The present air strength of Great Britain totals but thirty-eight squadrons, and the completion of the 1925 program will increase that to only forty-seven squadrons. The French program calls for 220 military squadrons with a grand total of 2,000 machines. On the other hand England is just commencing to fortify her "royal route to India" by building up squadrons for Egypt, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and India. In Constantinople, during the arrival last September of British troops, every other British officer was an Air Service man. In October, after the Mudania armistice, they melted away, going not back to England, but to various points throughout the empire.

Italy, with a powerful post-war airplane and airship industry, has lately had a complete reorganization of its air service. Premier Mussolini, in order personally to supervise this work, has assumed the direction of the recently created Bureau of Aeronautics with the title of High Commissioner of Aeronautics. This is the first time in history that a Prime Minister has taken the portfolio of minister of aviation, and the act indicates the importance that Italy attaches to her air strength. With a natural mountain barrier on the north, and with two long coasts protected by adequate auxiliary armaments, Italians believe they will be immune from attack by sea or land. In rehabilitating her huge 1918 air strength, Italy has provided for a 1923 expenditure of 280 million lire. Seventy squadrons are to be built up.

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, under French tutelage, each with twenty-seven squadrons, are rapidly developing a powerful air force as an offset to the Russian armies. But Russia is not neglecting her air service. Early last summer a shipment of fifty latest-type Fokker war planes arrived in Moscow, together with a complement of Dutch and German pilots and mechanics. How many such shipments had preceded this one was not disclosed, but it is known that cadre and depot organizations exist for seventy active-service squadrons.

Japan, of course, profits most from the use of auxiliary arms. Both military and naval men point out that a large program of auxiliary armaments is an essential part of the Orient, and Japan, fully appreciating her position, has adopted these auxiliary arms on a tremendous scale. Japan is said to have under construction more light cruisers than there are in all the countries of the world. She is also rapidly turning out submarines of short and long range. With the French building up her army aviation (which already includes thirty-four squadrons) and the British her naval aviation, and with the establishment of aircraft factories in different parts of the country, Japan has advanced more rapidly than any other country in aeronautics. A year ago our Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce announced that aircraft manufacturers in this country were having difficulties in obtaining supplies for aircraft because Japan had bought up the year's available supply. Last year's naval aviation appropriations alone approximate $20,000,000.

Nor has the United States neglected her air forces. With very little publicity, the United States air services have built up an active military air force of fifty-three squadrons, which places the United States second in military air strength, and nearly 40 per cent stronger than Great Britain.

[The second section of The Next War in the Air will appear in next week's issue of The Nation.]"
This is the crux of the matter. To be sure it is reported that thousands of the newcomers are finding employment at relatively high wages, but this does not settle the matter. First of all there is no sign that even this continued migration of its labor force is really impressing the South. There is no real diminution of Southern lynchings; there is no disposition to let the Negro vote; there is some improvement in schools, but this is usually in cities and seldom in the country districts; and above all there is the sinister growth of the Ku Klux Klan. Despite this, little Southern papers continue to declare fatuously—we take the words from the Gaffney, South Carolina Ledger: "The South is the home of the Negro and nowhere on earth can he receive the consideration he does at the hands of Southern white men!"

These statements are not true and Negroes know they are not true. They know too that in the long run the South cannot keep them from migrating in spite of offensive measures of various sorts. And the Negro is increasingly determined not to submit to Southern caste rule.

This does not minimize his difficulties in the North. First he must find a job, and between him and the better jobs stand the labor unions. Undoubtedly in the North the attitude of the labor union has reflected the attitude of the white public. There has been a determined effort to keep the black laborers out of the skilled unions, and while the unions have had to give in here and there, there has been little real change in this policy of exclusion. No Negro today can belong to any of the railroad unions and the various "full crew" laws were simply methods of driving out Negro competition. Whenever there is an attempt to unionize labor beyond the highly skilled field immediately the race problem comes to the fore as in East St. Louis and in the late steel strike. In the South in the same way the unionized white laborer is willing to furnish mobs to keep the black field hand "in his place."

But with common labor scarce and semi-skilled labor unorganized the Negro can gain a foothold, although often this involves "scabbing" and increased hatred and prejudice. He accepts low wages and long hours because even these are better than Southern peonage. And with this situation the Northern industrial barons are perfectly content and congratulate themselves.

In addition to this the new Negro laborer is immediately forced upon the established Northern Negro group. Now the position of this group is not strong economically nor socially. Its security depends largely upon the non-agitation of the race problem. If racial differences are not emphasized by newspapers or by new facts the Northern Negro becomes gradually a citizen judged by his individual deserts and abilities. If, however, there comes a sudden new migration, the level of intelligence and efficiency in these newcomers is almost inevitably below that of the Negro already established in the North. Public opinion lumps the new with the old without discrimination. New racial irritation, hatreds, and segregations arise. The problem of new dwelling-places becomes severe and it is a double problem, for not only must the new black men have homes to shelter them, but the white home owners must, as far as possible, protect the beauty, moral level, and value of their homes.

The Northern Negro, therefore faces a peculiar dilemma. He knows that his Southern brother will and must migrate just as he himself migrated either in this generation or
the last. He feels more or less acutely his own duty to help the newcomer, and the Negro churches and charities of great cities like Chicago and New York have done a marvelous work in this direction even though it has fallen far below the need. But on the other hand the black Northerner knows what this migration costs. In the years from 1900 to 1922 there has been an average of a race riot in the United States every year, half of them in the South and half in the North. Serious encounters have been threatened in a half dozen other Northern and several Southern centers. In these same years, 1,563 Negroes have been lynched; since the war thirty-four Negroes have been buried alive at the stake. In other words the race war is not simply a future possibility—it is here.

From this turmoil and interaction of interests and human passions has come one very great result and that is the pushing of the American Negro by sheer necessity to a higher point of courage, intelligence, and determination, of economic stability and clear thinking than ever before in his history or in the modern history of any Negro group. He easily leads the black folk of the world. And if there has lingered any conviction that the Negro is going to be satisfied with a permanent position of caste inferiority it is high time that that thought was dispelled from the minds of thinking Americans.

Here then is the critical time. What shall the public say? It is tempted to say: Bring the South north. Discourage Negro migration by reproducing “Jim Crow” conditions of Alabama and Texas in Ohio and New York. Such a policy is suicidal. The Northern Negro has a vote and is learning how to use it. A national caste movement would weld into unity a powerful mass of desperate men, led by intelligence and property, filled with resentment, armed with the ballot, and determined to fight to the bitter end in alliance with any group or element that promised success. Such a mass might be clubbed to death by mobs, but remember that it cost Chicago thirty-eight deaths, 537 injured, and millions of dollars in money to make an unsuccessful and bitterly regretted attempt at this method of race adjustment.

The public, therefore, in the end must say: There is but one way out. The South must reform its attitude toward the Negro. The North must reform its attitude toward common labor. The unions must give up monopoly and aristocracy as methods of social uplift. The Negro must develop democracy within as well as without the race.

Religion in Revolutionary Russia

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Strange tales are coming out of Russia again, this time about the church. The Bolsheviks, according to reports, have undertaken the suppression of religion. They have closed the churches and shrines, outlawed the mass, and forbidden public services of worship. They are plundering cathedrals and monasteries of their age-old treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones, and appropriating the money value to the base uses of the Government. They are arresting priests, holding them in dark and loathsome prisons, or murdering them in cold blood. They are despoiling the sacred traditions of the people, blaspheming God and Christ, suppressing all religious teachings and practices, and in general conducting a persecution as fierce as that which raged against the Christians in the days of Nero.

It is a dreadful picture which the dispatches are giving us, horrible to contemplate, but hard to believe, especially if one is or has been on the scene of action. In August last, nearly a year after the publication of the decree for the alleged seizure of church treasures, I was in Moscow, and looked in vain for evidences of such atrocities. I entered dozens of churches and shrines, on week-days and Sundays, and saw much dirt but no damage; asking specifically for churches that had suffered injury, I was shown a golden cross on a bell-tower in the Kremlin, bent at an angle of forty-five degrees by a crowd of boys who had got out of hand in the early days of the revolution, but were driven away from their contemplated spoil by Red soldiers! I stood many times before altars gorgeous with golden ikons and jewels, and participated as an auditor in religious services conducted by the priests. In the cathedral Church of Christ the Savior was a vast array of the most splendid altars I have ever seen, and worship of overwhelming magnificence and pomp. I saw the famous legend on the Kremlin wall, “Religion is the Opiate of the People”; and opposite it a shrine in which a priest chanted all day long the ritual, and thousands of worshipers came and went.

But one does not have to go to Moscow to throw doubt upon these stories of persecution. Reports in our newspapers here at home bring their own confusion, and occasionally their own refutation. Thus we are informed that the churches are closed and services forbidden; but the New York Times carries a dispatch, after the recent Russian Easter, to the effect that “the churches everywhere were crowded” at services which lasted from 11:30 Saturday night to 3 or 4 o’clock Sunday morning. The same paper states editorially that “saying mass is an act of counter-revolution”; and then publishes a charming story from its special correspondent describing his presence at Easter mass in a small church in the environs of Moscow. Sensational reports are printed of the deliberate insults hurled against churches on Easter Sunday by the Communists; and in the same dispatch appears the announcement that Red soldiers were called out by the Government to protect the churches from interference by hoodlums.

It would be easy, and to a large extent justifiable, to rank these stories of oppression with the earlier stories about German gold, the massacres of the Red Terror, and the nationalization of women. At bottom, of course, they are pieces of cloth cut from the same artificial weave of calumny and falsehood. A drive is “on” against Russia, as drives have been “on” many times before; only priests are being used today as the heroes, or victims, of the campaign, as women, for example, were used yesterday.

It would be a mistake, however, to turn away from these atrocious narratives, under the assumption that they represent nothing but one vile tissue of imposture. To do this would be to miss events of great significance, close our eyes to a stupendous drama in the life of a great people. The things reported in our newspapers these days are mostly not happening; but other things, of which these tales of persecution may be taken as a kind of Brocken specter, are assuredly happening, to the permanent woe or woe of religion in Russia. What we have here is a vast
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