

geoisie, a Negro intelligentsia and even a *Negro bourgeoisie*. The very fact of segregation of the Negro masses creates the basis for the development of a stratum of small merchants, lawyers, physicians, preachers, brokers, who try to attract the Negro workers and farmers as consumers. There is no Negro *industrial* bourgeoisie. Predominance of white trusts restricts the young and weak Negro bourgeoisie to the fields of trade and second-rate banking.

It would be a major mistake to overlook the existence of class differences among the Negroes, especially the crystallization of a Negro bourgeoisie. There were in 1924, 73 Negro banks, carrying an annual volume of business of over 100,000,000 dollars. There are 25 Negro insurance companies; 14 of these have assets totalling 6,000,000 dollars and during 1926 alone paid over 3,000,000 dollars in claims. *This Negro bourgeoisie is closely tied up with the white bourgeoisie; is often the agent of the white capitalists.* Economically the Negro banks are often part of the Federal Reserve System of banking.

Politically the Negro bourgeoisie is participating, to a growing degree, in the so-called "commissions for inter-racial cooperation." These committees exist in eight hundred counties of the south and are spreading all through the "black belt." But the ideological and organizational bearer of the national racial movement of the Negroes is today rather the intelligentsia and petit-bourgeoisie.

PROLETARIANIZATION AND PAUPERIZATION OF THE FARMER

There is a growing process of disintegration going on among the Negro farmers. Ever larger sections are transformed into agricultural workers (2,000,000) and hundreds of thousands of Negro farmers and agricultural workers desert their lands and migrate to the big cities and industrial centres. This migration is not only to the industrial centres and big cities of the east and north, but also to the rising industrial centres of the south. There is even migration from the plantations to the villages of the south where there is a non-agrarian Negro population of about two millions.

Lenin pointed out back in 1913, as one of the foremost characteristics of the southern rural areas, the fact that "*its population is deserting it.*" The disintegration of the Negro peasantry means

partly *proletarianization* of the Negro share-croppers,¹ partly *pauperization* of the Negro masses. In the past the south has had a stratum of "poor whites," today it is developing a new stratum of "poor blacks"—driven completely outside the process of production.

The southern plantation owners and their government have tried to hold the Negro farmers and agricultural workers in the southern cotton fields by force, but even their brutal terror has not been able to stop the mighty migration from the cotton plantations to the industrial centres. *This migration is an "unarmed Spartacist uprising" against slavery and oppression by a capitalist and feudal oligarchy.* The Negro has fled from the south, but what has he found in the north? He has found in the company towns and industrial centres of the north and east a wage slavery virtually not better than the contract slavery in the south. He has found crowded, unsanitary slums. He has exchanged the old segregation for a new segregation in the worst sections of the cities. He is doing the most dangerous, worst-paid, unskilled work in the steel, coal and packing industries. *He has found the racial prejudice of a narrow white labor aristocracy* which refuses to recognize the unskilled Negro worker as its equal. He has found the treachery of the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., which refuses to organize the Negro workers into trade unions; he has found betrayal by the renegade Socialist Party which capitulated completely to white chauvinism. The lynchings of the south have their counterpart in the race riots of the east. The employing class deliberately arouses the racial hatred and prejudices of the white workers against the Negro workers with the sinister aim of splitting and dividing the ranks of the working class, thereby maintaining the exploitation and oppression of both the white and Negro workers.

¹"A cropper is a tenant who works the land for his landlord without supplying any of the working capital, but he might almost as well be regarded as a laborer who accepts a share of the crop as his wages. . . . The payment for their services in the form of a share of production rather than in the form of a stated weekly or a monthly wage is the part of a plan whereby the landlord is able to insure himself of their continued services throughout the season. . . . In other words, *while tenancy in theory represents merely a method of holding possession of the land, in practice it sometimes works out into a method of obtaining laborers to work on the land.*" Goldweiser and Truesdell; "Farm Tenancy in the United States." Census Monographs IV. Washington, 1927).