolts in the colonies and strife between elements and parties in colonies and quasi-colonies caused by outside pressure. Many persons naturally will dissent from cataloguing several of these wars as colonial or caused by the strife for colonies. Strict interpretation might reduce the list, but with the greatest logical reduction we nevertheless have a formidable array of wars which took place in an era dominated largely by organized pacifism but, as the event proved, pacifism designed "for white people only."

## WARS FROM 1792 TO 1939

<i>Date</i>	<i>Countries Involved</i>	
1792-1815	War in Europe, America, and Africa .....	A *
1810-22	Spain <i>vs.</i> South America .....	E
1816-18	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	C
1817-18	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians .....	D

\* A. Rivalry for colonies. B. Spheres of influence. C. Colonial conquest. D. Internal-group conquest. E. Colonial revolt. F. Strife within colonies.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Countries Involved</i>	
1821-22	France <i>vs.</i> Haiti.....	E
1824-25	Britain <i>vs.</i> Burma.....	C
1832-33	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1832-33	Turkey <i>vs.</i> Egypt.....	E
1835-42	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1836	Mexico <i>vs.</i> Texas.....	C
1839-42	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	C
1840-42	Britain <i>vs.</i> China.....	B
1844	France <i>vs.</i> Morocco.....	C
1844-49	Santo Domingo <i>vs.</i> Haiti.....	F
1845-46	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	C
1846-48	United States <i>vs.</i> Mexico.....	C
1848-49	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	C
1849-61	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1850-64	Revolt in China.....	F
1851	Spain <i>vs.</i> Cuba.....	E
1851-64	War between Russians and Circassians.....	E
1851-53	British <i>vs.</i> Kaffirs.....	E
1851-56	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1852-53	Turkey <i>vs.</i> Montenegro.....	E
1855-57	United States filibuster in Central America.....	C
1855-58	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1856-57	Britain <i>vs.</i> Persia.....	B
1856-60	Britain and France <i>vs.</i> China.....	B
1857-58	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	C
1859-60	Spain <i>vs.</i> Morocco.....	C
1862	French <i>vs.</i> Annam and CochinChina.....	C
1862-63	United States <i>vs.</i> Sioux Indians.....	D
1862-67	France <i>vs.</i> Mexico.....	B
1862-90	United States <i>vs.</i> American Indians.....	D
1863-69	United States <i>vs.</i> Cheyenne Indians.....	D
1865-70	Argentina and Brazil <i>vs.</i> Paraguay.....	F
1866	Turkey <i>vs.</i> Crete.....	E
1867-68	Britain <i>vs.</i> Abyssinia.....	B
1868-78	Spain <i>vs.</i> Cuba.....	E
1871	United States and France <i>vs.</i> Korea.....	B
1872-73	United States <i>vs.</i> Modoc Indians.....	D
1873-74	Britain <i>vs.</i> Ashanti.....	C
1875	Turkey <i>vs.</i> Bosnia, etc.....	C
1876	American Indians <i>vs.</i> the United States.....	D
1877	Nez Percé Indians <i>vs.</i> the United States.....	D

<i>Date</i>	<i>Countries Involved</i>	
1878-81	Britain <i>vs.</i> Afghans.....	C
1879	Britain <i>vs.</i> Zulus.....	E
1880-81	Britain <i>vs.</i> Boers.....	E
1881	France <i>vs.</i> Tunis.....	C
1882	Britain <i>vs.</i> Egypt.....	C
1882-86	United States <i>vs.</i> Apache Indians.....	D
1883	Revolt in Crete.....	E
1883-85	Revolt in Sudan.....	E
1883-95	France <i>vs.</i> Madagascar.....	C
1884	Revolt in Egypt.....	E
1884-85	France <i>vs.</i> Indo-China.....	C
1885	Russia <i>vs.</i> Afghans.....	B
1887-95	Italy <i>vs.</i> Abyssinia.....	B
1889	Revolt in Hawaii.....	E
1889-93	Germany <i>vs.</i> Southwest Africa.....	C
1890-91	United States <i>vs.</i> Sioux Indians.....	D
1890	Revolt in Syria.....	E
1890	War in Central America.....	F
1890-92	France <i>vs.</i> Dahomey.....	C
1891	Revolt in India.....	E
1892	Revolt in Morocco.....	E
1893	Revolution in Hawaii.....	F
1893	France <i>vs.</i> Siam.....	C
1893-94	Britain <i>vs.</i> Matabele.....	E
1894	Portugal <i>vs.</i> Kaffirs.....	E
1894-95	Japan <i>vs.</i> China.....	B
1895	Jameson Raid.....	C
1895-96	Armenian Massacres.....	D
1896	Revolt in the Philippines.....	E
1896	Matabele Revolt.....	E
1896-97	Turkish-Greek War and revolt in Crete.....	E
1897	Britain <i>vs.</i> Nigeria.....	E
1897	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	E
1898	Britain <i>vs.</i> Sudan.....	E
1898	Revolt in Cuba.....	E
1898	Spanish-American War.....	C
1899-1901	Filipino Insurrection.....	E
1899-1902	Britain <i>vs.</i> Boers.....	C
1900	Boxer Revolt in China.....	F
1902	Britain <i>vs.</i> Revolts in Africa.....	E
1903	Revolt in Panama.....	E

<i>Date</i>	<i>Countries Involved</i>	
1904	Britain <i>vs.</i> Tibet.....	B
1904	Revolt of Herreros.....	E
1904-05	Russo-Japanese War.....	A
1906	Revolt in the Philippines.....	E
1906	Dutch <i>vs.</i> Malays.....	C
1907	Japan <i>vs.</i> Korea.....	C
1907	Revolt in Morocco.....	E
1907-09	Revolt in Persia.....	F
1908	Italy <i>vs.</i> Abyssinia.....	C
1908	Civil War in Morocco.....	F
1908	Revolt in Portuguese Guinea.....	E
1908-12	Revolt in Algeria and Morocco.....	E
1911-12	Italy <i>vs.</i> Turkey.....	A
1912	Balkan War.....	A
1912	Revolt in Santo Domingo.....	F
1914-16	United States <i>vs.</i> Mexico.....	B
1914-18	First World War.....	A
1918-20	Intervention in Russia.....	A
1919	Revolt in Korea.....	E
1919	Revolt in Egypt.....	E
1919	Massacre in India.....	D
1921	Revolt in Persia.....	F
1921	Russia <i>vs.</i> Bessarabia.....	E
1921-22	Turkey <i>vs.</i> Greece.....	D
1921-26	Revolt in Morocco.....	E
1922	Civil conflict in India.....	F
1925-26	Revolt in Syria.....	E
1927-28	United States <i>vs.</i> Nicaragua.....	B
1928-29	Revolt in Morocco.....	E
1929	Britain <i>vs.</i> Arabs.....	B
1929	Revolt in Persia.....	F
1929	Britain <i>vs.</i> India.....	E
1929	Revolt in Mexico.....	F
1930	Rebellions in South America.....	F
1931	Rebellion in Panama.....	F
1931	Revolts in South America.....	F
1932	Japan <i>vs.</i> China.....	B
1932	Revolution in Chile.....	F
1932	Revolt in Cuba.....	E
1934	Revolt in Spain.....	D
1934	Italy <i>vs.</i> Ethiopia.....	C

<i>Date</i>	<i>Countries Involved</i>	
1935	Bolivia <i>vs.</i> Paraguay . . . . .	F
1936	Rebellion in Morocco . . . . .	E
1936-39	Civil War in Spain . . . . .	D
1937	Revolt in China . . . . .	E
1937	Japan <i>vs.</i> China . . . . .	A
1939	Second World War . . . . .	A

Nationalistic motives are mingled with efforts at colonial imperialism. The motive of investment for private profit was preceded by vast treasure hunts, slave-trading, and labor-kidnapping; suppression of labor revolt in colonies among slaves and indentured servants; pressure for markets; clearing of territory of groups hostile to agriculture and trade—all these incentives to war culminated in the First World War.

The First World War had among its causes some nationalistic urges, but they alone were not potent enough to set the world aflame. This needed the culminating rivalry of great world states, determined to settle once for all dominion over the world's colonial wealth and power. Britain and France had, by pact and understanding, divided the best of Africa, including mortgages on Portuguese and Belgian colonies. Their colonial and commercial strength in Asia was likely to grow. Germany was convinced that her possessions in Africa were far too restricted, in view of her growing technique in manufacture and her expanding capital and commerce. Japan, deeply resentful of her failure to keep close alliance with Britain and full partnership with Europe in Asia, was already planning supremacy over the yellow race and mastery of Asia.

This war, terrible as it was, left the colonial question with only token settlement. Its peace terms sought disarmament among rivals for world power, sought to cripple one rival permanently and put on Germany full blame for making war. It stripped Germany of colonies, and with the pre-

tense of handing these and eventually all colonies over to international and philanthropic control, established a Mandates Commission without power. Here and not in the question of reparations lay the tragedy of Versailles.

Thus there remained, almost untouched, the same temptations to war among the great empires that had existed in 1914. Feeling herself cheated in this settlement because the explicit promises of the Treaty of London were not fulfilled, Italy, first in the Balkans and then in Africa, reopened the war, which after futile negotiation and appeasement became the Second World War in 1939.

When we come finally to the consideration of the present world-wide war, we must remember that one of its causes was our failure to implement the magnificent promise of the Mandates Commission; we failed to come to grips with the colonial problem, and the Second World War found the colonial question unsettled and was precipitated by the determination of Italy to enter upon an enlarged imperial career in Africa.

In like manner Japan, still smarting under European race prejudice and open contempt, hastened war by attacking and dismembering China as a beginning of her determination to supplant Europe and the United States as the colonial exploiter of Asia.

Thus in the Second World War there arose not simply the rivalry of European powers for imperial domination, but above and beyond this there looms the shadow of world conflict based on race and color, on the new determination of Japan to exploit Asia for herself, since Europe and the United States had excluded her from partnership. A new Asiatic dream of imperialism has arisen, and also a new determination on the part of Europe never to surrender without world-wide struggle the advantages of investment in Asiatic cheap labor, in abundant Asiatic raw materials, and in the prestige of world-wide technical leadership based

on these advantages. The long fight between Japan and China, acquiesced in and even encouraged by Europe so long as the result might leave Asia open to European control, now suddenly takes on new complexion and new meaning, when Japan's real aim is clear and feasible. Thus it is evident that imperialism is a twofold cause of war: It encourages war within the colonies themselves and between the powers which possess them.

Within colonies, absolute conquest being costly if not impossible, the empire following age-old wisdom divides to conquer. If there are several races, cultures, and religious faiths in the colony, the empire incites the people of one race against those of another; those of one religion against those of another—for example, the Moslems against the Hindus in India; Arabs and Jews against each other in Palestine; and even, in Uganda, the Catholic Christian converts against the Protestant Christian converts. If there are already struggles between divided groups in the territory conquered, the empire increases the tendency to struggle and incites the differing groups to violence; and if there are no divisions, the colonial power deliberately creates them, for example, the divisions between the Arabs of Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan.

This does not mean that Britain or France or Japan in all cases plan such maneuvers, officially or openly. It does mean that the commercial and investment agencies behind imperial government openly demand development for profits; their local agents, however, know their real aims, and these agents, who are not always or usually the highest type of civilized man, are in power, or in control of those who are. If in the end the colony is kept at work, made to pay interest, and turns out materials at low cost, few persons at home are going to ask how this was accomplished; and the men who bring this to pass, no matter at what cost or by what disreputable means, stand to receive wealth

and honor. Under this veil, cheating, lying, murder, and rape, force, deception, bribery, and destruction, become methods of achieving imperial power, with few questions asked.

But the forces and the peoples at home do not and cannot escape the moral pollution of such methods in dark Africa, heathen Asia, and the forgotten South Seas. Colonialism divides and confuses many groups of ardent social reformers. Because of colonialism, Socialists have long been unable to be true to their principles. The questions of Egypt and India, Kenya and Palestine, made it impossible for Ramsey MacDonald, Lord Olivier, Sidney Webb and many others to follow out their Socialist principles. Pacifists have been frustrated because of their sympathy with imperial aims. At the time when the peace movement was at its zenith and when every effort was being made to keep Europe from fighting Europeans, pacifists were willing to ignore the fact that the peace of Europe was maintained only by a series of colonial wars which lasted almost continuously from the last half of the nineteenth century to the present, and subdued most of the peoples of the world to partial or complete subserviency to imperial powers.

I remember once attending a meeting at the Hotel Astor of a pacifist organization, presided over by Andrew Carnegie. In the midst of a debate on world peace, the then current strife in the Balkans was mentioned. Mr. Carnegie brushed it aside. He said we were talking about peace among the great nations and not about the hordes of the Balkans. Many of those who call themselves pacifists and who are also citizens of countries possessing colonies, semi-colonies, or concessions resent criticism of governments and resent criticism of the "protection" by their governments of investments in these regions, and are irritated at any suggestion that these colonies, semicolonies, or concessions should be surrendered.

At a meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1931, called especially to discuss the colonial question, the British delegates ruled out all discussion on India because it was a "dependency" and not a colony! A British pacifist Quaker wrote to *Peace News* that the Japanese had been guilty of seizure in China, but that the concessions in Shanghai and other Chinese ports had not been seized, but bought, and were free to all peoples. As Anna Graves writes:

It is the system of colonialism which is responsible for the blindness of the workers in the possessing countries. The sentiment of pride in possessing others is so instilled into them by the Government through propaganda in the schools and the press, that they think of "these others" as quite "different" from themselves—as not worthy of the rights and the well-being they are struggling to gain for themselves; and even if hardly more than slaves themselves, are proud of owning others. The Labor Party in England before the first World War voted for appalling expenditure on armaments, an expenditure which they knew very well would prevent sufficient expenditure on housing, on education, on health, et cetera, and the majority even voted for this extraordinary expenditure avowedly because they were afraid of losing India.<sup>2</sup>

When the Labor party came to partial power under MacDonald, it did less for the colonies than the Conservatives had done. They may be excused in part because they never commanded a majority in the House of Commons. Today they demand freedom for India, but their ministers in government stand by Churchill.

No matter how thoroughly and widely we may in the present war conquer Germany and Japan, we still have the welfare of over 150,000,000 human beings in these countries to face and to satisfy with a program adapted to the best interests of Germans and Japanese as well as other

<sup>2</sup> Anna Graves, *op. cit.*

normal human beings. Any refusal to face this problem, to evade the problem of colonies, to forget injustice to minorities, to deny the rising struggle between economic classes, and above all to deal frankly and openly with the question of private profit and government control in industry—this is to make impossible a solution of the problem of world peace.

But imperialism does not stop there; it not only promotes civil war, strife, and jealousy within the colony, but it is, as we have seen, a main cause of struggles between powers to possess colonies. Thus colonialism separates peoples and workers and is perhaps the greatest proof of Tolstoy's dictum: "I say that there is an absolute good and absolute bad; for all that unites humanity is good and beautiful; and all that separates humanity is absolutely bad and ugly."<sup>3</sup> Its essential ugliness is shown in the present war.

In the First World War, each nation frantically gathered all its people for defense—nationals, colonials, white, brown and black; in this war, we are letting whites kill whites by the latest and best weapons rather than let our victory depend on colored folk, or risk their learning either our techniques or their common humanity.

Stephen Crane, who knew imperialist wars, cried, in "War Is Kind":

Is this God?  
Where, then, is hell?  
Show me some bastard mushroom  
Sprung from a pollution of blood.  
It is better.

It does not, therefore, seem possible or even probable that a union of nations to keep the world's peace is going

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Anna Graves, *op. cit.*

to succeed so long as these nations are divided in interest over the control and possession of colonies. If colonial imperialism has caused wars for a century and a half, it can be depended upon to remain as a continual cause of other wars in the century to come.

## CHAPTER VI

### *THE RIDDLE OF RUSSIA*

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE UNION BETWEEN RUSSIA ON THE ONE HAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE OTHER? HOW FAR AFTER THE WAR ARE THESE TWO ELEMENTS SO LATELY IN VIOLENT OPPOSITION GOING TO REMAIN UNITED FOR THE ADVANCE OF CIVILIZATION, ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF PROPOSED CONTINUED DISFRANCHISEMENT AND SUPPRESSION OF HALF THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH?

The paradox of the present war is Russia. While on the one hand Russian Communism as organized under Stalin is helping to rescue the world from the greatest disaster that has ever threatened civilization, on the other hand the partners of Russia in this crusade—Britain, the United States, and China—are opposing and denouncing Communism. This is a dangerous situation, not only ideologically but practically.

Desperate effort is being made by thinkers of our day to explain and reconcile this paradox. In the United States many persons have firmly convinced themselves that Russian Communism is going capitalist; that the already established differences of income level and rewards for quality of work rather than quantity will eventually be supplemented by increased private property and even to some extent by private ownership of capital; that Russia will eventually join in the subjugation of Japan; and that she will

continue to refuse to have direct connection with the Communists of China.

Movements which seem to bolster this line of thinking are the effort of Russia to share in the oil of Iran and her official abolition of the Comintern, together with the adoption of a new national hymn, which does not start with the revolutionary line "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!" The fight of the United Nations against left-wing tendencies in the Balkans, in Italy, in Belgium, and in France shows in another way this line of thought; the upholding of Franco in Spain by Britain and the United States is further proof.

In addition to all this and even more significant, Russia needs capital from Western Europe and the United States. She has been getting large amounts during the present war, she is going to need larger amounts and long-time credits after the war. What bargain will the West drive in furnishing this capital, and how far and how completely will Russia be able to withstand its demands?

On the other hand, there is no doubt that a large section of the world's thinking and working peoples see in Russia the greatest hope of the future. They regard Russia as the central country to be considered in this reorganization of the world; and this not mainly because Russia has followed Marxian Communism or sought to control religious organization or preached the inevitability of the rise of the common man in modern times. For a century or more the Russian *mushik* was bracketed with the Negro slave and the Latin peasant as the most stupid and unhopeful of modern men. It was pointed out that the rule of the Czar and the aristocracy was absolutely necessary in a country so dismally ignorant and unprogressive as Russia.

Despite this, in a revolution which after a century of abortive attempts came to culmination in 1917, we have had an extraordinary uplifting of a whole nation; a nation has been taught to read and write, to organize industry, to

heal its sickness and suppress its crime; and above all, so to reorganize its industry and internal economy as to make a larger number of Russians comfortable and happy than ever before in their long history; a nation which had in 1913, 859 newspapers with a circulation of 2,700,000 had in 1939, 9,000 newspapers with a circulation of 38,000,000 copies. This is a phase of progress toward democracy of which most people do not think. Democracy is not simply the self-defense of the competent; it is the unloosing of the energies and the capabilities of the depressed. This is what the USSR is accomplishing in its own land. It has withstood the armed onslaught of Europe and America; it has beaten back Nazi Germany and is now co-operating with the United Nations.

The future of the USSR holds two possibilities: the first is that its admission to full partnership with the capital-exporting and technically efficient countries of Western Europe and the United States will make it a party with them in the exploitation not only of working classes in general but especially of working classes in colonial areas. This would bring in Russia as coexploiter and dominant power in Asia, and through Russia, the British Empire would be restored. The second alternative is that the Soviet Union, clinging tenaciously to its program of socialized wealth, will refuse to be beguiled or tempted by either England or America; will refuse to have its armed forces used for the restoration of the British Empire in Asia or for the establishment of a new American empire in the Pacific; will have no part in the exploitation of workers in any of the leading countries or of laboring classes in any colonial area; and after developing capital for its own industries will consent to export it only under conditions which will ensure the ends of social uplift and not those of individual wealth or national power politics.

The first hope is indicated by such strains as the praise of Lady Astor, a snobbish daughter of Virginia slavery, in the British Parliament, after years of doubt:

Communism in Russia has taught the people to read. . . . A people can't think or reach God until they learn to read. I don't dislike Russian communism. It has changed the European policy of keeping the people poor and ignorant—look at Spain and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

But this and Churchill's astute courting of Stalin merely show that the restoration of the British Empire, even to partial prewar power, is absolutely dependent upon Russia.

The USSR has already established a record which does not presage the use of its vast resources for restoring to Great Britain her lost colonies in Asia or for defending her possessions in Africa. The record of Soviet Russia in the matter of racial tolerance has been extraordinary. From a land noted for its fierce and brutal anti-Semitism and for other racial antagonisms and tensions, it has become today a community of two hundred, more or less, diverse groups of people, speaking different languages, with different heredity and to some extent clashing ideals, bound together in an extraordinary unity of effort and enthusiasm for its ideal. Its science and its system of education lead the world; and especially its attempted abolition of private profit points to the greatest revolution of modern times.

During the last century the world saw in Russia an autocratic and magnificent Czar surrounded by a rich, powerful, and extravagant aristocracy. In many respects this Russia was the social ideal of the beau monde and played its gorgeous part in Vienna, Paris, and London. Then came the Bolshevik Revolution. The Western world, almost with one accord, without waiting for legal sanction in all cases,

<sup>1</sup> Associated Press dispatch, October, 1944.

threw itself upon Russia, made alliance with every Russian aristocrat, pretender, scoundrel, and adventurer, and tried by sheer force to beat the Russian masses back into their place.

While the war for Western Europe ended in 1918, for Russia it continued through nearly ten years of upheaval and disaster. Nevertheless a new state was born, with a new idea of economic organization. The USSR can never forget the well-nigh universal campaign of slander and lying that accompanied its struggle from 1917, almost to the outbreak of the Second World War. After being compelled to fight practically with bare hands in the First World War, and being cheated with glib promises of reform which did not materialize, it was met by every sort of calumny; its people were represented as dying by famine and starvation; its women were pictured as a nation of prostitutes; its industry was shown to be inefficient and its workers stupid and lazy.

The Church Universal viewed Rasputin and his ilk with grave and detached tolerance. But when the Bolsheviki cleansed the cesspool of superstition and greed which underlay Christianity in Russia, and gave the Russian people, for the first time in history, real religious freedom—the right to be atheists, freethinkers, Methodists, or Catholics—then the Church in Western Europe and America shrieked itself black in the face against “godless Russia” and Lenin, “the Antichrist.”

Above all, Russia was condemned for murder—not only for the complete wiping out of the degenerate imperial family, but for purging a group of its own revolutionary officials; and one of the leaders in this pharisaical attack was the British, who in 1919 at Amritsar, India, killed 379 persons and wounded 1,200 others in order to keep India in subjection and avoid “being laughed at,” as General

Dyer explained. Even his mild "punishment" was condemned by a resolution in the House of Lords and £20,000 was raised for him by public subscription in honor of his heroic conduct at Jalianwala Bagh and his enforcement of the order to make Indians crawl on their bellies in crossing the square.

The United States, which was also a leader in anti-Russian propaganda, had lynched 3,047 Negroes in thirty-five years, and in 1917 was still lynching over 50 a year and refusing to take effective legal steps to stop this lawlessness.

Every line of argument was brought to bear to show that the Russian experiment was, in the words of Lathrop Stoddard, "a revolt against civilization." And finally, to complete the paradox, here is Russia today leading the forces of the world in an endeavor to save civilization.

Pushed hastily into altogether unexpected alliance with the capitalist countries of the West, after a generation of their attempts at force and vilification, Russia's full program so far as they are concerned has not been developed. The Soviet Union has not forgotten and could not forget the desperate efforts of France, England, and the United States to stem its revolution, force it back into czarism, and make it pay for the losses of their dispossessed capitalists, who had been for decades reaping enormous profit from exploitation of Russia. It must remember vividly that the present world-wide war could probably have been halted if England and France had made common cause with the USSR before Hitler invaded Poland. It found itself compelled to accept alliance with Hitler because alliance with the now United Nations was almost contemptuously denied it. Then because Hitler treacherously turned back to his original program of Eastern conquest and tried to unite the West against Russia, at the price of German industrial and imperial dominance, Soviet Russia finds itself in part-

nership with the extremist development of modern capitalism. Will it succumb to their doctrine?

There is absolutely nothing to compel it to do so. It does not even have to renounce its propaganda for Communism in order to win the world to its way of thinking. The Western world has had and still has today every opportunity to show mankind the advantages of privately owned capital, private profit, and "individual" enterprise. The result of their efforts to do so has had both success and disaster. There is still a chance for the capitalist nations to set their houses in order, and to show that neither Socialism nor its extreme, Communism, is necessary for human happiness and progress. If Great Britain and the United States can do this, they do not need to fear Russia, or Communism. All they need to fear is poverty, unemployment, ignorance, race hate, and the combination of these things, which has been modern imperialism.

On the other hand, in the restoration of the world if this war, like the First World War, is followed by widespread economic disaster, by starvation and disease, by continued ignorance and the attempt of certain races and peoples absolutely to dominate and condition others—then any attempt to fight Socialism, Communism, or other leftward movements will be absolutely without result, unless those movements also fail to bring happiness and contentment to mankind.

Seemingly today the peoples of Russia under Communism are more content and more united than any other mass of laborers. A study like the impartial survey of the Sidney Webbs says:

Will this new civilization, with its abandonment of the incentive of profit-making, its extinction of unemployment, its planned production for community consumption, and the consequent liquidation of the landlord and the capitalist, spread to other countries? Our own reply is: "Yes, it will." But how, when,

where, with what modifications, and whether through violent revolution or by peaceful penetration, or even by conscious imitation, are questions we cannot answer.<sup>2</sup>

The future may prove that this judgment and appearance are deceptive and that the Russian economic organization will not continue to make this great mass of people homogeneous in ideal, prosperous in work, and willing to sacrifice for their country and their economic system more than any other nation in the world is sacrificing today. In that case, again the world will have no need to fear Communism. Thus in a sense Russia and the future of Russia are absolutely indispensable for a correct interpretation of the Second World War and for any realization of permanent peace.

The situations in China and India, in Burma and Indonesia, in the Near East and the Balkans, impose questions upon Russian diplomacy which will be most difficult to answer. Beyond this ranges the hopes of the labor parties and the left-wing elements in Europe, North America, and South America. Any change in the attitude of the USSR which will lead it to range itself with the former policies of the British Empire and the present aims of organized industry in the United States would spell a complete reversal of its recent past, and can hardly be expected.

If this is true, as the present war moves along its tragic and fatal course there looms a problem of colonies, unfree peoples, and suppressed classes concerning whose treatment there will be no unity of purpose in the United Nations. If we add to this the problem of a Germany with which Russia has always had ties of blood and cultural understanding; and of a Japan which, freed of dictatorship, may become a people demanding the same freedom as the free

<sup>2</sup> Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, Vol. II, p. 1143.

peoples of the West—in such case the problem of the post-war world will be of increased difficulty.

Whitman puts the world-wide and soul-deep dilemma:

And you O my soul where you stand,  
Surrounded, detached, in measureless oceans of space,  
Ceaselessly musing, venturing, throwing, seek in the spheres to  
connect them,  
Till the bridge you need be form'd, till the ductile anchor hold,  
Till the gossamer thread you fling catch somewhere, O my soul.<sup>3</sup>

Come what may, it is to the glory of God and the exaltation of man that the Soviet Union, first of modern nations, has dared to face front-forward the problem of poverty, and to place on the uncurbed power of concentrated wealth the blame of widespread and piteous penury. It has not lied about poverty. It has not distorted the facts. It has not, like most nations, without effort to solve it, declared the insolubility of the problem of the poor. And above all, it has not falsely placed on the poor the blame of their wretched condition. Even should the Russian experiment fail and Communism be proved unable to cope with the problems of land, property, and income, Russia deserves all credit for having at least faced the problem and for having tried to solve it; and other nations must eventually face and solve the same problem if civilization is going to be preserved.

<sup>3</sup> "A Noiseless Patient Spider."

## CHAPTER VII

### *MISSIONS AND MANDATES*

FAILURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO COME IMMEDIATELY TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM OF COLONIES WILL INVITE CATASTROPHE; EFFECTIVE ACTION CALLS FOR A NEW MANDATES COMMISSION IMPLEMENTED BY THAT UNSELFISH DEVOTION TO THE WELL-BEING OF MANKIND WHICH HAS OFTEN, IF NOT ALWAYS, INSPIRED THE MISSIONARY CRUSADE.

It is clear that in this world, as manifested by these terrible wars and by the suffering of mankind and the sacrifice of peoples, there is a tremendous available amount of goodwill and desire for the uplift of mankind. This has been shown in the past in all sorts of ways: in China's love of peace, in the charity of the medieval Christian Church, in the missionary crusades of Buddhists, Christians, and Mohammedans; especially in the Christian missions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade; and in the various attempts to alleviate, if not abolish, poverty and to do away with ignorance.

The difficulty in this particular era is that this goodwill must be organized and canalized. It must not aid and abet reaction in social progress, nor be used like the missionary effort in Africa to exploit and subdue peoples in the name of Jesus Christ for the use of profit-making industry. It must, on the contrary, become organized as missions of culture to carry to backward peoples, minority groups, and

lower economic classes the cultures and education which they are capable of absorbing and using. It must narrow the frightful and dangerous differences between current custom and the scientific knowledge that there are no races and great groups incapable of the same kind of advance that has been made by the most cultured peoples; and that what is needed is opportunity; that we can have democracy and peace only if the menace of poverty, ignorance, and crime are met by positive and organized human action—Poverty, Ignorance and Crime—these three—but the greatest of these is Poverty.

Poverty can be attacked and abolished by government action and social organization. The way to make this clear to the world is to attack the economic illiteracy, the ignorance of economic facts and developments, now deliberately encouraged in our schools and colleges, in our press and periodicals and in our books. Here is the field for the Great Crusade which will lead to democracy and peace.

The Atlantic Charter brought a new examination of the colonial question. The second point declared that the United Nations "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The third point was: that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

The sixth said: that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

When, however, the attempt was made to apply these

points to colonies and particularly to India, Mr. Churchill limited their application to Europe, while President Roosevelt proclaimed the Four Freedoms:

Freedom of speech and expression

Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way

Freedom from want

Freedom from fear

Since then social thought has forged ahead. British Christians asked that: "Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities for education."

The Council for Social Action adopted a charter in June, 1944, which asked in international affairs:

The closest collaboration among states on all matters of international moment, including especially the problems of trade and migration barriers, the advancement and eventual self-government of colonial peoples, determination of military armament, provisions for relief and rehabilitation of afflicted peoples, assistance in the advancement of handicapped countries, treatment of minorities and of vanquished nations, and settlement of international disputes. . . . As their center, we envisage an international body with wider functions and more fundamental power than the League of Nations.

The Christian Church was aroused, and the Council of Congregational Churches said in June 1944 that "our churches" should support American participation in an international organization including "co-operation for world trade, employment, currency stabilization and equitable access to raw materials; and supervision of the treatment of all subject peoples, that ultimately they may achieve nationhood and autonomy or voluntary full participation in a larger political unit."<sup>1</sup>

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace especially advocated an elaborate statement of human rights

<sup>1</sup> Adopted at Grand Rapids, Michigan, June 27, 1944.

for the protection of minorities and peoples. This Commission said:

We may be chastened by Wilson's rejection at Paris of the principle of racial equality—a rejection which embittered the Oriental world. The Negro situation in our country and expressions of anti-Semitism, which foster enemy propaganda, are not to be passed over. There is, however, a vast difference between a governmental policy of persecution, as in Germany, and laggard customs which have not yet been broken by a legal policy which forbids them. We cannot postpone international leadership until our own house is completely in order. Nor can we expect nations to agree that their own houses should be brought into order by the direct intervention of international agencies. We have only to consider the difficulties which any such course would encounter in our own or other countries. Through revulsion against Nazi doctrines, we may, however, hope to speed up the process of bringing our own practices in each nation more in conformity with our professed ideals.<sup>2</sup>

A formula by H. G. Wells said:

I believe in the right of every living human being, without distinction of color, race, sex or professed belief or opinion, to liberty, life and subsistence, to complete protection from ill-treatment, equality of opportunity in the pursuit of happiness and an equal voice in the collective government of mankind.<sup>3</sup>

The American Council of the World Alliance representing six international agencies said on November 10, 1944:

Recognizing that most of the difficulties which have brought about the most serious results in the world during the last half century have arisen from complaints of minorities, we urge that when the final constitution for the United Nations is drafted there shall be appended to it a "bill of rights" for all men in all nations.

<sup>2</sup> *Fourth Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Part III, p. 21.*

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *Fourth Report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, May, 1944, p. 20.*

To us it seems important for the nations to give greater attention to the needs of people in dependent and backward areas. We urge that the whole scheme of mandated territories and the continuance of colonial systems be brought under close scrutiny and better control by the international organization.<sup>4</sup>

Stephen Duggan writes:

What will be the probable attitude of the Allies toward colonies and mandates in the case of victory? The mandate system is so distinctly an improvement over the colonial system that many political scientists advocate the extension of its principles to all colonies. They would place the sovereignty over colonies and mandates in the central agency of the New World Order that is to be organized, with the addition of direct power of investigation and sanctions for breach of trust. Would that mean the transfer of the colonies to the new collective organization? To ask the question is to pose the difficulty. To shift the actual administration from the experienced officials now in control would be a most serious risk. To permit the present holders of colonies to continue in control would not allay the discontent of the Have Not Powers. But if the New World Order would establish agencies that could secure equitable distribution of raw materials and access to markets, the justifiable demand for colonies would be largely removed. If in addition the existing services in colonies would become responsible to the supra-nationals, the discontent of the Have Nots ought at least to be reduced. This may be a counsel of perfection.

According to the Covenant, the mandate system has for its objective "the well-being and development" of the peoples of the mandates. The intent repeatedly expressed at League meetings was unquestionably that the natives be trained in self-government and that the economy of the country be gradually brought under their control. This is a big order. Vested interests in the meantime will have been formed and it is asking a good deal of human nature to request the colonial service to prepare people to displace themselves. Success will depend upon the will really to achieve the aim.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> World Alliance *News Letter*, November, 1944.

<sup>5</sup> Institute of International Education, *News Bulletin*, February 1, 1942, p. 5.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has approached the Department of State with this statement:

As the territory of France, Italy, certain areas in the Balkans, and other lands occupied by peoples generally classified as "white" are recaptured from the enemy by the allied armies, provisions of one kind or another have been made to return control of those lands to the peoples who occupied them prior to the outbreak of World War II; but the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People notes with deep regret that when continental and insular areas of Africa and Asia, occupied by so-called colored colonials, are retaken, control and administration of them are immediately reassumed by the white colonial powers who ruled these areas before. Quite cold-bloodedly, these colonial powers do not even attempt to ascertain what the wishes of the occupants of these lands may be. Quite to the contrary, their wishes are ignored. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is well aware of the fact that while the battles for these and other territories occupied by the enemy are being waged, policies as to future control cannot be determined immediately. But those policies must be decided upon and put into effect soon. It is imperative that the Allies now take positive action toward self-determination for colonial peoples as a goal which must be achieved before peace is truly secure.

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People therefore petitions the President of the United States to make clear now that the United States Government will not be a party to the perpetuation of colonial exploitation of any nation; that, on the contrary, the United States Government is utterly opposed and will make that opposition clear at the Quebec and all subsequent conferences to any policy which means freedom for white people or any part of the white people of the earth on the one hand, and continued exploitation of colored peoples, on the other. We ask that it be made clear that the United States will not in any fashion, direct or indirect, uphold continued exploitation of India, China, Abyssinia and other African areas, the West Indies, or of any other part of the world. The NAACP Board of Directors further urges again that qualified Negroes be appointed to serve as representatives of the United States Government at conferences in which the United

States Government is a participant, which are called to determine war or post-war policies, principles and commitments, to which the United States is a party, dealing with both global and domestic policies.<sup>6</sup>

The State Department answered:

As you are no doubt aware, there is in the Department of State a deep appreciation of the importance of the problems of dependent peoples referred to in your resolution, and of the need for devising practicable solutions which will represent the greatest tangible advancement that may be possible during and after the war. The appropriate divisions and committees of the Department which are studying the problems of post-war territorial settlements base their views, I may assure you, upon the fundamental principles of equitable and just treatment of all peoples.

I wish to bring particularly to your attention two recent statements of the Secretary of State which bear significantly upon the points raised in your resolution. In his radio address of July 23, 1942, the Secretary stated:

"We have always believed—and we believe today—that all peoples, without distinction of race, color, or religion, who are prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities of liberty, are entitled to its enjoyment. We have always sought—and we seek today—to encourage and aid all who aspire to freedom to establish their right to it by preparing themselves to assume its obligations. We have striven to meet squarely our own responsibility in this respect—in Cuba, in the Philippines, and wherever else it has devolved upon us. It has been our purpose in the past—and will remain our purpose in the future—to use the full measure of our influence to support attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it."

In the memorandum on Bases of the Foreign Policy of the United States, released to the press on March 21, 1944, the Secretary included the following statement with respect to dependent peoples:

"There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples, of mandatories, of trustees, or of other agencies, as the case may

<sup>6</sup> Resolution, Board of Directors, N.A.A.C.P., September 11, 1944, sent by telegram to President Roosevelt.

be, to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines."

I also appreciate the significance of your suggestion concerning the composition of American delegations to international conferences. It is our aim always to appoint the persons best qualified to represent the United States in the specific field of the Department's responsibilities.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the free nations have spoken, as New Zealand has:

Advocacy of the principle of trusteeship for all colonial peoples was proposed by Prime Minister Peter Fraser as one result of the Australia-New Zealand conversations. . . .

Recalling the enunciation of principles in the Canberra agreement of last February, Mr. Fraser said the Antipodean dominions felt that as part of a general international organization there should be an international body analogous to the Mandates Commission, but having powers of inspection and publishing reports of its findings.<sup>8</sup>

Anson Phelps Stokes has written the present Secretary of State:

I hope that there may be time for giving some attention to the important problems connected with colonies and other dependencies. I am convinced that until the colonial problems, especially those related to Africa, are constructively and wisely settled, there is not likely to be permanent peace, especially at a time when the darker people of the world are becoming more and more self-conscious, and are eager to play an increasing part in national and international affairs.

In this connection two or three things seem to me of special importance:

(1) That the permanent Commission of Mandates be re-established, or something similar created, and that it be given power not only to receive reports from mandatory powers as in the past,

<sup>7</sup> Reply of Under-Secretary of State Stettinius, October 4, 1944.

<sup>8</sup> Associated Press dispatch, *New York Times*, October, 1944.

but to make reports on conditions, and in cases of abuse, to take steps to see that they are, if possible, remedied. The mandates plan was a great advance on anything which preceded it, but it did not go far enough.

(2) That the experiment be made in one or two suitable areas of international mandates. Some parts of Africa formerly owned by Italy, or some Japanese islands in the Pacific might well furnish the place for a trial of this plan. The United States should, of course, be prepared to play its part in this and other international responsibilities.

(3) That emphasis be placed in any new charter for mandated areas more definitely than was done in the past on the intention of the international organization to see to it that people in mandated areas are prepared for and given a larger and larger share in determining the policies of their area and more definite assurance that they will be given self-government at the earliest practicable time. . . .

(6) That some arrangements be made by which colored people of the world should have an opportunity to present their views to the Peace Conference or Peace Conferences, and that in keeping with this plan there should be one or more representative Negroes attached in some official capacity to the United States delegation to the Peace Conference immediately following the war.<sup>9</sup>

Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State, has proposed the establishment of an international trusteeship which shall see to it that all dependent peoples and colonies are granted autonomy and are properly prepared for their freedom:

I cannot believe that the United Nations, now banded together to destroy the tyrannies which have attempted to exercise their sway over free men and women throughout the world, will countenance an outcome of their common victory which would merely perpetuate the exploitation and servitude so long imposed upon colonial peoples.

For that reason the establishment by the future international organization of an international trusteeship, which will not only eliminate the inequities of the mandate system of the past, but

<sup>9</sup> MS. copy of a letter sent to the author.

which will also assure all dependent peoples that they will be accorded autonomy and their independence as soon as they are capable of exercising these rights, must be assured.

Such a trusteeship should have as its supreme objective the preparation of all independent peoples as speedily as possible for the assumption of the responsibilities and the obligations for freedom. The creation of an international trusteeship, holding itself ultimately responsible to public opinion throughout the world, would be one sign that the people's peace, of which we often so complacently speak, can become a reality.<sup>10</sup>

Not only has Winston Churchill definitely refused to consider the matter of international control of colonies but the liberal British Secretary of State for Colonies, Oliver Stanley, apparently is ready to surrender international control of mandated territories and has consequently incurred the protest of several eminent leaders, including John W. Davis, Emory Ross, James T. Shotwell, Sumner Welles, and Quincy Wright. They said in the *New York Times*, February 18, 1945:

"Trusteeship" represented the first and a reasonably successful attempt to put into practice the principle that "the well-being and development of such (dependent) peoples form a sacred trust of civilization." Under the mandates system, national and international machinery was set up to carry out this trust. International colonial experts, for instance, reviewed and criticized the conditions which brought on the rebellion against the French in Syria in 1925, raised serious questions as to Japanese fortifications in the Pacific islands as far back as 1932, and dealt with many hundreds of other matters involving native welfare and the open door for all nations in the development of these territories.

The abandonment of the gains which were inherent in this system might imply a step toward the division of the world into several great power zones of exclusive domination. It would weaken the system of international responsibility for dependent peoples which was actually practiced between the wars. The continuance and development of this principle and its extension to other dependent territories, especially those to be taken from

<sup>10</sup> Reported in the *New York Times*, October, 1944.

the enemies at the end of this war, would imply just that much more confidence on the part of the United Nations in the success of their new venture.

But little has yet been done. Harried hope is still wringing helpless hands, dripping with the blood of Poland and of Spain. Prayer and masses, fast and death, are impotent. Surely this statement might be made by the United Nations: "It is the opinion of the United Nations that no state has any historic or ethical right to hold a group, colony, or dependency under control against the freely expressed will of its people; and if by reason of poverty, illiteracy, and disease these inhabitants cannot voice their own best interests, it is the bounden duty of the religious conscience, the civilized intelligence, and the industrial economy of the world under international mandate to remove at the earliest moment, such impediments to world democracy and permanent peace."

Lowell sings of Truth:

Those love her best, who to themselves are true,  
And what they dare to dream of, dare to do.<sup>11</sup>

The question whose answer balks us is: How, with international control, are we going to get a great philanthropic deed done efficiently and scientifically? With the image of totalitarianism before us, added to our experience of war bureaucracy, we are afraid even of national, much more of international, action. The choosing of proper men to carry on the work, the organization of the work with scientific precision, and above all the ideal, the will to good, back of it—all this seems an almost impossible accomplishment.

It is an extraordinary commentary upon this that at this very time, and for centuries gone by, we have in theory,

<sup>11</sup> "Tercentenary Ode."

and in deep and abiding faith, an instrument for just this kind of work among human beings, and that is organized religion—the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant; the work of Jews, Buddhists, and Mohammedans; even the work of philanthropic and ethical-culture organizations. Why is it that we do not think of these as organs for attacking the problem of colonies at this critical time?

The interesting and startling fact is that we do not think of them. There is a dichotomy between religion and social uplift, the Church and sociology, which leads to deplorable loss of effort and division of thinking. Religion has been an emotional release and escape method for pessimism and despair, coupled with utter doubt, so far as this world is concerned. While science, as social reform, has been the optimistic belief in human uplift, without any compelling reason for accomplishing this for any particular persons, or at any particular time. It is as so often happens: religion without science, science without guiding ideals.

The Church, Catholic and Protestant, has expended tremendous effort in mission work for colonies in Asia and Africa during the last two or more centuries. The one great and unquestionable accomplishment of this effort, as has been noted, has been the beginnings of education. The starting of modern education in Africa, and its maintenance in spite of strong opposition, is due almost entirely to missionary effort. Much, although less, has been done for modern education in Asia and the Near East.

The great criticism of this work is that from the beginning it co-operated, perhaps unconsciously, with industrial exploitation. The missionaries for the most part had training in elementary schools, supplemented by some higher training in literature and ethics, together with technical training in theological dogma. But they knew little or nothing about modern economics, anthropology, and the social sciences, and were guided in this growing realm of

thought and action by culture patterns belonging to a different era and differing groups. In the expert hands of an industrial world, organized for precise aims and capable of hiring the best brains of the day, the missionaries easily became in many cases tools of exploitation.

In this world, people who wish to do good and are without careful training and wide experience are easily the victims of politicians and industrial leaders. Eugene Jung, who for a long time held high position in French Indo-China, has said: "It is in fact by the missionaries that one penetrates first into a region and that one gets a foothold in it."<sup>12</sup> Governments use missionaries and other people of this type as smoke screens to hide the truth from the people of the possessing country. They use them as aids in forming prejudices against the culture, the civilization, the religion of the "natives" of the colony.

Even if among these people of kindly intent there should be some who really succeed in doing an appreciable amount of good, the good they do often is not sufficient to compensate for the bad for which the system back of them is responsible. Sleeping sickness and tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and maladies due to undernourishment have all increased by leaps and bounds in the colonies because of the system of colonialism, and in spite of many good and faithful physicians.

Even in the education which the missionaries have fostered, pressure has made them consent to serious limitation. In the Belgian Congo, the Catholics are furnishing some good primary training and the industrialists are teaching skills; but there is almost no secondary or higher training for leadership or even for necessary professions like medicine and teaching.

In other cases of vaster and more tremendous social im-

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Anna Graves, *op. cit.*

plication, like the slave trade, slavery, serfdom, and concubinage, religion usually, after a first flare of idealistic opposition, has sunk to a place where it condoned and even defended these evils. Both Catholic and Protestant churches became in the United States ardent defenders of Negro slavery. The Christian Church in America today is almost completely separated along the color line, just as are the army, the navy, the nursing service, and even the blood banks. In many cases where moral opposition is needed, the Church became strangely silent and complacent, and gave the world a right to say with Lenin, "Religion is the opium of the people."

We must add to this that the Church as organized in modern civilized countries has become the special representative of the employing and exploiting classes. It has become mainly a center of wealth and social exclusiveness, and by this very fact, wherever you find a city of large and prosperous churches, such as Atlanta, Georgia, or Dallas, Texas, or Minneapolis, Minnesota, you find cities where the so-called best people, the educated, intelligent, and well-to-do, are critical of democracy, suspicious of the labor movement, bitter against Soviet Russia, and indifferent to the Negro problem, because their economic interests have put them in opposition to forward movements and the teachers and preachers whom they hire have fed them on that kind of prejudice, or maintained significant silence.

Notwithstanding this, it is all too clear today that if we are to have a sufficient motive for the uplift of backward peoples, for the redemption and progress of colonials, such a motive can be found only in the faith and ideals of organized religion; and the great task that is before us is to join this belief and the consequent action with the scientific knowledge and efficient techniques of economic reform.

It would be unfair to myself, and perhaps to others, if I

did not frankly say that my attitude toward organized religion is distinctly critical. I cannot believe that any chosen body of people or special organization of mankind has received a direct revelation of ultimate truth which is denied to earnest scientific effort. I admit readily that it would be most satisfactory if instead of occupying a little island of knowledge in the midst of vast stretches of unknown truth, we could with conviction and utter faith plant ourselves on a completely revealed knowledge of the ends and aims of the universe. But no matter how satisfying this would be, it does not therefore follow that it is true, or that those who assert it and believe in it have the right to persecute and condemn those who cannot accept urgent desire, or myth and fairy tale, as valid truth. It may well be that God has revealed ultimate knowledge to babes and sucklings, but that is no reason why I, one who does not believe this miracle, should surrender to infants the guidance of my mind and effort. No light of faith, no matter how kindly and beneficent, can in a world of reason guide human beliefs to truth unless it is continually tested by pragmatic fact.

On the other hand, I must just as frankly acknowledge that the majority of the best and earnest people of this world are today organized in religious groups, and that without the co-operation of the richness of their emotional experience, and the unselfishness of their aims, science stands helpless before crude fact and selfish endeavor. The reason for this religious majority may be inexperience and lack of education; it may be divine grace and human sin. Whatever it is, the fact is unquestionable today.

Is there not, then, a chance to find common ground for a program of human betterment which seeks by means of known and tested knowledge the ideal ends of faith? This would involve on the part of the Church a surrender of dogma to the extent of being willing to work for human

salvation this side of eternity, and to admit the possibility of vast betterment here and now—a path the Church has often followed. The Church should in colonies voluntarily adopt a self-denying ordinance: not to stress doctrine or dogma until social uplift in education, health, and economic organization have progressed far enough to enable colonial peoples intelligently and independently to compare the religion offered with their inherited cultures. This would involve on the part of science the admission that what we know is greatly exceeded by what we do not know, and that there may be realms in time and space of infinitely more importance than the problems of this small world. Nevertheless, a realistic program of making this world better *now* ought to combine the efforts of Church and science, of missionary effort and social reform.

Before, and more especially after, the First World War, the conscience of mankind, as well as its political wisdom, faced the situation in colonies. Before 1914, the world had rationalized the situation and kept its uneasy conscience more or less asleep. The old race theory of the nineteenth century was potent. We still envisaged the world as capable of civilization but engulfed and threatened by hordes of folks whose great and permanent progress was unthinkable. Their destiny was to serve, and the burden of the white man was to protect these "lesser breeds without the law" from unnecessary cruelty but at the same time firmly "keep them in their places."

These and a large number of other matters gave Europeans pause when after the First World War the question of the disposal of German colonies came up for discussion. It was then that the world slowly rose to a new conception of human responsibility for colonial conditions. The lone facts, although difficult to substantiate by actual figures, were an indictment against colonial government to which the world had to listen. This indictment was felt, and felt

strongly, at the time of the Treaty of Versailles; and in the organization of the League of Nations advantage was taken of the situation of the German colonies to attempt a solution to the whole colonial problem. The German colonies were distributed among France, Britain, and Japan under the control of a Mandates Commission. The Mandates Commission was supposed to see that the people of these colonies were fairly treated, and that something was done for their social uplift and their economic betterment.

But modern industrialism and investment policy were not to be balked of their prey. The statute that governed the Mandates Commission was deliberately limited in such a way that the Commission really had very little power. It could not of its own initiative inquire into or investigate facts in the various colonies; the colonial peoples themselves had no vested right of appeal to the Commission, and as a matter of fact the mandated colony soon became indistinguishable from the other colonies of the countries holding the mandates.

It had been hoped that the opposite would happen, and that the authority of the Mandates Commission would eventually extend not only to the former German colonies, but to all colonies of all nations. This never took place, and the only organ of the League of Nations that substantially helped the colonial situation was the International Labor Office, which succeeded in setting up certain minimum standards of labor usage.

What is needed today is a new Mandates Commission calling upon the United Nations to recognize the fact that the first Mandates Commission established by the statute which organized the League of Nations has a place in international law, and that the United Nations have no right in law or justice to ignore this statute and hand over the former colonies of Germany to France, Britain, the Union of South Africa, or Japan; that a new Mandates Commis-

sion should immediately be organized to take charge of the mandated colonies and to go farther, as was suggested in the original Covenant, and lay down new procedures for the treatment of all colonial peoples.

The General Assembly of the United Nations should begin by insisting that there sit in the Assembly not simply representatives of the free nations, but with them representatives of all colonial peoples over whom they claim control. The matter of the number of such colonial delegates can well wait on time and experience. The method of their choice and the fair representation of all angles of opinion can be gradually adjusted as the Economic and Social Council gains power to investigate. But it is absolutely essential that, at the beginning, the voices of all peoples that on earth do dwell be raised fearlessly and openly in the parliament of man, to seek justice, complain of oppression, and demand equality. Difficult as this program will doubtless prove, it will not be nearly so difficult, horrible, and utterly devastating as two world wars in a single generation.

Evidently there is indicated here the necessity of earnest effort to avoid the nondemocratic and race-inferiority philosophy involved. There should be consultation among colonial peoples and their friends as to just what measures ought to be taken. This consultation should look toward asking for the following successive steps:

One, representation of the colonial peoples alongside the master peoples in the Assembly.

Two, the organization of a Mandates Commission under the Economic and Social Council, with definite power to investigate complaints and conditions in colonies and make public their findings and to hear oral petitions.

Three, a clear statement of the intentions of each imperial power to take, gradually but definitely, all measures designed to raise the peoples of colonies to a condition of

complete political and economic equality with the peoples of the master nations, and eventually either to incorporate them into the polity of the master nations or to allow them to become independent free peoples.

We all know well exactly why a Mandates Commission with power over former German colonies, and at least the right of investigation and report over all colonies, was not included as a part of the proposals of Dumbarton Oaks. This reason was the opposition of Britain as represented by Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill stands for that part of Britain which is stubbornly determined to maintain the place of the British Empire as a superstate ruling a large part of the world. Back of this determination is the motive of maintaining the power of the British aristocracy privileged by birth and wealth.

But this is not the only Britain. There is a Greater Britain, spiritually descended from those equally determined souls who for a half-century fought the African slave trade and Negro slavery, and their successors who later stood back of the Reform Bill, popular education, and woman suffrage. It is this Greater Britain that is so often betrayed by its European and American friends, and which finds itself without allies in the liberal world and blamed for sins that were never its own. The credit for what it has done is calmly annexed by the privileged classes, and we hear continually of the Britain which fought slavery, as though it were one with the brutal empire-builders who for a century used the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade as an excuse for stealing the land and the liberty of 100,000,000 Africans. What is true of Britain is true in other ways of many another nation, including our own.

Social science has not yet established a vocabulary and a method of statement which makes it possible to distinguish between these elements of all national life, but it remains true that to fight the Britain of Winston Churchill is giv-

ing support, moral and material, to the Britain of Wilberforce, Wesley, Owen, and Colenso. Let imperialism perish—British, German, Japanese, Italian, Spanish—with that of ancient Rome, empire with its aristocratic tinsel and greed, cruel conquest, slavery of souls, and slave trade in human rights. Let Greater Britain grow, leading in the future as in the past; French equality and Yankee push, with British love of liberty, stubborn courage, sportsmanship, and common sense.

There will return one day to all nations another group with which the world must reckon; young, disillusioned, bitter voters, disillusioned because they realize the futility of war as a settlement of human problems, because they saw its glory in mud, pain, and torn flesh. They will return maimed inevitably in body and mind and ripe for extremity in thought and action. Propaganda, as in the last war, may make them reactionary, anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-foreign-born; counterpropaganda may make them food for revolution and violence of every kind. Their guiding and healing is a major problem. But how can it be applied if the democracy, the one tangible ideal for which most of them fought, fails miserably and at home?

Wild is the world and witless, terrible in its beauty and crime. Can one forget sunrise on Lake Baikal, the gray oaks of Nara, the hills of light of Manhattan? Who may not remember the lynching of Mary Brown, the suicides of bankers in 1929, and the cripples crawling out of Guadalcanal, Aachen, and Leyte? Behold the starving children of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Such a world, with all its contradictions, can be saved, can yet be born again; but not out of capital, interest, property, and gold, rather out of dreams and loiterings, out of simple goodness and friendship and love, out of science and missions.

There has been surfeit of creed, dogma, and priestly assumption to bridle the intelligence of men; there has been

enough of the aimless arrogance of science used to heal and kill, destroy and build. The day has dawned when above a wounded, tired earth unselfish sacrifice, without sin and hell, may join thorough technique, shorn of ruthless greed, and make a new religion, one with new knowledge, to shout from old hills of heaven:

Go down, Moses!

