are unable to change this fact, not only are white insurance companies justified in their differential premium rates but the Negro companies must inevitably collapse if they fail to modify their policies according to this biological principle.

What changes have occurred in the position of the Negro in the labor market since the N. R. A.? How have penetration of collective bargaining in the mass production industries and the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act affected Negro and white labor competition, especially in the South? Is there reason to believe that the tendency to establish trade union agreements for entire industries instead of companies and plants threatens to curtail Negro employment opportunities and occupational advancement? What has been the effect of the tremendous expansion of government agencies since the New Deal upon the employment opportunities of Negroes in the white collar occupations? What have been the actual effects of the agricultural program upon Negro farmers? Is it true that in spite of liberal grants of relief to Negroes and the appointment of educated members of the race to certain special jobs, the New Deal has inaugurated policies which by checking the expansion of private enterprise are in the long run inimical to the economic interest of the masses of Negroes? Finally, if, as some economists think, capitalist enterprise has reached maturity, and if, as a result, expansion of private investments and employment will in the future rest to a considerable extent upon federal deficit-financing and state intervention, is an improvement in the position of the Negro probable?

**DISCUSSION**

**Mr. Simpson:** I am greatly interested in your statement about the three social classes in the various West Indian countries, and in the possibility of a more detailed analysis of each of those social classes than has thus far been made. By this I mean not only an analysis of the structure of these societies as a whole, but a study of the differences within each society in terms of the ideal patterns of action which people carry in their minds and which each individual, in the terms of his own position in society, tries con-
cretely to put into action—though he never does, of course. So far as I know, no studies have been attempted which envisage such a detailed analysis of the roles played by people in each of the social classes within these societies.

Mr. Harris: Of course, Ragatz’s book, The Fall of the Planter Class, gives us the historical background for an understanding of the position of the various classes in West Indian society today, but does not tell us, however, the relations of these classes with respect to current economic and political issues within the islands.

Mr. Apterker: I think Gilberto Freyre’s work on slavery in Brazil and the relation of the slave cabin to the “big house,” does a good job, so far as Brazil is concerned, and so far as it relates to the period of slaving.

Mr. Frazier: In the beginning of his paper, I think, Mr. Harris made the statement that, in a certain sense, the Negro is less an alien to the material aspects of Western civilization than to the non-material. Is it not possible that the Negro in being exploited was an instrument in the accumulation of capital without his being acquainted with or having become habituated to the material aspects of Western civilization?

Mr. Harris: Yes. To that proposition I suppose I could offer no criticism. The statement I made, however, had a connotation a little different from what you seem to have in mind. I was trying to emphasize the relationship between the institutional development of Western civilization—democracy and the expansion of capitalism—and African slave traffic and the uses of slave labor; and also, the degree to which the accumulation of capital and expansion of commerce were linked up with Negro labor and its exploitation.

Mr. Herskovits: Your point was also that there were perhaps more aboriginal endowments of the Negro carried over into the realm of the material culture than into the non-material.

Mr. Frazier: From the point of habituation to technics, and so forth, one would understand that the Negroes were of assistance to the material aspects of the culture. If that were true it would be interesting, but is it true that the Negro was any less an alien?

Mr. Bunche: We would be interested in hearing Mr. Frazier elaborate this statement.
MR. FRAZIER: To say that a person was less of an alien to the material aspects of a culture would simply mean that he had acquired the technics of a culture, and so forth, without acquiring what we call the spiritual and non-material aspects of a culture, the ideals and patterns of behavior, religious ideas, family patterns and the like. But I doubt that the Negro, even as an exploited instrument of production, would acquire even the technics of Western civilization. They were perhaps not so highly developed in the seventeenth century, but they were quite different from African technics.

MR. HARRIS: What are the technics in the material culture to which you refer?

MR. FRAZIER: Such a matter as steering a ship across the ocean.

MR. HARRIS: But you can find numerous examples of Negroes who did steer ships across the ocean in the eighteenth century, and did this quite well.

MR. BASCOM: One can also find examples of those who lived a Christian life, can one not?

MR. FRAZIER: As exceptions.

MR. HERSKOVITS: Are we trying to assess the relationship between physical type and cultural behavior, or to establish the fact that cultural behavior can be learned? I imagine we are all agreed on that; yet other than this, I do not quite see the point at issue.

MR. FRAZIER: I had not thought of Negroes becoming acquainted with the material phases of European culture rather than with other aspects, perhaps thus exemplifying Rivers' thesis that people take over the material aspects of a culture before they take over the non-material.

MR. HARRIS: I made the statement that perhaps in the material sphere of the culture the Negro has been less an “alien,” meaning by this that his work was essential to wealth production, etc. I don’t think there can be any quarrel about this general description of the economic development.

MR. REDDICK: May I raise a somewhat different question? I was wondering if Mr. Harris would consider as a fruitful field for investigation the position of the free Negro in the ante-bellum world, and his whole economic and social relations with the whole
structure in the South. This appears to me something that might interest sociologists and historians as well as economists.

MR. HARRIS: In America? Yes, I think so. Hasn’t some work been done on that problem already?

MR. REDDICK: A little has been done, but very little as concerns the economic origins of this particular class and its social setting.

MR. HARRIS: Do you think it possible or desirable to tie up the research you suggest with investigations in the West Indies?

MR. REDDICK: Yes. The situation in South America, particularly in Brazil, could also be studied so as to lead to a kind of comparative analysis of these class structures in their economic and social relations.

MR. HARRIS: It is in this way that Professor Frazier, I think, approaches his study of the Negro family in the United States. He views it in terms of the history and current position of the Negro family in Brazil, Cuba, and the West Indies.

MR. JOHNSON: I should like to shift the discussion once more, by raising an entirely different question. Not very much has been said about the possibilities for studies of the present economic patterns of Southern agriculture and the rôle of the Negro agricultural worker. Just to point one such problem I may mention the transition from plantation slavery to, let us say, a tenancy which created a status which was inherited, in turn, by white agricultural workers who are caught up in present tenancy patterns; and the relation between this situation and the larger economic system of this country.

MR. HARRIS: Your idea is implicit in the statement I made concerning the difference in the way economic factors influenced abolition in the West Indies and in the United States. It is my belief that the growth of the peculiar agricultural system in the South is connected with the failure of the democratic aims of the Republicans after the Civil War. What seems to have been in the minds of the so-called left-wing Republicans led by Stevens was the development of a system of small farming. That purpose was never realized, or only partly realized. The plan could not be carried out for numerous reasons: first, because it was opposed
by the more conservative leaders of the Republican party; and, secondly, because the government never confiscated sufficient land to make small-scale farming general among the emancipated slaves.

The relation of the political and economic resurgence of the old South to the failure of, let us say, the “40 acres and a mule” policy, provides a basis for an explanation of the Southern plantation system in the United States. The course of events seems to have been different in the West Indies, where a fairly general system of peasant proprietorship arose. If I were making a study of the two situations, I would surely keep this difference in mind.

Mr. Wish: Since we are interested in the interdisciplinary point of view, I wonder if any economic approach to that problem in terms of an institutional study would not run the danger that the power of ideas as opposed to the determining economic forces might be overlooked. For example, in studying the rise of emancipation in the West Indies, a conflict between the mother country and the local interests must be taken into account wherein the local economic interests were overridden by powerful impulses coming from the mother country, which in turn were a product of eighteenth century humanitarianism. Which of these impulses came first?

Mr. Harris: If you mean that the economic studies we have in mind would not be very illuminating if they wholly excluded reference to the ideological factors, I think I agree with you.

Mr. Herskovits: There are economists who would not agree with such a position.

Mr. Harris: I would put it this way. If we look at patterns of thought and behavior over a considerable period, we find that the economic conditions or factors exert a predominant influence on their character. I am inclined to think that the belief of the radical Republicans concerning landholding grew out of their petty bourgeois economic and political views. In this country, the political ideas of the petty bourgeois were connected with enterprise, including small-scale farming, and especially with the frontier, the expansion to the West and with the early development of capitalism. Thus in answering the question as to which