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News of Colored Peoples Throughout the World

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. B. DU BOIS, EDITOR

IRENE C. MALVAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

THE CRISIS was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is conducted by an Editorial Board, consisting of W. E. B. DuBois, Editor-in-chief, Walter White, Herbert J. Seligmann and Rachel Davis DuBois.

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FORECAST

The May CRISIS will be the full spring number with our faces well set toward summer.

In appropriate celebration, *Carleton Beals* writes "Valerio Trujano: Black Joy", a story and description of African Mexico.

Arthur A. Shomburg sends us an illustrated article on "General Antonio Maceo."

There will be echoes of "Woofterism" and further announcements concerning the *Du Bois Literary Prize*, with an autobiographical note from the donor.

In addition to this, as we have said before, we are preparing a great debate on *Religion* by real masters, and we are going to study the recent frescos of *Aaron Douglas*.

The CRISIS is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, \$1.50 a year. Foreign subscription, \$1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and

new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The Students of Yesterday

By GUSTAVO E. URRUTIA *

IN these days, has anyone the right to claim that he speaks in the name of the colored people of Cuba? Certainly not, nor do I believe that anyone would pretend to do so, knowing that the epoch is long past in which the Negroes of Cuba as a group functioned with solidarity, moved by the same impulses of racial interest and aspiration. Our spiritual and legitimate forces must be agreed upon today in a particularly clear and authentic manner, so that no one may deny weight to a statement made in the name of the race.

Lacking authority, I should not answer with declarations, nor "diplomatic" statements, the questions which are asked me concerning the distinct position of the Negroes, a mystery to many, in these times of infinite bitterness and the far-reaching results of the Republic. But this does not excuse me from answering the demands of public interest with that which should not be lacking in every newspaper man's portfolio: a personal interpretation, a subjective version, of this unforeseen phenomenon in high politics in Cuba, which will express my opinion of current happenings.

It is, that formerly the man of color functioned, equally, as a Cuban, and as a Negro. And now he functions as a Cuban, and refrains from functioning as a Negro. That is all.

It is not just, naturally, for any Cuban to desert the gravest conflict that has ever confronted the Republic, or to deny his aid to the country, whatever the damage may be that scepticism has made in his soul. For this reason the Negro, full of patriotism, forgetting all to serve his country, is serving her in every sector of political activity: at the side of General Machado; in the co-operatives; with the liberals who consider themselves unlawfully excluded; in the ranks of the nationalists; figuring among the orthodox conservatives, and with the *populares*; in the workers movement and, according to the police records, even with the advocates of the Soviet.

So the Cuban Negro, then, is not lacking in politics. On the contrary he is more active than ever, now that he takes part in all the parties and groupings, and in all the doctrines, in place of being exclusively liberal in Vuelta-Abajo, and conservative in Vuelta-Arriba, as he formerly was. He has become more diversified.

That which is surprising, and seems

I think to the American reader should be explained the title of my article. In the present opposition to the Machado's government, the students of the University, of private and Governmental Colleges, of Normal Schools and Commercial Schools have taken the lead. They romantically aim to sweep away everything, every man, every institution which is rotten. They dream that a new sound Republic can be made out of Cuba, and they are very much respected and appreciated for their honesty and good will. Many of them are in jail or in exile.

This is why I call the Negroes THE STUDENTS OF YESTERDAY.



Antonio Maceo

ANTONIO MACEO

During his life Maceo was the leading and most brilliant Cuban general in complete charge of the Colored Patriots in the Cuban Revolution.

JUAN GUALBERTO GOMEZ

whose picture appears on page 129, is one of the pre-eminent leaders of Cuba in the war of Liberation against Spain. He is nearing his 80th birthday.

strange to many, is that for the first time in the history of Cuba, the Negro is not "giving color" to politics; and it is lamentable that a more penetrating glance has not revealed to the majority the fact that now, when least attention is paid to the Negro, as such, is precisely the time when he is giving his finest proof of disinterested patriotism. It is the first occasion in which the Cuban Negro has not had a peculiar racial interest tied up in the political problem in which he is concerned.

In the war of '68, it was the emancipation; in that of '95, the principles of Marti; in the first North American intervention, the interference of Yankee prejudice. Then he saw sprout and grow in the Republic a native prejudice. "The black brother" became a decisive factor in the triumph of all the internal revolutions, jumping into one after another in his eagerness to find the people who would make real the principles of Marti. The Negroes were the romantics, they had faith in men and principles, they lived in hope. They were "the students" of that day.

There followed in succession political chiefs and parties. In all, as a common co-efficient, the Negro found an absolute abstention, an inflexible policy of "hands off" in regard to all the vital economic and social problems whose solution would benefit his race alone, although injuring no one else. And he lost faith in everything; even in himself. He came back to the calm of one who waits for nothing, and he began to see that he had within himself that for which he was searching in others, and he set himself to cultivating and promoting it. With this discovery he has found a new way of serving Cuba. If economic poverty is the source of all the prejudices that persist, they will cease when the Negro becomes rich, thus perfecting the unity of the Cubans, "the only program for the little countries," as Wifredo says. One cannot deny that there is a certain euphony in this discovery.

The Negro looks with sadness upon the gloomy picture of current happenings, and having not even the morbid consolation of feeling himself somewhat accountable in this hour of *expiation*, he gives himself in silence to the task of clearing decks, along with the rest of the Cubans, with no hope whatsoever in the future of traditional politics.

* Translation by Langston Hughes from *Armonías*, *Diario de la Marina*, Havana, Cuba, December 28, 1933.