

GARVEY, MARCUS MOZIAH, JR., 1887-1940 . **AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS** . New York, NY : Messenger Publishing Company , 1920 .

### **Africa for the Africans**

For five years the Universal Negro Improvement Association has been advocating the cause of Africa for the Africans -- that is, that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa.

When we started our propaganda toward this end several of the so-called intellectual Negroes who have been bamboozling the race for over half a century said that we were crazy, that the Negro peoples of the western world were not interested in Africa and could not live in Africa. One editor and leader went so far as to say at his so-called Pan-African Congress that American Negroes could not live in Africa, because the climate was too hot. All kinds of arguments have been adduced by these Negro intellectuals against the colonization of Africa by the black race. Some said that the black man would ultimately work out his existence alongside of the white man in countries founded and established by the latter. Therefore, it was not necessary for Negroes to seek an independent nationality of their own. The old time stories of "African fever," "African bad climate," "African



mosquitos," "African savages," have been repeated by these "brainless intellectuals" of ours as a scare against our people in America and the West Indies taking a kindly interest in the new program of building a racial empire of our own in our Motherland. Now that years have rolled by and the Universal Negro Improvement Association has made the circuit of the world with its propaganda, we find eminent statesmen, and leaders of the white race coming out boldly advocating the cause of colonizing Africa with the Negroes of the western world. A year ago Senator McCullum of the Mississippi Legislature introduced a resolution in the House for the purpose of petitioning the Congress of the United States of America and the President to use their good influence in securing from the Allies sufficient territory in Africa in liquidation of the war debt, which territory should be used for the establishing of an independent nation for American Negroes. About the same time Senator France of Maryland gave expression to a similar--84--desire in the Senate of the United States. During a speech on the "Soldiers' Bonus." He said: "We owe a big debt to Africa and one which we have too long ignored. I need not enlarge upon our peculiar interest in the obligation to the people of Africa. Thousands of Americans have for years been contributing to the missionary work which has been carried out by the noble men and women who have been sent out in that field by the churches of America."

This reveals a real change on the part of prominent statesmen in their attitude on the African question. Then comes another suggestion from Germany, for which Dr. Heinrich Schnee, a former Governor of German East Africa, is author. This German statesman suggests in an interview given out in Berlin, and published in New York, that America takes over the mandates of Great Britain and France in Africa for the colonization of American Negroes. Speaking on the matter, he says, "As regards the attempt to colonize Africa with the surplus American colored population, this would in a long way settle the vexed problem, and under the plan such as Senator France has outlined, might enable France and Great Britain to discharge their duties to the United States, and simultaneously ease the burden of German reparations which is paralyzing economic life."

With expressions as above quoted from prominent world statesmen, and from the demands made by such men as Senators France and McCullum, it is clear that the question of African nationality is not a far-fetched one, but is as reasonable and feasible as was the idea of an American nationality.

### ***A "Program" at Last***

I trust that the Negro peoples of the world are now convinced that the work of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is not a visionary one, but very practical, and that it is not so far fetched, but can be realized in a short while if the entire race will only co-operate and work toward the desired end. Now that the work of our organization has started to bear fruit we find that some of these "doubting Thomases" of three and four years ago are endeavoring to mix themselves up with the popular idea of rehabilitating Africa in the interest of the Negro. They are now advancing spurious "programs" and in a short while will endeavor to force themselves upon the public as advocates and leaders of the African idea.

It is felt that those who have followed the career of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will not allow themselves to be deceived by these Negro opportunists who have always sought to live off the ideas of other people.

### ***The Dream of a Negro Empire***

It is only a question of a few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race. What we want is an independent African nationality, and if America is to help the Negro peoples of the world establish such a nationality, then we welcome the assistance.

--85--It is hoped that when the time comes for American and West Indian Negroes to settle in Africa, they will realize their responsibility and their duty. It will not be to go to Africa for the purpose of exercising an over-lordship over the natives, but it shall be the purpose of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to have established in Africa that brotherly co-operation which will make the



interests of the African native and the American and West Indian Negro one and the same, that is to say, we shall enter into a common partnership to build up Africa in the interests of our race.

#### ***Oneness of Interests***

Everybody knows that there is absolutely no difference between the native-African and the American and West Indian Negroes, in that we are descendants from one common family stock. It is only a matter of accident that we have been divided and kept apart for over three hundred years, but it is felt that when the time has come for us to get back together, we shall do so in the spirit of brotherly love, and any Negro who expects that he will be assisted here, there or anywhere by the Universal Negro Improvement Association to exercise a haughty superiority over the fellows of his own race makes a tremendous mistake. Such men had better remain where they are and not attempt to become in any way interested in the higher development of Africa.

The Negro has had enough of the vaunted practice of race superiority as inflicted upon him by others, therefore he is not prepared to tolerate a similar assumption on the part of his own people. In America and the West Indies, we have Negroes who believe themselves so much above their fellows as to cause them to think that any readjustment in the affairs of the race should be placed in their hands for them to exercise a kind of an autocratic and despotic control as others have done to us for centuries. Again I say, it would be advisable for such Negroes to take their hands and minds off the now popular idea of colonizing Africa in the interest of the Negro race, because their being identified with this new program will not in any way help us because of the existing feeling among Negroes everywhere not to tolerate the infliction of race or class superiority upon them, as is the desire of the self-appointed and self-created race leadership that we have been having for the last fifty years.

#### ***The Basis of an African Aristocracy***

The masses of Negroes in America, the West Indies, South and Central America are in sympathetic accord with the aspirations of the native Africans. We desire to help them build up Africa as a Negro Empire, where every black man, whether he was born in Africa or the Western world, will have the opportunity to develop on his own lines under the protection of the most favorable democratic institutions.

It will be useless, as before stated, for bombastic Negroes to leave America and the West Indies to go to Africa, thinking that they will have privileged positions to inflict upon the race that bastard aristocracy that they have tried to maintain in this Western world--86--at the expense of the masses. Africa shall develop an aristocracy of its own, but it shall be based upon service and loyalty to race. Let all Negroes work toward that end. I feel that it is only a question of a few more years before our program will be accepted not only by the few statesmen of America who are now interested in it, but by the strong statesmen of the world, as the only solution to the great race problem. There is no other way to avoid the threatening war of the races that is bound to engulf all mankind, which has been prophesied by the world's greatest thinkers; there is no better method than by apportioning every race to its own habitat.

The time has really come for the Asiatics to govern themselves in Asia, as the Europeans are in Europe and the Western world, and also it is wise for the Africans to govern themselves at home, and thereby bring peace and satisfaction to the entire human family.

#### ***The Future as I See It***

It comes to the individual, the race, the nation, once in a lifetime, to decide upon the course to be pursued as a career. The hour has now struck for the individual Negro as well as the entire race to decide the course that will be pursued in the interest of our own liberty.

We who make up the Universal Negro Improvement Association have decided that we shall go forward, upward and onward toward the great goal of human liberty. We have determined among



liberal progressive administration only as a consequence of a threat of a mass march on Washington by Negroes. It is also significant to note that the March on Washington movement was largely a northern Negro movement.

With the advent of World War II the Negro's pressure on the federal government for relief from the more flagrant forms of racial stigma and segregation increased. The demands for desegregation of the the Armed Services were intensified and met with some success during t the Truman administration. Significant civil rights litigation instigated by the legal staff of the N' A' A' C' P' in the late 1930's was increased in extent, depth and tempo and culminated in the historic Brown decision of May 17, 1954. This decision overruled the Plessy "separate but equal" doctrine which had dominated judicial decisions in civil rights litigation from 1896. It established the new judicial precedent that all laws which required or permitted racial segregation in public education violated the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment of the United States constitution. Subsequent decisions of the United States Supreme Court clearly--4--indicated that the essence of the Brown decision is applicable to problems of state imposed segregation in other areas of American life such as transportation and state supported public recreational facilities. While these civil rights cases involved Negro plaintiffs from southern or border states they were made possible through the combined efforts of the N' A' A' C' P' lawyers and expert witnesses who were from the North as well as from the South. During the trial and appellate phases of these cases there was a necessary and close partnership of northern and southern Negroes as well as some whites.

The increasing success of the Negro in his fight against discrimination in the various areas of American life reflects not only the increased political and economic power of Negroes in the North and the increasing power of Negroes in the South but also reflects the heightened morale and determination of the Negro. Probably the most important single factor contributing to this increased determination and morale among Negroes is the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court. It is difficult to overestimate the value of this decision in understanding the present psychology of the Negro in the North and in the South. The dramatic impact of this decision--the simple, eloquent language of color blind justice which its words convey--in effect reassured the Negro that his belief in equality and the justice of his cause was not pious wishful thinking. His feliefs and hopes were now reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court, the important judicial branch of the federal government. The Brown decision confirmed the Negro's faith in the basic validity and resilience of American democracy. At the same time, it stimulated him to intensify his attacks against all vestiges of racial segregation and discrimination which remained in American life.

--5--The Montgomery Bus Boycotts; the Sit-In movements conducted with restraint and efficiency by Negro college students; the Freedom Rides which Negro and white students, adults and members of the clergy have used so effectively to dramatize the confirmed violation of the rights of Negro citizens in interstate transportation; and the increased concern of many northern communities with the problems of de facto segregation in public schools are some examples of the heightened morale and irresistible determination of the Negro population to free our nation from the shackles of racial segregation.

#### Some North-South Differences

In spite of the interrelatedness of civil rights activities in the North and in the South, there are some significant regional differences in the nature of the specific problems and the general pattern of the civil rights struggle. The most obvious difference is the fact that many southern states still attempt to maintain patterns of segregation and discrimination through laws and the use of the power of the police and political authorities in spite of the recent clear decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Northern patterns of segregation and discrimination, however, exist in spite of laws against them and in spite of protestations of elected political officials. Northern patterns of segregation and discrimination reflect among other things custom, habit, apathy, conflicts and inconsistencies among whites and some Negroes.



Another crucial difference is the fact that the Negro in the northern states has been able to register and to vote and thereby exert the necessary political power to obtain state laws against discrimination in employment, housing, education and public accommodation. Systematic interference or discouragement of the Negro's--6--right to vote in southern states has successfully kept him politically impotent. He therefore has been unable to influence politicians and the other governmental officials who pass the laws and make decisions which are frequently in conflict with the desires and interest of the masses of Negroes in their states. It would seem that as long as the average elected official in the South continues to see the electorate only in terms of whites he will continue to seek election and reelection in terms of the lowest common denominator of racist appeals. In effect, he too will remain a captive of the racists. The present drive to increase the number of Negroes who are registered voters in southern states is a significant development toward the goal of increasing political power of southern Negroes and a necessary step toward major civil rights progress in America.

The Negro in the North is no longer plagued by flagrant signs or examples of racial segregation in public transportation, recreation, theatres, movies and higher education. For the northern Negro racism takes more subtle forms. The pattern of discrimination against the Negro in northern communities tends generally to be inconsistent and capricious, particularly in areas of public accommodation. The most persistent vestiges of systematic discrimination against Negroes in northern communities are found in the areas of residential segregation--ghetto housing--and de facto segregation in the schools. It is frequently stated that de facto segregated schools in the North reflect primarily the basic patterns of residential segregation and can be cured only when more democratic housing patterns are achieved in northern urban communities. Some observers, however, have suggested the possibility that the relationship--7--between de facto segregated schools and patterns of residential segregation is more cyclic than the more usual and simple cause and effect interpretation would suggest. Segregated housing causing segregated schools may be more valid an interpretation than the possibility of de facto segregated schools, brought about through gerrymandering, could facilitate the process of residential segregation.

In spite of the fact that a number of northern states such as New York, Massachusetts and Michigan have fairly strong laws against racial discrimination in employment there is rather consistent evidence that this type of discrimination nevertheless persists in these states. The progress in this sphere cannot mask the pervasive residual patterns of racial discrimination in employment. The role of labor unions in the perpetuation of these violations must be examined with more tough-minded realism.

#### Some Specific Developments in the North

The northern Negro's techniques and methods must not only be appropriate to the specific and more subtle type of civil rights problems found in the North but must also contribute to the solution of the larger national civil rights struggle. Furthermore, the interrelatedness of the increased tempo of civil rights activities among Negroes throughout America and the rapid progress of African states from colonialism to the dignity of independent nations spur specific and intensified desegregation activities among Negroes in northern Communities. Examples of such concentrated desegregation activities may be found in the program for the desegregation of the de facto segregated schools in New York City; the unprecedented--8--litigation before the federal courts for the desegregation of a de facto segregated school in New Rochelle, New York; the attempt on the part of Negroes in Chicago to break the pattern of racial segregation on the beaches of their city; and the effective program of "selective buying" organized by a group of Negro ministers in Philadelphia.

The metropolitan press, national magazines, radio and television have given considerable attention to the activities, ideology and demonstrations of black nationalist groups. These black nationalists who have been accurately described as the contemporary descendants of the Garvey movement of the 20's are, like the Garvey movement, predominantly, if not exclusively, a northern urban social phenomenon. Probably the most influential of these groups are the Black Muslims whose national leadership and headquarters are located in Chicago. The strength of the rapidly growing Black



Muslims appears to be centered in Chicago, New York, Boston, Detroit and Philadelphia. Recently there seems to be some evidence that the movement has gotten a fairly strong foothold in one southern city, Atlanta, Georgia. The philosophy of the Black Muslims and the other black nationalists groups is a rather simple and direct. It is a philosophy of hatred and despair reflecting the American racist simplification of the importance of skin color. The dramatic twist which these groups give to American racism is that they preach the supremacy of blacks and the inherent degradation of whites. This reversal is dramatic, disturbing and terrifying to whites and to some middle and upper class Negroes.

The Black Muslims and most, if not all, of the other nationalistic groups appeal to the more marginal Negro. The recruit most successfully from the lower socio-economic classes and a high proportion of their members have been in conflict with the law. As C. Eric Lincoln has pointed out in his book "The Black Muslims in--9--America" this group does a most effective job in rehabilitating their members. It is ironic that these essentially cultist groups are markedly more effective in raising the morale of their members, giving them some purpose and meaning to their lives, than are the more acceptable social institutions and the traditional churches. The explanation for this irony may be found in the basic truth in the argument of the leaders of this group; namely, that our middle class society in inflicting or accepting the stigma and humiliating on the masses of black men puts skin above justice and humanity. These movements must be appraised as symptoms of the profound frustration, despair and impatience which have come to the surface within recent years. They cannot be dismissed as mere cults because the majority of Negroes have so far not joined them. The psychological complexities from which these cults draw their potential strength are shared by many Negroes on various social and economic levels. A Negro manicurist was quoted in a national magazine as saying "You know those Muslims are telling the truth about white folks. I am not joining up, but I am not against them either." Lorraine Hansbury, the well known Negro playwright and one of the more militant younger intellectuals wrote in a March 26th letter to the New York Times Magazine Section "... I should not have hesitated to sit with, picket with, mourn with either Mustafa Bashire or Benjamin J. Davis or any other Negro who had the passion and understanding to be there. (at the U. N. demonstration of Negro nationalist groups over Lumumba's death) The continuation of intrigues against African and American Negro freedom demands high and steadfast unity among Negroes."

#### A New Role of the Negro Intellectual

The resurgence of black nationalism among Negroes seems to be matched,--10--if not counteracted, by an increasing critical evaluation of the basic structure, strength and weaknesses of American society by a growing number young Negro intellectuals. Probably, James Baldwin, novelist and essayist is the outstanding example and the most eloquent of these younger Negro social critics. Baldwin says of the Black Muslims that they "do not expect anything at all from the white people of this country. They do not believe the American professions of democracy or equality have ever been remotely sincere. They insist on the total separation of the races." Baldwin states categorically that the fundamental appeal of the Black Muslims lies in the fact that they tell the truth about the plight of the Negro in America today. With bitter poignancy he states "Usually, for example, those white people who are in favor of integration prove to be in favor of it later, in some other city, some other town, some other building, some other school. The rationalizations with which they attempt to disguise their panic cannot be respected."

"Northerners proffer their indignation about the South as a kind of badge, as proof of good intentions; they never suspect that they thus increase, in the heart of the Negro they address, a kind of helpless pain and rage - and pity."

In a bitter of futility and pessimism Baldwin quotes a prominent Negro, "I am not at all sure that I want to be integrated into a burning house," He quotes another as saying "I #### might consider being integrated into something else, an American society more real and more honest - but this? No, thank you, man, who needs it?"



That the pessimism stems from the general impatience of the Negro and his awareness of and identification with the swiftness of the changes taking place in Africa is indicated by still another quote presented by Baldwin,--11--"At the rate things are going here all of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee."

A further indication of the present mood of the younger Negro intellectual is the fact that he is directing his critical barbs not only at the inconsistencies and injustices inherent in American racism but he is becoming increasingly critical - or more overt in his criticisms - of ##### traditional Negro leaders and Negro organizations. While there have always been criticisms of these individuals and organizations from the more militant nationalistic groups of Negroes, it is significant in appraising the present mood of the Negro, particularly in the North, to note the relatively new trend wherein such criticisms, more reasoned and sober, are now coming from a group of younger Negro intellectuals. It is another index of the complexity of the present level of strength and high morals of the Negro that it is possible to view these criticisms as evidence that the Negro in the North is now secure enough, on the basis of his recent gains toward full and equal rights as an American citizen, to assume the difficult role of self-criticism and to demand that the Negro organizations become even more effective in obtaining complete equality in the shortest possible time. The essence of these criticisms is the heightened impatience of the intellectual as his group nears the goal of full equality and his insistence that the Negro organizations do not compromise or settle for anything short of complete and immediate equality. His anxieties lest these organizations and leaders show signs of fatigue or politically expedient compromise place him at polar opposites to those ## whites who tend to see organizations like the N' A' A' C' P' as extremist groups. The impatient younger Negro is more likely to see these organizations as more moderate and conservative than is consistent with his own sense of urgency. An additional dimension of this paradox is found in--12--the fact that in spite of the sometimes hysterical criticisms of the N' A' A' C' P' by the more extremist nationalistic groups among Negroes, the more sober criticism from Negro intellectuals and the strident, irrational criticisms and reprisals of white segregationists, the N' A' A' C' P' has increased its membership at an accelerated pace among Negroes in the North as well as in the South during the past decade.

#### Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Northern Negro

Probably the most dramatic example of effective personal among Negroes in recent years is the emergence of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a symbol of the Negro's resistance to the stigma and humiliation of racial segregation. Rev. King's role in organizing, directing and controlling the Montgomery Bus Boycott which culminated in a Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in intrastate transportation catapulted him into national and international prominence. He captured the imagination of and opponents of injustice throughout the world and justifiably won the loyalties and affection of American Negroes. The relationship between this type of leadership and the passive resistance technique as used by Negro college students in the Sit-Ins and the Freedom Rides is clear in spite of the fact that King's role in the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides was not of direct leadership.

While Martin Luther King's initial impact among Negroes was indeed dramatic and national in scope, his type of personal leadership has been more effective in the South than in the North. The non-violent, passive resistance, "love the oppressor" approach seems to have had some strategic effectiveness in the southern Negro's struggle against those specific and flagrant types of segregation and discrimination found--13--in the South - on busses, waiting rooms, and other public accommodations. This philosophy and its related strategy and technique do not seem to be particularly appropriate in dealing with the more subtle forms of segregation and discrimination characteristic of northern communities. The "selective buying" campaign to expand employment opportunities among Negroes in Philadelphia seems to be the closest approach to the Martin Luther King technique found in effective use among northern Negroes. In general, however, patterns of discrimination in employment, political appointments, segregated housing and de facto segregated schools do not seem to be easily dramatized by boycotts, sit-ins or the strategic philosophy of "love of the oppressor". In fact, it is difficult



to identify a specific oppressor even if one desired to "love " him into compliance with the laws of justice.

There are more subtle problems involved in attempting to appraise the over-all effect of Martin Luther King's philosophy in the long range struggle of the Negro in America. On the obvious level, King's insistence that the Negro cannot afford to be corroded by hatred and must therefore discipline himself to love those who despise him is consistent with the Christian tradition and is the antithesis of the doctrine of hatred and racism preached by the black nationalists. On the surface, King's philosophy appears to reflect health and stability, while the black nationalists betray pathology and instability. A deeper analysis, however, might reveal that there is also an unrealistic, if not pathological, basis in King's doctrine. It is questionable whether the masses of an oppressed group can in fact "love" their oppressor. The natural reactions to injustice, oppression and humiliation are bitterness and resentment. The form which such bitterness takes need not be overtly violent but the corrosion of the human spirit which is involved seems inevitable. It would seem, then, that any demand that the--14--victims of oppression be required to love those who oppress them places an additional and probably intolerable psychological burden upon these victims.

It has been argued that the proper interpretation of King's philosophy of "love for the oppressor" must take into account its Christian philosophical and stragetie significance. This argument may be perfectly correct for a small minority of educated and philosophically sophisticated individuals. But is unlikely that it can be accepted with full understanding by the masses of Negroes. Their very attempt to cope with this type of philosophical abstraction in the face of the concrete injustices which dominate their daily lives could only lead to deep and distrubing inner conflicts and guilts. Finally, it is most distrubing to reflect on the possibility of this aspect of Martin Luther King's philosophy has received such widespread and uncritical acceptance among moderate and liberal whites because it is not inconsistent with the sterotype of the Negro as a meek, long-suffering creature who prays for deliverance but who rarely acts decisively against injustices.

#### The New Image of the Negro

There is no doubt that a new image of the Negro has emerged in the post World War II years. It might be desirable to restate for clarity the number of factors which have converged to make this demonstration of the Negro's impatient and irresistible demands for unqualified and immediate justice as a citizen in American democracy. Among these factors are the tremendous and rapid changes in our indistrial and technological society including miraculous ne developments in transportation and communication; the massive migration of the Negro population from the southern to northern and western regions of the United States; the participation of Negroes in two major World Wars for democracy within this--15--generation and their unwillingness to give their lives for democracy elsewhere while they are denied the benefits of democracy in their own land; the rise of communism as an aggressive ideological adversary of western and American democratic ideology and the competitive struggle with this ideology for the loyalties of the people of the world; the rise of the independent states in Africa and Asia and the American Negro's identification with these people and his anxiety that with their increased status his own status as a rejected minority in his own land will become even more intolerable; the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and its tremendous positive effect on the morale of the Negro; the dawdling, tortuously slow pace of desegregation in America and the equivocation and evasiveness of the legislative and executive branches of the federal government in dealing with problems of desegregation.

It is of psychological significance that the present impatience of the Negro and his unwillingness to accept any argument for the postponement of any of his rights as an American citizen reflect, among other things, the tremendous progress which has been made in race relations in America within the past 20 years. These real gains have whetted the Negro's appetite to demand the fruits of full equality as an American citizen without reservation, compromise or postponement. The closer the Negro approaches these goals of full equality the more impatient he becomes with existing forms of



discrimination. The present posture of the American Negro may be most accurately characterized in terms of a rather stolid, persistent upon his unqualified rights as an American citizen and a desire to assume the full responsibilities associated with such rights. He appears to be impatient with all equivocation, evasion, hypocrisy and subterfuges which seek to postpone the fulfillment of these rights and responsibilities or to--16--subordinate them to issues which are considered by others to be of greater importance. He sees problems of international relations, justice and democracy for others, the fight against communism and problems of world peace as inextricably bound up with the problems of racial justice in America. In fact the New Negro in the North as well as in the South has moved beyond the constricted level of mere racial protest and special pleading into the broader concern for strengthening the democratic foundations of America. He now recognizes beyond doubt that his destiny is one with the destiny of America and that he must contribute his thoughts and his strengths to increase the chances of America's survival and victory in its titanic struggle against a formidable adversary. To do so he must continue to demand that America demonstrate the validity and power and resilience of the democratic ideology by its ability to accept the Negro as a citizen without racial qualifications. The Negro cannot help America survive if America continues to exclude him from the necessary education, training and dignity which are essential to human creativity.

It is the responsibility of the American Negro to free America from the shackles of racism and help his nation to that level of maturity and adaptability which is essential for its survival. The new image of the Negro and the responsibilities with this new image involve him in the role of social critic. In this role the American Negro demands that the fundamental moral values of be established beyond the point of . He cannot be content to demand integration and personal acceptance into a decaying moral structure. He cannot help his country gird itself for the arduous struggle before it by a willingness to share equally in a tottering structure of moral hypocrisy, social insensitivity,--17--personal despair and desperation. He must demand that the substance and strength inherent in the democratic process be fulfilled rather than cynically abused and disparaged.

The New Negro in the North has been forced by the intricate complexities of world and national events to view himself and his struggles in the broader terms which go beyond regional boundaries or racial restrictions. His identification with the southern Negro is obvious, historic and contemporaneous. His compassionate identification with the destiny of America is more recent but is a and imperative fact of our times. His identification with human beings throughout the world who are struggling to overthrow the yoke of past injustices and exploitations is increasingly clear. And his identification with all of mankind as it seeks solutions to the overriding problems of survival with justice and dignity is a significant fact of the present and one of the facts which determines the possibility of a future.