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THE NEGRO WORKER



BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS OF THE B.I.L.U.

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in charge of Editing.

NOTICE TO OUR READERS: We beg all our readers to acknowledge the receipt of the "NEGRO WORKER" in order to ensure future issues. Editors are request to reprint articles, resolutions, appeals, etc. which appear in the Bulletin.

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Workers of All Races, of All Nationalities Rally Under the Banner of the Red International of Labor Unions!

FORWARD TO THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO TOILERS!

On July 1st in London will be convened the first International Conference of Negro toilers. The Conference will meet in a historic moment in the development of Negro liberation struggles, in a period of rising mass struggles of Negro toilers in all parts of the world against the brutal yoke of imperialist oppression.

The millions of downtrodden and inhumanly oppressed Negro toilers in both Africa and the Americas have been definitely drawn into the maelstrom of revolutionary ferment at present embracing the toiling masses of all countries and which is manifested with particular sharpness in the colonies.

In Africa this period has been accompanied by a series of mass revolts breaking out in Congo, Nigeria, Lower Sudan, the strike of the militant workers in Gambia, the tremendous upsurge of revolutionary national and class struggles in South Africa, revealed in the growing strike wave among the Negro workers, mass political demonstrations, revolutionary violation of slave laws imposed by the government of arch reactionary Boers and British imperialists, and in the development of widespread revolutionary boycott movement. In the West Indies we witnessed the heroic uprising of the toilers and students of Haiti against the predatory policy of American imperialism, strikes in Martinique, Porto Rico and Cuba. In the USA is to be noted an increased political awakening of Negro toilers as manifested in their active participation in economic strikes and political demonstrations along with the white workers, the influx of Negro workers into the revolutionary trade unions, etc. The Negro toilers goaded to desperation by the increased encroachments of the imperialists upon their already unbearable conditions are everywhere rising in revolutionary struggle.

Such is the general environment in which the London Conference will take place.

1. Of tremendous importance at the present time is the question of leadership, i. e., conscious direction of these struggles. The struggles of the Negro toilers are in the main of a spontaneous and unorganised character. In many cases the Negro movement is in the hands of the reformists who betray the masses at every step. The Conference must lay the bases for the formation of an international fighting organisation capable of organising, uniting and conducting the struggles of the Negro toilers in all parts of the world against imperialism.

2. Of paramount importance is the question of linking up the struggles of the Negro toilers with those of the toilers of other nationalities and races. At the present time the struggles of the Negro toilers are taking place in the main outside of the influence of and with little or no connection with the international revolutionary labour movement. In this manner the Negro workers are deprived of the assistance of the more advanced and experienced workers of Europe and America. The Negro workers must become conscious of the fact that their struggles are not the struggles of the Negroes alone, but that they are an integral part of the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses of all nations taking place in the present period as a result of the ever deepening crisis of world capitalism and the consequent efforts of the imperialists to place the main burden of the crisis upon the toilers in general. The struggles of the Negro masses are therefore inseparably connected with the deepening revolutionary ferment among the Indian toilers as manifested in recent strikes of the Indian textile and railroad workers, the tremendous revival of the

Chinese Revolution, the heroic revolt of the Arabian masses in Palestine and finally, with the growing revolutionary offensive of the toilers in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and America. All of these struggles are directed against the common foe - imperialism. It is obvious that the struggles of the Negro toilers cannot be effective, they cannot achieve the maximum results unless consciously linked up with those of the toilers of other nations. The united front of imperialist reaction must be opposed by the united front of revolutionary struggles. Therefore, one of the chief tasks of the conference must be the working out of measures for concerted action of Negro toilers with the oppressed and exploited toilers of other races and nations.

3. The Conference must devote particular attention to the economic struggles of the Negro toilers. It must work out plans for the coordination of these struggles. It must wrest the leadership of these struggles from the reformists whose role is to conduct them into channels of legality and agreement with the bosses. The reformist slogan of industrial peace must be opposed by the slogan of revolutionary struggle for better living conditions, against rationalisation and speed-up, against unemployment and mass lockouts, for increased wages and the shortening of the working day, for equal pay for equal work regardless of race, nation or sex. These struggles must be linked up with the struggle against all forms of political oppression and against all forms of slave exploitation such as forced labour, peonage, etc. The Conference must work out definite plans for the connecting of the struggles of the workers up with those of the revolutionary peasantry.

The struggles of the Negro masses cannot be conducted properly as long as the Negro toilers remain in their present unorganised state. In all countries they are in the main unorganised and therefore at the mercy of their exploiters. A large percentage of the few unions and workers' organisations existing among them, are in the hands of reformist lackeys of imperialism. Therefore, the Conference must seriously approach the question of the organisation of revolutionary trade unions, and peasant organisations among the Negro toilers and the organisational linking of these up with similar organisations of workers and peasants of other nations. The carrying out of this task is at the same time an essential step towards consistent leadership of the Negro liberation struggles.

4. The Conference must devote serious attention to the question of combatting the influence of national reformism among the Negro toilers. Reformism as represented in the imperialist countries by the Social-Democratic parties, including the British Labour Party and its "Left" shield the Independent Labour Party, as well as the Amsterdam International, A.F. of L., etc, has its counterpart in Negro reformism, which latter presents one of the greatest obstacles in the development of the Negro liberation struggle.

The carriers of reformism among Negroes in all countries are those sections of the Negro middle classes and intelligentsia who corrupted by imperialist bribes and frightened by the growing militancy and class consciousness of the Negro workers have deserted the Negro liberation struggles. In this connection suffice it to mention the base treachery of Kadeli who sold out the Industrial Commercial Union of the native toilers of South Africa to the imperialists and the dastardly betrayal of the union of Sleeping Car Porters in the United States by Randolph,

However, the most subtle and therefore the most dangerous type of reformism is Garveyism. Garveyism utilises the feelings of mutual sympathy which exist between Negro toilers in all parts of the world by virtue of their common exploitation and oppression, not in the interest

to the Negro toilers, but for the purpose of promoting reactionary utopias of the Negro bourgeoisie. "Back to Africa" means the substitution of revolutionary struggles of the Negroes all over the world by the utopian illusion of a "peaceful return to Africa" and the establishment of a "free" Negro nation under imperialism. The continued rise of the Negro liberation movement will serve to drive the representatives of the above tendencies more and more into the camp of reaction and against the Negro masses. The Conference must carry out the relentless exposure of these elements. Only the Negro workers in cooperation and alliance with the workers of other nations and races can furnish consistent revolutionary leadership to the struggles of the Negro masses for immediate demands and for final liberation.

5. The question of the war danger and the defence of the Soviet Union assumes particular importance in the present period. The deepening world crisis sharpens the danger of war among the imperialist powers and particularly against the Soviet Union the fatherland of the world's exploited and oppressed.

War to the Negro masses can only mean the tightening of the shackles of imperialism upon them.

Therefore, the Conference must give serious attention to this question. It must lay the basis for the widest propaganda among the Negro toilers directed towards exposing the sinister war plans of the imperialists.

The present period is one of tremendous historic importance for the Negro masses all over the world. Therefore, the London Conference must mark a new era in the development of Negro liberation struggles. The Negro workers must give the fullest support to this conference. All proletarian organisations, trade unions, shop groups and committees, must immediately select delegates to participate in this historic event. All sympathetic organisations should send their fraternal delegates.

Negro workers forward to the London Conference !

For further information regarding the International Negro Labor Conference apply to :

James W. Ford, Chairman.
Beatrice Arskind, Secretary.
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2 West 15th. st. New York City, USA.

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FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALIST RATIONALI- SATION, FOR THE 7-HOUR WORK DAY!

NATIVE RAILWAYMEN'S STRIKE IN EAST LONDON, SOUTH AFRICA .

Last January a strike broke out among the native railwaymen and dockers of East London, one of the ports in South Africa. Although it was a purely local strike which lasted two weeks, the men being defeated, it was significant for it pointed to the growing class struggle in South Africa, the radicalisation of the native working masses and the widening gulf between them and the opportunist leadership who still control the native TU movement.

Briefly, the history of the strike was as follows: the natives employed in the port and on the railroad receive only three shillings a day although most of them have seen many years service. The Independent Union of Commercial and Industrial Employees, which enrolls these

workers, decided to demand higher wages, of six shillings and six pence per day. When this demand was turned down by the administration the workers came out on strike on January 16th. Steps were immediately taken to smash the strike. Scabs were recruited chiefly from among the white workers who were placed under the protection of strong police and special contingents of ex-servicemen organised to suppress the outbreak of any disturbances. All kinds of false and misleading rumors were circulated by the press, to the effect that the strike had broken down and that natives as well as white workers were only too glad to take the jobs left by the strikers. But when this campaign brought no results (for the strikers stood solidly together); the Government arrested the Strike Committee, headed by Cadalie, the leader of the Union. All the committee members were arrested on the charge of inciting the workers to violence, which prompted Cadalie, alarmed at the possible consequences of such a charge, to call off the strike. He urged the workers to return to their jobs and to make collections to defend the arrested men. Cadalie's treachery simply demoralised the strikers with the result that only a few men, mostly dockers, continued the fight, the rest returning.

Having already thrown the Union of Commercial and Industrial Employees into the arms of Amsterdam, Cadalie did his best to keep the strike within "legal bounds". He used his influence to bind the workers hand in foot, and stamped out all signs of militancy. All he did was to threaten that if his conditions were not conceded, he would call a general strike and organise picketing. But he did neither the one, nor the other. As a matter of fact, in his messages to the strikers he told them to go about their business peacefully and not resort to violence against any one. He appealed to the bourgeois authorities and to Parliament demanding that the Governor General of South Africa intervene, thus creating the impression that the representative of British imperialism was an impartial judge, standing above the classes whom the workers could safely trust with their interests.

But the bourgeoisie gave the workers a taste of the class struggle. They simply derided all Cadalie's appellations and judicial niceties, they mobilised the police and the ex-servicemen and recruited a sufficient number of scabs. In fact, the Government did not even deign to reply to Cadalie, haughtily announcing unofficially that the articles of the law cited by Cadalie apply only to the whites and not to the natives. Knowing full well that Cadalie would never put his threat into effect, the authorities decided to attack. The whole Strike Committee was promptly arrested. They succeeded in getting Cadalie, immediately after his arrest, to tell the workers that the strike was ended and that they would have to return to work. No wonder the most class-conscious section of the workers who supported Cadalie, were dissatisfied with the turn the movement had taken: They decided to continue the fight. But this decision proved futile since the workers had already been demoralised by Cadalie's action.

The attitude of the other reformist organisations to the strike is very instructive. The South African Trade Union Congress, the TU center of the white workers did nothing at all to help the native workers. When Cadalie called the Congress that white workers were scabbing, Andrews, the Secretary of the Congress, coolly replied that he could do nothing and that the telegram would be discussed at the next meeting of the Congress Executive Committee. Amsterdam, too, turned a deaf ear. When the strike started, Cadalie appealed for help to the Amsterdam International Secretariat and to the International Transport Workers' Federation. No reply was received from Amsterdam, while the I.T.F. requested additional information. But when the "additional information" had been furnished, Cadalie requesting that £ 200 be forwarded, he got no reply.

As far as one can judge from the bourgeois press we regret to say that neither the Communist Party of South Africa, nor the Non-European Trade Union Federation showed any interest in the strike or took any steps to help the men. The fact that the strikers at the meetings were urging that it was time to "cut the cackle" and get down

to business, and that although the position was hopeless many workers still continued to strike after it had been officially called off, shows that there is a fine revolutionary spirit, lacking organised expression, among the rank and file.

Although it was defeated the strike proved a good lesson for the workers. It unmasked the reformist leadership and exposed bourgeois legality for what it was. It is a lesson that the workers will do well to remember during the impending struggles in South Africa with the development of the economic depression.

In South Africa, the objective conditions are very favourable for the development of a strong revolutionary movement. The new leadership of the class unions must put an end to the inaction and inertia which have been such a prominent feature in the Federation so far; it is about time to get down to the organisation of the broad masses of unorganised workers, giving special attention to the basic industries and agriculture.

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STRENGTHEN WORKINGCLASS INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

DEFEND THE MEERUT PRISONERS !

By L. Burns .

On March 20, a year transpires since the thirty-two Indian proletarian revolutionaries were arrested and imprisoned in Meerut. They have been charged by the Anglo-Indian authorities with conspiring "to overthrow the sovereignty of His Majesty the king in British India with a view to the establishment of a Socialist State under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the supreme command of the Communist International". These men are charged with endeavouring to achieve their aims by organising a communist party, Worker-Peasants Parties and Revolutionary Trade Union organisations in India, with a view to embittering relations between Labour and Capital, by inciting the workers to strikes and by publishing papers and using every other means of propaganda and agitation. Although the Meerut Prisoners were arrested a year ago, their case has only recently been submitted to the High Court where it is now being heard without jurors, despite the continued protests of labour organisations in every part of the world. A lot of "cooked up" evidence is being used at the trial. About 400 witnesses, some coming even from Europe, have been called: among them are many provocateurs and spies.

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of the Meerut trial. Like a mirror it reflects the whole political situation in India today: the intensification of the class struggle, the advance of communist ideas, the progress of the revolutionary labor movement, the growing role of the working class in the national liberation movement, the reactionary policy of MacDonald's Imperialist Government, the treachery of the native bourgeoisie, the united front between the workers of Great Britain and India and many other developments.

The Meerut trial was "framed up" by the British authorities to stem the remarkable development of the labour movement which started in India in 1927.

Ever since that year the whole of India has been swept again and again by mass strikes. During this struggle the Left Revolutionary wing became crystallised for the working class trusted it with the leadership of the struggle and it quickly extended its influence among the

working masses. Powerful revolutionary trade unions were came into existence. The working class was beginning to take active part in political life, demanding not only complete independence for India, but the establishment of a Soviet Republic. The revolutionary liberation movement, directly it was headed by the workers, began to develop rapidly and became more keen. Brutally exploited by imperialism and feudal landowners, the Indian peasantry slowly began to raise their heads.

Alarmed at the growing threat of revolution, the British imperialist mobilised all their forces to crush the revolutionary workers' movement. Their aim was to smash it before help could arrive from the great reserves of the Indian peasantry? Their first move was therefore to "round up" the finest leaders of the workers and in this fashion behead the movement.

Among the arrested men--who belong for the most part to the Communist Party or the Worker-Peasant Parties---there are such popular figures as Dange, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Union of the Bombay Textile Workers, the leaders of several revolutionary Bombay unions, including the Girni Kamgar Union and the great India Peninsula Railway-men's Union, Joglekar, Nimbkar and Miradikar, as well Muzaffar Ahmed, the Chairman of the Worker Peasant Party of Bengal, Thengdi, Executive Committee Member of the Trade Union Congress, and many others. Besides the Indian Comrades charged in Meerut, there are several representatives of the revolutionary wing of the British Trade Union Movement ---Bradley, Spratt and Hutchinson, who are also accused of conspiring "to overthrow the sovereignty of the King Emperor in British India". This is a clear example of the growing ties of solidarity springing up between the workers in the imperialist countries and the oppressed colonies who are joining forces to-day to smash imperialism and capital, their common enemy.

All the men arrested on the Meerut charges were "round up" at the same time, with the exception of comrade Hutchinson, who was arrested later. On the night of March 20, when the arrests and searches were made in Bombay, Calcutta and the other towns, troops were moved into the factory districts for the authorities feared possible "disturbances". Searches were made everywhere, the comrades who had to be arrested being hunted down like beasts.

The Meerut trial which began when Baldwin's Conservative Government was yet in power, is still continuing although there is a "labour" Government, with MacDonald at its head, in office to-day. Two other comrades were arrested in connection with the Meerut Trial. The authorities bluntly refused to have the case tried by jury. The prisoners were put on a far severer regime than previously, while comrade Campbell, the representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain, who intended to be present at the trial as the political adviser of the arrested men, was refused a passport to India.

The Indian nationalist bourgeoisie who fear the revolutionary working class movement far more than imperialism, completely support all the terrorist measures instituted by the Anglo-Indian Government and welcome the present Meerut trial. As a matter of fact, it is the Indian bourgeoisie who are increasingly urging repressions against the labor movement.

Indeed the responsibility for the Meerut trial must be laid wholly at the door of the reformists in the Labour Movement. Together with the imperialists and Indian bourgeoisie they have been shouted from the house-tops that the danger of communism was threatening India. That Moscow was getting control of the TU Movement, that insurgent elements in the country were receiving "Moscow Gold" etc. With their continued lies and misrepresentation the reformist prepared the ground for the terroristic measures taken by the Government.

Having arrested all the leaders of the new Left Wing unions in accordance with a carefully laid plan, the Government had hoped to disrupt the whole movement and leave the masses without a leadership when the struggle was at its height. But all these careful plans fell through for the

working class of India has reached a stage of development today when the arrest of a few individual leaders cannot stay the development of the movement as a whole. A wave of protest strikes, mass demonstrations and meetings swept the country. This was the workers' reply to the Meerut "frame up". New leaders from the rank and file, steeled in the struggle, came forward to take the place of the arrested leaders. Under their leadership the working class came out more determinedly and energetically against imperialism and "their own" bourgeoisie, and are continuing the fight at the present time. This is amply borne out by the big strikes of 1929-30, whose political significance could not be well over-estimated. Indeed, they show that the working class struggle has been raised to a higher plane at the present time (witness the five months' General Strike of the 100,000 Bombay textile workers in 1929, the General Strike of 240,000 Calcutta jute workers, the present General Strike on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and also the recent mass political movements of the working class, the First of May demonstrations, the Lenin Memorial gatherings and the demonstrations on Independence Day, January 26, last, etc.).

Despite the extremely adverse conditions the working class of India are putting up a heroic fight. It is the duty of the international labor movement to support the workers of India in every way.

Now that twelve months have passed and the Meerut prisoners are still detained, it is the revolutionary duty of the whole international proletariat to start a broad campaign of protest against the Meerut trial against the interested parties who are engineering this frame up---British Imperialism and, in particular, the British Labour Party, in office today

This campaign should not be confined as hitherto, only to India and Great Britain, or be taken up in fits and starts as the months go by. This campaign must be pushed forward by all the workers in every part of the world. It must be continued until the Meerut prisoners are released from the clutches of imperialism.

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The RILU Declares Class War! Against the Imperialist War!

RELIGION UNDER THE SOVIETS.

The attitude of the Soviet Government to religion is embodied in the Soviet Constitution formally adopted on 10th July, 1918. The particular passages in the constitution relating to religion are as follows :-

"To ensure for the workers genuine liberty of conscience, the Church is separated from the State and the school from the Church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propoganda is assured to every citizen". (Chapter v., section XIII).

"The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic grants the right of asylum to all foreigners persecuted for political and religious offences". (Chapter v., section XXI.)

How are the provisions of this constitution carried into effect? First, the State Printing Works are quite impartial as to the religious and anti-religious material that they print. Large quantities of both the Bible and the Koran are turned out by the State Printing Works. The

same establishment produces five anti-religious periodicals and seven religious periodicals.

Russia is notorious for its enormous number of churches. Many of them have been little used; and as more people turn from religion and the priest find their supporters fewer and fewer, individual churches fall into disuse. What is to happen them? Are these buildings to be left to ruin and decay? No. They are turned into culture houses, or, if they contain beautiful things, into museums.

No church may be closed for religious purposes unless 90 per cent. of the people in the vicinity declare their willingness for it to be closed. And no church has been closed by the authorities except on this condition. This condition also applies to church which seriously impede traffic and require to be demolished. (In this connection it will be well to remember that a proposal has just been made in London for the demolition of one of the two churches in the Strand for the same purpose, which most readers will know of former churches that are now used for commercial purposes).

The Workers' Government forbids the teaching of religion in schools or to children under 18 at home. The reason for the first is perfectly simple. If religious instruction is given, then so must anti-religious instruction. Such a situation is manifestly absurd.

In a similar way it is absurd to teach children natural science at school and then allow them to be taught contrary doctrine about Adam and Eve at home. It is equally absurd to explain natural phenomena (rainbows, thunder, etc.) on a scientific basis and allow children to be confused by superstitious "explanations" elsewhere. It is disastrous to try and mould children at school into self-reliant, active and reasoning citizens, and at home to try and inculcate a philosophy of "God's will" with its attendant train of abasement, apathy, and blind acceptance.

These are sufficient reasons without taking into account the terrible record of organised religion as an ally and servant of oppression in the reign of capitalism.

Persons over the age of 18 may receive religious instruction, and may follow any religion they choose without let or hindrance. In Tsarist days only one religion---that of the Orthodox Church---was recognised, and other religions suffered in many cases from severe persecution.

If at the present time more and more churches are being closed, it is not because of increasing persecution, but because more and more people are turning from religion to the new work of socialist construction and the new philosophy of Communism in its real sense.

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The Driving Force of the World October - the Building-up of Socialism in the USSR!

THE NEW LIFE OF A MONGOLIAN NATIONAL MINORITY.

Elista is the new Kalmuck city of the Mongolian steppes, it is a typical illustration of the world humanity gains when it throws off the yoke of king and priest and profiteer. Before the Bolshevik Revolution the Kalmucks, a Mongolian tribe of nomads and cattle dealers, were one of the most oppressed and backward people of South-East Russia. Now these ancient nomads under the freedom and guidance of their Communist leaders, have peopled cities and spread a network of schools over their native steppes. Where Elista is now being erected a lonely desert stood yesterday. At present, fine state buildings, schools, universities, hospitals, tele-

graph and post offices are being built. They represent the cradle of the future Socialist culture--- Kalmuck art, science, work and the joy of life.

Elista is 315 kilometres from Astrachan, and 300 from Stalingrad where the biggest tractor factory in the world is well on the way of completion. In a few years Elista will be connected with the whole network of Soviet-built railroads---one of the gigantic transport tasks undertaken by the Communist architects of the new Soviet system which has already changed parts of Russia out of recognition.

A new culture and a new economic life is being created by the Kalmucks as the walls of Elista rise. The age-long backwardness and darkness is broken, dissipated by the glowing ideas of the Revolution which the bright young generation carry through. Elista, more than many places, symbolises the liberty and national self-determination which the Communist Revolution brought to all the Russias. It is the awakening of the great steppes from the sleep of centuries, and proves the genius of Lenin's argument that: "The backward people of the East will pass by the capitalistic stage of development and arrive at Communism".

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R E V I E W .

"THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO" - By Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G. and A.G. Fraser, M.A.

The colonial question in general and the Negro problem in particular is receiving more and more attention on the part of various bourgeois writers. The bourgeois ideologues feel that imperialist domination is seriously threatened by the growing national revolutionary emancipatory movement of the oppressed peoples and that the victory of this movement even in some small part of the world would be catastrophic in its consequences for the continued existence of the capital system. Careful consideration is therefore being given how to avert the crisis and stay the development of a dangerous movement. Somehold that repressive measures must be increased and no compromises allowed. Others, consider that concessions must be made to the upper strata of the native population, winning their support for capitalism and in this way secure the possibility of continuing their exploitation of the broad masses of the toilers. The present book under review is an attempt to give a solution of the Negro problem in the British African possessions from a liberal point of view, the author holding that England must in future win the support of the native petty-bourgeoisie.

Being a prominent official in the British Colonial Ministry, one time Governor of the Gold Coast and also of British Guinea (he has now resigned owing to ill-health) Guggisberg holds that the time is past when the colonies can be held by sheer force.

"Governments of to-day are not blind; they can be trusted to see that the past has shown that neglect of the people ultimately leads both to political troubles and to failure in what is called economic enterprise".

He therefore considers that the only way out is to educate the backward African peoples in a spirit that would not only keep them from trying to fight the domination of the European, but would include them in the capitalist system making them part of it. According to Guggisberg this can be achieved by introducing a good educational system for the Negroes--- a system, however, that must be differentiated. Those Negroes who are to become leaders and exponents of imperialist policy will have to be given an university education: the others a secondary education, while primary schools must be opened for the broad sections of the population where they will be taught to look up to and respect their leaders.

The schools must take into consideration all the special features of any given tribe, its backwardness and its traditions. The most serious mistake made by the imperialists so far Guggisberg considers to be the forcible destruction of the peculiar social structure of the tribes. The Negroes must be left to change their social customs themselves.

The teaching should be of a practical character, giving the Negro a better understanding of modern cultivation methods and the growth of tropical plants essential for the industries of the chief capitalist countries. In this way Guggisberg believes a native intelligentsia and petty-bourgeoisie will be formed who will be the best guarantee against the rising storm of revolution and preserve the supremacy of the imperialists who will be able to continue (very profitably) to "bear the white man's burden" of tutelage of the backward peoples.

Guggisberg points to the USA as a proof that his method is effective. He considers that in the USA the Negro problem is well on the road of complete solution thanks to the excellent education system in force in this country. Considering that the example set by America is worthy of imitation, Guggisberg, during the first part of his book describes the position of the American Negro whom he had an opportunity of studying in the Autumn of 1927 at the invitation of the Directors of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

But it is precisely the present position of the American Negro which shows that Guggisberg's method will avail the imperialists nothing, that neither schools nor religious education, will mitigate in any way the brutal exploitation of the Negro toilers who despite their educated leaders (upon whose help Guggisberg reckons), will continue to fight imperialism until it is completely overthrown. Now what has Guggisberg found in America that buoys him up so much in his optimism? What struck him most favorably was the fact that you had quite a big petty-bourgeois section among the Negroes. He relates that the Negroes already own accumulated wealth to the tune of £ 400,000,000---a sum that will continue to increase, and as money is the decisive factor, in this as in everything, there is no reason, he argues, why the accumulation of such wealth should not go a long way to solve the racial problem. True, the Negroes, even the richest and most educated of them, should know their place and not try to achieve social equality, but only political equality.

But this is what the moderate Negro leaders desire themselves, we are told, and Guggisberg is convinced that the mass of the Negro toilers will surely give their support to these leaders. And so, Guggisberg puts all his hopes on the petty bourgeoisie in the belief that they will give vocal expression to the desires and aspirations of the Negro masses. The conclusion he draws, therefore, is that similar petty-bourgeois circles must be created in Africa and then the development will follow the American example.

But, drawing his conclusions from USA experience, Guggisberg overlooked one small matter. He failed to notice that it was the Negro workers and the mass of the Negro peasantry (increasingly being proletarianised) who will play the decisive role in solving the Negro problem in the USA. Eighty per cent of the Negro farmers in the United States are not freeholders but tenant-farmers, bound down like serfs to the land belonging to the white plantation owners. The industrial proletariat is increasingly growing among the Negroes with each passing day. More and more of these workers are being drawn into the revolutionary TU movement and the slogan being put forward by the Negro toilers in the USA today is the revolutionary demand of the right of national self-determination and not petty-bourgeois equality with the preservation of social inequality and national oppression.

In Africa, too, we have the remarkable development and consolidation of the revolutionary movement. Recent reports show that revolutionary movements have broken out in many different parts of Africa. The future of the Negro does not lie in the petty bourgeois heaven of meekness and docility but in revolutionary struggle together with all the workers and all the oppressed peoples the world over to root out once and for all the system of capitalist exploitation. This future holds out for the Negroes the real possibility of getting an education worthwhile, an education

that will train the builders of a New order of Society, who will no longer be slaves, regarded as being there simply to carry out the orders of their whites masters.

G. S l a v i n.

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FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF OPPRESSED TOILERS.

The revolts against the oppression by French imperialism of the native toilers in French Central Congo, has had its repercussions in the Belgian Congo. In Leopoldville, the Capital of the Belgian Congo, 45 natives were arrested and charged with spreading revolutionary agitation.

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In the province of Luzon (Filippino islands), 30,000 peasant tenants declared a boycott against the purchase of industrial products from industries owned by the landowners. This is a protest against the recent increase of land-rent. The boycott includes non-support of the Catholic Church, because the leaders of this Church are very large landowners and have raised the rent on land. The government has forbidden all peasant meetings and demonstrations. The Catholic Bishop has called in armed forces, against the so-called "Red Danger" and for the protection of the interests of the landowning church.

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C a l c u t t a : Demonstration of 10,000 native toilers in spite of police terror. The demonstration was in connection with "National independence week" which ended on April 13th. Many arrested made.

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B i r m i n g h a m , Alabama (USA) - Negro workers adopted a resolution denouncing police brutalities against white and Negro workers in the March 6th; unemployment demonstration. Meeting was held under auspices of the Trade Union Unity League.

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