

own representatives, and create their own organizations. We fight against every effort to take these rights away.

But at the same time we emphasize that capitalism cannot be done away with by the ballot. We believe in using elections and our representatives in elected bodies to rally the people against capitalism. As long as capitalism permits the rights of citizenship, the working class should use these rights against the capitalists. But anyone who tells you to depend upon the ballot and civil rights for your defense is betraying you. For, as has happened in Germany, in Italy and in Austria, the capitalists take these rights away, forbid the right of free press, free assemblage, free speech and the vote. And what then? Does not the ruling class in the United States more and more deny the rights of citizenship to workers, have they not always denied these rights to Negroes?

### The "Race Criers": Black Patriotism

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, former editor of *The Crisis* who recently departed from the N.A.A.C.P., is today the clearest and foremost exponent of Black Patriotism and race solidarity. We will examine his arguments one by one, for they are the most complete and best arguments for this point of view. We will then show how dangerous such ideas are to the struggle for Negro freedom.

*First argument:* The Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, is not an exploiter of Negro labor.

We have already shown that this is not true. It is correct that there are very few Negro manufacturers or large landowners who hire labor and exploit Negro workers directly. But there is a Negro upper class which lives by means of segregation. It is in the interest of this class to defend segregation, or the very basis of Negro business would be wiped out. On the other hand, segregation is the worst feature of the oppression of the Negro masses. It is in the best interests of these masses to wipe out segregation. The interests of the masses and of the Negro upper class clash. In order to obtain real equality, which means doing away with segregation, it is necessary to fight not only against the white ruling class but against the Negro upper class as well.

Furthermore, it is clear that the interests of the Negro upper class are the same as those of the white ruling class. Both classes wish to maintain segregation, and with it, the basis of Negro oppression. This unity of interest is shown clearly in

action. On many occasions we have seen the so-called "respectable leaders of the race" openly cooperating with the ruling class.

*Second argument:* The members of the Negro upper class, says Dr. DuBois, "bear the brunt of color prejudice because they express in word and work the aspirations of all black folk for emancipation." He goes on to claim the Negro upper class as the leader of the Negro people towards a new future.

We know that a class which lives from crumbs off the table of American big business, of the Rockefellers and the Fords, which accepts capitalism as the basis for its own existence, can not lead a strenuous and militant struggle for Negro liberation. But DuBois tries to dress this cringy warrior in shining armor, for he fears another class. He fears the working class.

The workers as a class are the only consistently revolutionary class in present-day society. If properly organized and led, they can stop the wheels of industry. They are like an army: big industry has thrown the workers together, in large disciplined masses. They organize in unions to fight for better conditions. To win better conditions they *must* fight against the capitalists. This struggle develops into a struggle against capitalism itself. The workers are the only class with the power to overthrow capitalism and build a new society. They lead the rest of the exploited population to this goal.

It has been one of the most inspiring facts of recent history in the United States, that the white workers have begun to overcome white prejudices and lead in the struggle for Negro rights. This is in part due to the economic crisis. As they have lost their jobs, as their conditions have grown steadily worse, they have seen the necessity of uniting with their fellow black workers against the employers. But it is also because of the fight of the Communists against prejudice and for working class solidarity and Negro rights. In the last six years, since 1929, the following highly significant events have occurred:

A share-croppers' union, under Communist leadership, has been organized in Alabama and other Southern states, with a membership, at the time of writing, of close to 10,000 members. This is the first time that such a large and fighting union of share-croppers has been able to exist, to lead struggles against the plantation masters and to continue to grow.

The Communist Party has been organizing white and Negro