

ON BEING ASHAMED OF ONESELF

(Continued from page 1)

more than that, because the upper colored group is desperately afraid of being represented before American whites by this lower group, or being mistaken for them, or being treated as though they were part of it, they are pushed to the extreme of effort to avoid contact with the poorest classes of Negroes. This exaggerates, at once, the secret shame of being identified with such people and the anomaly of insisting that the physical characteristics of these folk which the upper class shares, are not the stigmata of degradation.

When, therefore, in offense or defense, the leading group of Negroes must make common cause with the masses of their own race, the embarrassment or hesitation becomes apparent. They are embarrassed and indignant because an educated man should be treated as a Negro, and that no Negroes receive credit for social standing. They are ashamed and embarrassed because of the compulsion of being classed with a mass of people over whom they have no real control and whose action they can influence only with difficulty and compromise and with every risk of defeat.

Especially is all natural control over this group difficult—I mean control of law and police, of economic power, of guiding standards and ideals, of news propaganda. On this comes even greater difficulty because of the incompatibility of any action which looks toward racial integrity and race action with previous ideals. What are we really aiming at? The building of a new nation or the integration of a new group into an old nation? The latter has long been our ideal. Must it be changed? Should it be changed? If we seek new group loyalty, new pride of race, new racial integrity—how, where, and by what method shall these things be attained? A new plan must be built up. It cannot be mere rhodomontade and fatuous propaganda on which Garveyism was based. It has got to be far-sighted planning. It will involve increased segregation and perhaps migration. It will be pounced upon and aided and encouraged by every "nigger-hater" in the land.

Moreover, in further comment on all this, it may be pointed out that this is not the day for the experiment of new nations or the emphasis of racial lines. This is, or at least we thought it was, the day of the Inter-nation, of Humanity, and the disappearance of "race" from our vocabulary. Are we American Negroes seeking to move against or into the face of this fine philosophy? Here then is the real problem, the real new dilemma between rights of American citizens and racial pride, which faces American Negroes today and which is not always or often clearly faced.

The situation is this: America, in denying equality of rights, of employment and social recognition to American Negroes, has said in the past that the Negro was so far below the average nation in social position, that he could not be recognized until he had developed further. In the answer to this, the Negro has eliminated five-sixths of his illiteracy according to official figures and greatly increased the number of colored persons who have received education of the higher sort. They still are poor with a large number of delinquents and dependents. Nevertheless, their average situation in this respect has been greatly improved and, on the other hand, the emergence and accomplishment of colored men of ability has been undoubted. Notwithstanding this, the

Negro is still a group apart, with almost no social recognition, subject to insult and discrimination, with income and wage far below the average of the nation and the most deliberately exploited industrial class in America. Even trained Negroes have increasing difficulty in making a living sufficient to sustain a civilized standard of life. Particularly in the recent vast economic changes, color discrimination as it now goes on, is going to make it increasingly difficult for the Negro to remain an integral part of the industrial machine or to increase his participation in accordance with his ability.

The integration of industry is making it more and more possible for executives to exercise their judgment in choosing for key positions, persons who can guide the industrial machine, and the exclusion of persons from such positions merely on the basis of race and color or even Negro descent is a widely recognized and easily defended prerogative.

All that is necessary for any Christian American gentleman of high position and wide power to say in denying place and promotion to an eligible candidate is: "He is of Negro descent." The answer and excuse is final and all but universally accepted. For this reason, the Negro's opportunity in State directed industry and his opportunity in the great private organization of industry if not actually growing less, is certainly much smaller than his growth in education and ability. Either the industry of the nation in the future is to be conducted by private trusts or by government control. There seems in both to be little or no chance of advancement for the Negro worker, the educated artisan and the educated leader.

On the other hand, organized labor is giving Negroes less recognition today than ever. It has practically excluded them from the higher lines of skilled work, on railroads, in machine-shops, in manufacture and in the basic industries. In agriculture, where the Negro has theoretically the largest opportunity, he is excluded from successful participation, not only by conditions common to all farmers, but by social conditions due to lynching, lawlessness, disfranchisement and social degradation.

Facing these indisputable facts, there is on the part of the leaders of public opinion in America, no effective response to our agitation or organized propaganda. Our advance in the last quarter century has been in segregated, racially integrated institutions and efforts and not in effective entrance into American national life. In Negro churches, Negro schools, Negro colleges, Negro business and Negro art and literature our advance has been determined and inspiring; but in industry, general professional careers and national life, we have fought battle after battle and lost more often than we have won. There seems no hope that America in our day will yield in its color or race hatred any substantial ground and we have no physical nor economic power, nor any alliance with other social or economic classes that will force compliance with decent civilized ideals in Church, State, industry or art.

The next step, then, is certainly one on the part of the Negro and it involves group action. It involves the organization of intelligent and earnest people of Negro descent for their preservation and advancement in America, in the West Indies and in Africa; and no sentimental distaste for racial or national unity can be allowed to hold the mback from a step which sheer necessity demands.

A new organized group action along economic lines, guided by intelligence and with the express object of making it possible for Negro

(Continued on second last page)

COMPLIMENTS OF

Mark AYRES

DAIRY

THE MILK FOR BABIES

32 Hume Street

Fair. 148

W. I. Burnett

Tobacco, Candies and Magazines

205 Hamilton Rd.

Met. 5339

L. G. Eggleston

DRUGGIST

Cor. Hamilton Rd. & Adelaide St.

PHONE MET. 2945

Phone Metcalf

6958

It's time to send
your fall cleaningPhone before 12 noon and
we'll pick up the same day.

ONTARIO

CLEANERS AND DYERS

Please Return your old hangers!

MERCHANDISE AND
FURNITURE
STORAGEFireproof
Warehouses

On C.N.R. and C.P.R. Tracks

M. Wilson & Sons

AUTOMOBILE TOPS

BODY AND FENDER REPAIRS
REFINISHING

339 TALBOT ST. London, Ont.

METCALF 5320

SHOP AT

Zeller's

IT PAYS!

BUY ONLY WHAT YOU NEED!

COMPLIMENTS

OF

Sparton of Canada

LIMITED



Compliments of

CANADA BREAD

London, Ontario

A. Johnson & Sons

697-699 HAMILTON ROAD

Quality MEATS
and GROCERIES

FAIR. 420

WE DELIVER

ECONOMY STORES

DRY GOODS — MEN'S WEAR — LADIES' WEAR

EVERYTHING ELECTRICAL

PHONE MET. 9854-W

717-719 Hamilton Road

London, Ontario

Featherstone's Market

Fresh Meats

Fruits and Groceries

776-778 HAMILTON ROAD

LONDON — ONTARIO

ALWAYS

Al
Ea
Wi
Its
Wi
WaOf
Th
Wi
Of
An
WiAll
I n
Th
Ag
An
Up

H. A. I

HA

LONDON

Christmas

In fact

D'Erina

242 DUNDAS S

Candy, Ice Cream

Iren

745 HAMILTON

H. J

69 DUNDAS ST

MAYL

978 DUNDAS ST.

LOND

London L

LUMBER

Every

495 BATHURST S