

13, 9, 18

*Workers of the World Unite!*

# THE NEGRO WORKER

No. 3

March 1932

Vol. 2



**DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR  
MONGERS!            HANDS OFF CHINA!  
DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!**

*Price 5 cents*

*Price 2 pence*

# What is the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers?

The Negro Workers Committee was formed in July 1930 at an international conference of Negro toilers held in Hamburg, Germany. The Committee is not a race, but a **class organization**, organizing and leading the fight in the interests of Negro workers in Africa, the West Indies and other colonies.

The aims of the Committee are as follows:

1. Abolition of Forced Labour, Peonage and Slavery.
2. Equal Pay for Equal Work — Irrespective of Race, Colour or Sex.
3. Eight Hour Day.
4. Government Relief for Unemployed, — free rent, no taxes.
5. Freedom to organize trade unions, unemployed councils and peasant committees, — right to strike.
6. Against racial barriers in trade unions and colour bar in industry.
7. Against capitalist terror — lynching, police and soldier terrorism, arrest and deportation of foreign workers.
8. Against confiscation of peasant and communal lands, against taxation of the Negro workers and peasants.
9. To promote and develop the spirit of international solidarity between the workers of all colours and nationalities.
10. To agitate and organize the Negro workers against the imperialist war in China and the intervention in Soviet Russia, in which the white capitalist exploiters intend to use black workers as cannon-fodder as they did in the last war.
11. To defend the independence of Liberia, Haiti and other Negro States and to fight for the full independence of the Negro toilers in Africa and the West Indies, and their right of self-determination in the Black Belt of U. S. A.
12. The Committee also fights against white chauvinism, (race prejudice) social-reformism and the reformist programmes of the Negro capitalist misleaders, like **Marcus Garvey, Du Bois, Pickens and Walter White** of the National Association of Colored People in America; **Kadalie and Champion** in South Africa, the white trade union faker, **Captain Cipriani**, in the West Indies; and the missionaries, preachers and other agents of imperialism.

These misleaders, instead of organizing the Negro masses to fight for their freedom are the very ones who help the capitalists by preaching obedience, and loyalty to imperialist rule:

**Negro Workers, organize the fight against imperialism!**

**Support the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.**

# THE NEGRO WORKER

---

No. 3

March 1932

Vol. 2

---

*Editors are invited to reprint articles and resolutions which appear in the "Negro Worker".*

---

**Editorial Board:** George Padmore (U. S. A.), Editor-in-Chief.

Contributing Editors: J. W. Ford, Cyril Briggs, D. B. Amis (U. S. A.); O. E. Huiswood (R. I. L. U.); C. Alexander (West Indies); E. Forster Jones, E. F. Small (West Africa); G. Kouyatte (French West Africa); A. Nzula, P. G. Moloinyane (South Africa); Mansey (Congo).

Managing Editor: Max Barek (Hamburg).

---

## CONTENTS

Race Prejudice in England.

War in the East. By G. P.

Imperialist Orgies in Africa.

How the Imperialists are "Civilizing" Africa. By G. Padmore.

For a Revolutionary Movement in the West Indies. By C. Alexander.

The Economic Crisis and the Negro Workers. By O. Huiswood.

Solidarity Between White and Coloured Sailors. By G. Kouyatté.

The World Congress of Seamen.

Workers Correspondence.

---

**ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE  
OF NEGRO WORKERS, 8 ROTHESOODSTR., HAMBURG, GERMANY**

***Labour with a White Skin cannot Emancipate itself,  
where Labour with a Black Skin is Branded! — Marx.***

## Race Prejudice in England

Despite the fact that the British imperialist agents in the colonies, especially the Church of England missionaries try to create the impression among the native peoples, that no matter what injustices they suffer in the colonies, in England a warm welcome awaits them. These apologists of British imperialism try their best to paint England as the most democratic country in the world, where all peoples, irrespective of colour or race, are treated as equals. However, every Negro, Indian, Arab or other coloured person who has ever lived in England knows from actual experience that all this missionary twaddle is nothing else but a lie.

We need not remind our readers of the terrible race riots which occurred in Liverpool, Cardiff and other ports during and immediately after the war. In the course of these pogroms, most of which were organized by the shipowners and the trade union reformists, hundreds of African and West Indian seamen, many of whom fought to defend the Empire, were brutally beaten by chauvinist mobs, under the protection of the police. Within recent months we have had a repetition of similar outrages, not only against Negroes, but Arab and Indian seamen as well, who have shown any resistance against the P. C. 5 System of the shipping magnates. The British ruling class, frightened by the growing revolts of the colonial peoples for national freedom and self-determination on the one hand, and the solidarity struggles between the white and coloured workers in England on the other, are intensifying racial and national chauvinism. In this way, these imperialist war-mongers hope to create artificial barriers between the British workers and their colonial brothers, distract their attention away from their common class interests and at the same time mobilize public opinion in support of their imperialist regime of terror and suppression in the colonies. In this respect the misleaders of the British Labour Party, from Henderson to Maxton, as well as the trade union reformists, especially the fakers who control the National Seamen's Union, are giving their full support to this capitalist scheme of "divide and rule".

Today race prejudice has become so wide spread in England, not only against the coloured workers — Negro, Arab and Indian seamen — but the chauvinist monster has also directed its venom against coloured intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie. We have heard of several cases where coloured middle-class people such as Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, and other professionals, have been refused admittance into hotels and other public places. Even in academic circles race prejudice is making strong inroads. Coloured medical students are more and more experiencing the greatest difficulty in conducting their clinical studies. The excuse given is, that white women object to coloured doctors attending to them. Everybody knows that this is just another lie. For there are many coloured physicians with long established practice in white communities throughout the United Kingdom. The real truth of the matter is, that the university authorities are the very ones, who, in order to cater to the prejudices of the British capitalist class and get donations from them clandestinely spread race hatred among the patients, by making the vilest insinuations about the coloured students behind their backs.

Certain middle-class English people, especially the Quakers, who profess to be "friends" of the darker races, realizing the strong anti-British feeling which this wave of chauvinism is creating among the colonial petty bourgeois

intellectuals, signs of which are not wanting in India, are trying their best to pacify the coloured students in London. Objectively, these are the very same people who by their methods of struggle against race prejudice lend their support to this imperialist ideology. For example, they have organized a committee, the object of which is to promote "better relationship" between white and coloured peoples in England.

The real purpose of this movement is not to expose British imperialism and its ideologists who foster and spread race hatred, but it is to put a brake upon the growing resentment of the coloured workers and students against the shameful way in which they are being treated in this so-called democratic country.

The Quakers and the other pacifists who assemble in their meeting house in London and mouth phrases of indignation against these outrages, do not want to have any "vulgar" public exposure. They do not want the world to know, especially the hundred of millions of people in the colonies that in "democratic" England, coloured men and women are treated as social outcasts, "untouchables". They would like these disgraceful facts to be confined within a limited "respectable" circle. And as to be expected, many spineless, vascillating petty bourgeois colonial intellectuals are falling into the trap of these British apologists.

Instead of organizing mass meetings and demonstrations, calling upon the class conscious revolutionary workers and sincere fighters against imperialism to join them in exposing before the entire British public, as well as the hundred of millions of colonial toilers, in India, in China, in Africa and the West Indies the shameful way in which they are being treated, they too confine their resentment to the traditional custom of sending letters to the Home Office and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which invariably find their way into the waste paper basket. These imperialist officials already know all about these outrages, for they are the very ones, who, directly or indirectly give sanction to them. Even during the regime of the Labour Party, the then Home secretary, Mr. J. R. Clynes, in reply to a question addressed to him in the House of Commons, about what steps he intended to take against hotel proprietors who refused admittance to coloured people, openly declared that "this was a private matter which His Majesty's Labour Government did not intend to interfere with."

We draw our readers' attention to the treatment of a West Indian student, the facts of which are stated in a communication received from the **League Against Imperialism** published in our correspondence column. **The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers**, although endorsing the prompt action of the League in handling this case, must nevertheless point out that only the organized protest of the British working class will force the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys to put an end to these chauvinist outrages.

We appeal to all militant coloured students in London to break with the sycophantic leadership of Dr. Harold Moody, a typical "Uncle Tom" whose coat strings are so tied up with the Colonial Office that he is out to have every self-respecting Negro kow-towing before his arrogant imperialist masters.

African and West Indian students! Organize a united front with the coloured and white workers and carry on a relentless struggle against British imperialism and white chauvinism!

---

**Long Live the Freedom of the Workers and Oppressed Peoples!**

# War in the East

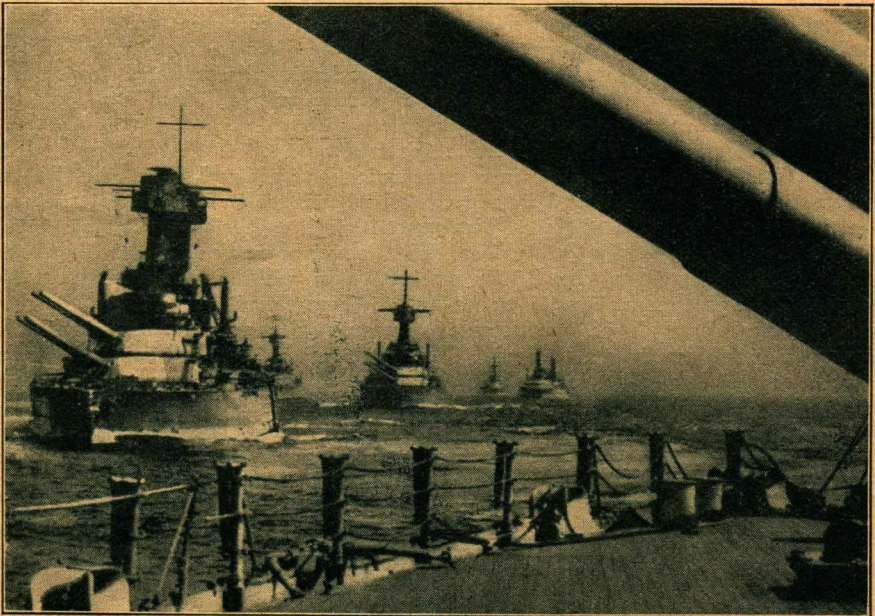
By G. P.

While the representatives of the various imperialist powers are mouthing pacifist phrases in Geneva, bloody warfare is going on in the East. These events confirm our warnings that the imperialists, by means of the Kellogg Peace Pact and the League of Nations Covenant are feverishly preparing to plunge the working class into another world war. Although there has been no formal declaration of war, the Japanese imperialists have not only been carrying on open warfare against the Chinese workers and peasants in Manchuria since September 1931, but they have recently landed 50,000 troops in Shanghai, armed with the most deadly devices of modern warfare, which they are using to massacre defenseless men, women and children. Already thousands of Chinese workers and their families have been slaughtered and the native section of Shanghai has been completely destroyed. While all of this is going on, the imperialists cynically declare to the world that there is no war. But the Chinese workers and peasants know different.

## Out to Loot China.

Although the Japanese imperialists have adopted the most aggressive attitude, they are not the only ones carrying on the war. Great Britain, America, France, Italy and the other imperialist powers are all interested in the events in China.

Because of the world economic crisis which has thrown more than 40 million people out of work in America and Europe, and created the greatest hardship among the workers, the capitalists, in order to stave off revolution are preparing to plunge humanity into another world war. In this way they hope to get rid of



American and British war ships in Shanghai.

the unemployed problem, by mobilizing the majority of the jobless and sending them to the front as cannon-fodder, while a few will be given jobs in manufacturing ammunition with which the workers in the various imperialist armies will be killing each other off. Furthermore, this will also enable the capitalists to increase their profits which the crisis has partly affected. Already these human vampires who gamble upon the wholesale murder of workers and their families are beginning to reap a rich harvest. Raw materials, such as wheat, cotton, sugar, hides, chemicals and all kind of metal for warfare which were on the decline up to a few months ago have suddenly gone up on the stock exchanges, while the manufacturers of ammunition in America, France, England, Germany, Chechoslovakia etc., are busy working night and day, preparing the deadliest



**Sending workers to death. — Japanese marines landing in Shanghai.**

weapons of destruction. These weapons together with poison gases, bombs and disease germs, will not only be used by the opposing armies, but will be let loose upon whole civil populations.

#### **Attack Against Soviet Russia.**

While the capitalists are arming against each other in order to redivide the world they are secretly trying to agree among themselves on a program of action for an attack upon Soviet Russia. Since the Soviet Union is the only country under a workers' government, where there is no unemployed and where the toilers are building up a socialist system which is an inspiration not only to the working class in the capitalist countries but to the colonial toilers in India, in China, in Africa, and elsewhere, they would like to drown this country in streams of blood. Already the Japanese imperialists who

have stolen Manchuria from the Chinese workers and peasants, have set up a puppet government under their control in order to use this as a jumping off ground to invade the Soviet Union. Since the American, British, French and other capitalist powers have no great economic interests in Manchuria they are all prepared to support the Japanese imperialists in their war preparations against the Soviet Union. That is the reason why all of the European and American imperialist powers, headed by the League of Nations were urging the Japanese on in their robber campaign in Manchuria. But the Japanese militarists, having completely annexed this rich territory which covers an area of over 200,000 square miles with a population of over 20 million people — suddenly turn their attention to China proper. And under the lying excuses of suppressing anti-Japanese societies in Shanghai, openly directed the most brutal and barbarous attack upon unarmed and defenseless workers and their families in the Chinese section of Shanghai. Although the Chinese capitalists and bankers, headed by that arch-traitor Chan-Kai-Shek were quite prepared to betray their country and to turn it over to the invaders, the Chinese soldiers and the workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are putting up a heroic resistance.

As soon as the Japanese landed their troops in Shanghai, the other imperialist powers, especially America, Great Britain and France who were supporting Japan in her annexation policy in Manchuria and her provocations against the Soviet Union, also began to send war ships and soldiers to Shanghai. They are afraid that Japan, not satisfied with Manchuria, is out to overrun the whole of China. And since they have hundred of millions of dollars invested in Shanghai and other great Chinese ports, such as Hankow, Nanking — this conflicts with their own interests.

#### **British Investments**

Each of these powers has built up a network of concessions and interests. Each has its own special spheres of influence. Each has carried out a long policy of exploitation, that leads inevitably to the present stage of naked war against the workers and peasants of China.

The oldest and most firmly established of the imperialist Powers in China is Great Britain. The British sphere of influence is South China, and especially the Yangtse Valley.

Ninety years ago Hong Kong was stolen from China in the first opium war. The second opium war led to the acquisition of a large tract of mainland opposite. The murder of a missionary in 1893 was used as an excuse to seize the port of Wei Hai Wei.

More important has been the "peaceful" economic penetration — carried out in many cases under the guns of the gunboats on the Yangtse River.

At least £ 40,000,000 was invested in Chinese railways. The total amount of loans to China since 1896 has been £ 110,000,000.

For British banks in China have a capital of £ 80,000,000. Of these, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank ranks among the great banking institutions of the world.

Apart from loans, British property in China is estimated at from £ 250,000,000 to £ 300,000,000. British capitalism owns 3,200 miles of railways, over a third of the entire Chinese railway system.

It owns coal mines that produce 3,000,000 tons of coal a year.

It has its own postal and telegraph system, and controls important shipping interests. There are ten British daily papers published in China, and some 15,000 British subjects have their homes there.

British imperialism has in recent years felt itself restricted by the pro-American policy of the bourgeois National Government.



Like other imperialist Governments in China, it fears the growing strength of the Chinese Soviet Government. Hence the support accorded to Japan in its seizure of Manchuria (which forms a precedent for the seizure of the Yangtse region by Great Britain), and its war-like policy in relation to the U. S. S. R.

### Yankee Interests

"The United States of America came upon the Chinese scene later than either of its rivals.

The United States is, however driving ahead for the mastery of China. It is striving to unite China, or a considerable part of it, under the bourgeois Nanking Government of China, in order, through that Government, to convert the whole of China into its colony.



Japanese revolutionist addressing anti-war meeting in Tokio.

American capitalism has made heavy loans to the Nanking Government. Apart from these loans American investments in China amount to about £ 660,000,000 and its share in trade is about 20 per cent. There are 10,000 American citizens living in China.

### French Share

"The interests of France, though still considerable, are smaller than any of the above Powers.

They lie chiefly in the three southern provinces adjoining French Indo-China. This area forms a definite "sphere of influence", and in the event of a general partitioning of China the French would probably attempt to occupy this area.

France has a settlement at Shanghai lying alongside of the International Settlement. There are about 2,500 French residents in China.

French loans to China total £ 70,000,000, and French capital controls 1,800 miles of Chinese railways. On the other hand the trade between France and China only amounts to four per cent of the total trade of China.

The French imperialists have made a considerable loan to Japan in recent months and are supplying Japan with considerable quantities of munitions.

### **Japan's Penetration**

"Japan's sphere of influence is mainly in Manchuria, though there are extensive and growing Japanese interests in Mongolia and the Yangtse valley.

The Russo-Japanese war led to the acquisition of extensive rights in Southern Manchuria. The recent military occupation merely placed a seal upon an already existing economic penetration carried out with extreme thoroughness.

This is what is meant when the capitalist Press speaks of "legitimate Japanese interests existing in Manchuria".

Japanese penetration of China has been largely carried on through the bankers, and Japan holds 62 per cent. of the capital of all foreign banks in China. There are £ 55,000,000 of Japanese loans to China, of which just half is invested in railways.

Of the 60 mining concessions held by Japan in China 53 are in Manchuria. Of the large number of industrial concerns owned by Japanese capital, 80 per cent are in or near Manchuria. These include a number of big cotton mills and the largest railway works in China.

Japanese shipping interests, with 30-40 ships engaged in river and coastal trade, are second only to those of Britain.

In addition to Japanese interests in Manchuria Japan shares the control of the International Settlement at Shanghai with Britain and the United States. It is this Settlement that has been used as a base in the recent Japanese attacks on the workers of Shanghai.

There are a quarter of a million Japanese subjects resident in China. The vast bulk of these are in Manchuria, where they form the advance guard of the imperialists."

### **Soviet Russia**

In marked contra-distinction to these imperialist robbers is Soviet Russia, the only country which has no imperialist designs in China or any other part of the world. First of all, the Soviet Union is a workers' country, and the vanguard of the anti-imperialist front. The Czar's government, like all the other imperialist powers, had shared in looting China. The Czar and the same cut-throat-bands of generals, capitalists and landlords who are today helping the Japanese in making war against the workers and peasants of Manchuria and China, had a number of concessions and a sphere of interest in Mongolia. They were some of the most brutal oppressors of the Chinese toiling masses. Immediately after the revolution in 1917 the Soviet government of workers, peasants and red soldiers renounced all of these concessions and extra-territorial rights, and entered into new treaties with the Chinese Government, recognizing them as a free and sovereign people. If the Soviet Union had imperialist designs, as the capitalist slanderers and their lackeys try to make out, it would not have freely revoked its sphere of influence in China.

Today, while the Chinese masses are combining against the robbers, it is to Soviet Russia that they turn as a source of help and inspiration for the Soviet Government now rapidly developing in China.

## Class against Class

These conflicting economic interests have created such deep-rooted jealousies between Japan and America, England and France, that they are unable to get together upon a common agreement for dividing up China. Each is afraid that the other will get too much. Nevertheless, since they all are afraid of the increasing growth of the Chinese Soviet power, which alone can drive all the imperialist robbers out of the country, they are prepared to refrain from open war upon each other so as to give Japan every opportunity to suppress the revolutionary Chinese workers and peasants, especially their Red Army.

Therefore, it is the duty of the Negro workers, who are today groaning under the bloody rule of imperialism in Africa, in America and the West Indies to support the heroic struggles of their Chinese brothers, and to defend the Soviet Union, the greatest champion and leader of the liberation fight of all oppressed peoples.

**Stop all transportation of troops and ammunition to the East!**

**Demand the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from China!**

**Demand all the money which the capitalists are spending upon war to be used for feeding the unemployed workers and their starving families!**

**Negro, White and Indian toilers, form a united front with your Chinese class brothers!**

# Under The Yoke of Imperialism

## Imperialist Orgies in Africa

The imperialists have not only through armed force, trickery, deception bribery and corruption of chiefs, with the aid of liquor and the bible succeeded in annexing the whole of Africa, and enslaving the entire toiling populations, but their drunken orgies, night after night, raping Negro women and seducing of other men's wives, are among the widespread occupations indulged in by the European "civilizers".

**Brigadier-General Crozier**, former officer in command of the West Africa, Frontier Force in Nigeria, which was organized by the British imperialists during the administration of Lord Lugard in order to carry out punitive expeditions against the Haussas, the Yarubas, and other independent tribes, has just published a book in England entitled, "**Five Years' Hard**".

This book gives a most startling revelation of the bestiality of the British officers and their sex orgies with the native women. It also gives an inside description of the way in which these imperialist agents who are maintained in luxury out of the taxes extorted by the political administration from the workers and peasants live.

For example, the author in describing the officers mess writes:

"We have one rule here", says the Colonel to me. "If a fellow gets tight on cocktails he goes to bed and keeps away from mess."

"Supposing", I ask, "he is so tight that he does not know what he is doing and goes to mess, what then?"

"Ah!" replies the colonel laughingly, that seldom happens, as someone, his

'boy', or a brother officer, or the mess steward, collars him and keeps him out of the ante-room or mess, if by mistake he gets as far . . .

"Lots go to mess half tight, or very tight, yet are able to carry it off; that's all right. We are hardened here and can stand a lot."

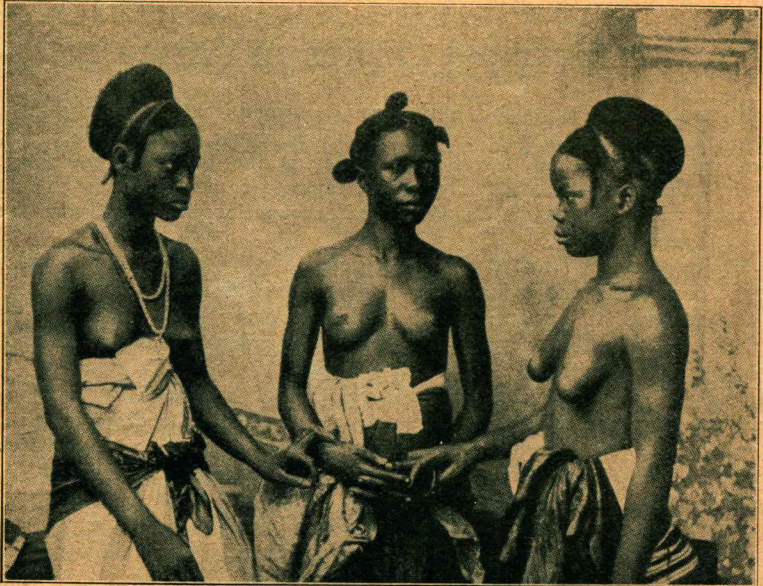
Round after round of strong and seductive cocktails carry the crowd to the heights of mesmeric oblivion, merriment and forgetfulness. The first mess bugle sounds, half an hour for tub, sober up and change.

As I stumble to my quarters I figure out the chances of getting to mess safe. I remember the colonel's warning. Am I sober enough to go to mess? I ask my "boy".

"Massa be all right", replies the Hausa lad with a grin. "Massa he eat, he be well. Massa he go on veranda he hear plenty officers make har-hoik noise, bourassa he come up." I deduce that what my 'boy' wants is to make me vomit.

### A Susceptible Lady.

General Crozier gives his readers a very interesting inside of the way in which European officials, including a colonial governor carried on with another brother-officer's wife on one of Elder Dempster's boats. Although the passages of these officials and their families are paid out of the public revenue extorted out of the blood and sweat of the African masses, the author pays no attention to this point but proceeds to tickle his reader's pallet with the story of how this lady "with a heart susceptible to environment and shock" became the collective property of half a dozen officers, while the old governor tried his best to use his official position to keep the young bloods off.



Types of African Girls raped by officials.

### Looting the Natives for Gold.

One of the most blood curling and revolting incidences described by the author is the picture which he gives of a British officer on duty in Northern Nigeria, and the way in which he ordered his men during a punitive expedition to cut off the hands and feet of Africans in order to take whatever gold they had around their limbs. During the fight with the natives, says General Crozier: "Charley (that is the name of his brother officer) and I mooch around among the dead bodies seeing if there's anything worth having on them.

"'A poor lot', says Charlie. 'I wonder if that anklet is Ashanti gold? Here, orderly, cut that foot off with your adda and take off the anklet.' Whack—whack—two strokes and it's done. Off comes the anklet. Charles feels it in his hand—as if calculating its weight. 'If that's gold', he says, 'my trip to Sokoto has been all right. Here, Momma, get me that armllet.' Whack goes the adda again . . . off flies the arm in one direction while the armllet hurls through the air in another."

### Britain's "Civilizing" Mission.

He also recounts how another British officer, having seduced a native girl, succeeds in avoiding trouble with the authorities which would have arisen because she was "below the age, even in native law".

This man with a "woman in Africa and a wife in Wales" figures prominently in the book.

These are only a few of the revelations which General Crozier lets his readers into. Space prevents us from publishing more excerpts.

### European Officials Indignant.

The European officials in Africa, especially in Nigeria, are naturally indignant over the book of this "indiscrete" General. They are writing to the Press denying the accuracy of the picture painted by Crozier, as it is only natural they should.

These bloodthirsty monsters, these sex perverts who use their official positions to rape native girls don't want the world to know how they carry on in the colonies. They are trying their best to prevent the circulating of the book in Africa for fear that if the facts are known among wide sections of the workers it will lower the white man's prestige and arouse their indignation and inspire them to carry on a greater struggle until they rid their country of these British imperialist parasites.

Although the officials are protesting against what they consider the indiscretion of a brother officer, the African peoples can rest assured that Brigadier-General Crozier also did his share when he was on the West Coast.

---

## How the Imperialists are "Civilizing" Africa

By G. PADMORE.

The French, British, Belgian and other capitalists who say that they have no money to give aid to the unemployed, could nevertheless find millions of dollars to spend in staging a pompous colonial exhibition in Paris. This exposition took place just at the time when the colonial slaves in Asia and Africa are in open revolt against their brutal slave masters. Every exploiting class always attempts to create some ideology justifying their oppression, and this is exactly what the capitalists, bankers and absentee landlords, who squeeze super-profits out of the

colonial toilers are trying to do. By means of this display in Paris they hope to create the impression among the white workers in Europe that the mission of the imperialists in the colonies is not to exploit the natives, but to carry "the blessings of civilization" to these benighted masses. And for this reason, the Africans, the Chinese, the Indians, the Indo-Chinese, the Indonesians and other subject races have no cause to be dissatisfied and therefore should not revolt. The capitalists and their agents are doing their best to suppress the true facts of their bloody misrule in the colonies, and mobilize the more backward strata of the European workers to support their robber policies by promising them a share in the spoils.

In this connection, the social-democrats, the traitors of the European workers and the greatest enemies of the colonial masses, together with the missionaries, are the most active agents of the European imperialists. For example, in England, MacDonal and Henderson are the vilest oppressors of the toilers of Africa, India and China. Despite all for their hypocritical pacifist phrases, these lackeys of British imperialism can match Baldwin, Churchill, and the other openly reactionary politicians for suppressing every attempt of the colonial peoples for freedom. The same applies to the socialists of France. Paul Boncour, Jouhaux & Co. are not only worst types of chauvinists, but are the very ones actively helping the French bankers and concessionaries to squeeze millions of Francs out of the sweat and blood of the Negroes in Africa and the workers of Indo China. As for the Socialists in Belgium, they are in a class by themselves. Headed by Vandervelde, they have not only offered themselves as the watchdogs of the Belgian imperialists, but they themselves take an active part in looting the Congo. Many big concessions are led by social-democrats in the Congo. Not satisfied with actually grinding super-profits out of the black workers, they vote millions of francs in the Belgian parliament for the maintenance of a huge military force in the Congo in order to suppress revolts. The same is true of the Dutch socialists in Indonesia and the West Indies.

The following facts tell of some of the horrors of colonial oppression in Africa.

### **Forced Labour Policy.**

The conditions of the native toilers in the French and Belgian colonies are disgraceful and revolting due to intensive exploitation through forced labour, low wages and long hours.

The aims of French imperialism in Africa are economic and military. In order to carry these out, two methods are applied: (1) annexation of the land, and (2) compulsory labour. By means of expropriation, the Government accomplishes two purposes at one blow. On the one hand it has been able to grant great concessions to French capitalists for the cultivation of cocoa, rubber, cotton, etc., etc., and on the other hand to provide these plantations with cheap labour.

The workers are collected by the soldiers in the villages and assigned to work on the plantations where they are organized into squads and sent into the forest to collect rubber, manioc, palm kernels and other products for which they are paid at the rate of a few francs per month. Each worker is allotted a certain task and failure to accomplish this within a specific period of time means flogging and sometimes death, for the lives of the Africans are entirely in the hands of the European overseers.

With respect to Government labour, the situation is even worse. Railway construction across the Sahara and from the Congo to the Atlantic forms part of the war preparations of the French imperialists against the Soviet Union. In order to convey the reserve black army which France is mobilizing in West

and Equatorial Africa to Europe when the war begins, the imperialists are building these railroads.

The French have therefore militarized the labour supply. All able-bodied men are forced to work on the railroads.

This has the most disintegrating influence on tribal life, as the men are taken hundreds of miles away from home for months at a time. They are only released when their health is so broken that they are unable to work any longer. Between the year 1921 and 1925, the territory of the Upper Volta alone supplied 49,000 labourers for railway work, and 312,814 for the plantations, mines and factories.



**Women porters in the Congo.**

#### **Depopulation in the Congo.**

The extent to which depopulation has taken place in Equatorial Africa, due to the application of forced labour by the French, is to be seen from the tremendous decline in population. For example, in 1910 the population of French Equatorial Africa was about 9 millions; two years later, in 1912, their number had decreased to 7 millions, and in 1921 only 2,8 millions remained. Since then no more statistics on the number of natives in these districts have been published, the reason being, it is believed, that another decline in the native population has been so alarming that the publication of statistics is probably not considered desirable. In Gaboon, French Equatorial Africa, the native population has slumped from 1,500,000 in 1911 to 300,000 in 1921. In Upperroghue the death rate was 4,000 in a total of 20,000 inhabitants. Over 25,000 Negroes died from hardship, starvation and disease while working on the construction of the Congo-Atlantic Railway. This is how France, which prides herself as the torchbearer of civilization, ravishes the country of the blacks and makes slaves of millions of men, women and children.

## "Jewel" in the Belgian Crown

What India is to British imperialism, the Congo is to the Belgian capitalists—the "jewel" in the Belgian crown.

The entire territory is about 80 times the size of Belgium and possesses tremendous agricultural and mineral resources, so in order to exploit these, the Belgian bourgeoisie, with the aid of the social-democrats, have organized joint stock companies. The concessionaires have adopted a uniform policy of taxation of the natives, who were made to pay the tax in produce instead of money. In order to get the products, all the healthy people in the villages are collected into labour armies and despatched into the forest to collect rubber and ivory. A native army under European officers has been organized for the purpose of supervising the work of the labourers, who are shot down whenever they attempted to revolt. As the natives are forced to go into the jungle unarmed and at great distances away from their villages without any adequate provisions of food, clothing and shelter, they die like flies. The population used to be twenty millions whereas at present very optimistic calculations put their number at seven millions.

Forced labour is also applied for the mining industry and the railroads. The copper mines of Katanga are among the largest in the world. They are supplied by an army of over 20,000 miners. These workers are recruited by agents of the Company under Government protection. The miners are forced to work for a certain number of months for wages which average between 10 and 15 francs per month.

During their stay in the mining camps, they are kept under armed guards. All of the railroads in the Congo have been constructed with forced labour. More than 10,000 Negroes were working on a new line connecting the Metadi-Leopoldville railway.

Despite all of the attempts of the imperialists and their socialist agents to deceive the workers in the "mother" countries, the class conscious workers, and revolutionaries are making the terrible plight of the colonial toilers known to the broad masses. It is the revolutionary duty of the advanced sections of the working class of Europe and America to support the struggles of the colonial masses, for only a united front of all the oppressed and exploited can free the toiling masses of all countries and races from their common enemies — the imperialists and their socialdemocratic agents, missionaries and chiefs, as well as the black capitalists and landlords who help the white imperialists to keep the native workers and peasants enslaved.

# The Anti-Imperialist Movement

## For a Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the West Indies

By CHARLES ALEXANDER

One of the outstanding tasks facing the **International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers** today is the development of the revolutionary trade union movement in the British West Indies. Under the iron heels of British Imperialism the Negro masses in this vast colonial domain are not only savagely exploited and plundered, but they practically live a life of the blackest hell. Mass misery



always surrounded the workers on all hands, and now with the world capitalist crisis the conditions of their life are frightful. Thousands are unemployed, hungry and starving. Social insurance or unemployment relief does not exist.

The conditions prevalent in these islands present a very important problem. Just as in India, the caste system is fully established. Under this vicious system of imperialist oppression the population of the islands is divided into categories. The lowest of these which comprise the road workers and the plantation and estate toilers are treated by the British overlords and their Negro bourgeois agents as "untouchables", and are always exposed to the most brutal exploitation and oppression. Imperialism considers them as the under-dogs, and this opinion



**West-Indian peasants on their way to market; heavily taxed to maintain their British rulers they are forced to go as bare footed as their animals.**

is fully shared and supported by the Negro misleaders. Discrimination through this subtle form is rife. The caste system reigns supreme.

#### **Autocratic Government**

Politically, the Negro masses of these island have no rights. The government under which they are oppressed is the Crown Colony system. In some of the islands such as Trinidad, Barbadoes, Grenada and Jamaica, there are a few elected members, but these are merely lackeys of the imperialist rulers. Thus without any real representation, without any say whatsoever, the toiling masses are taxed, and all laws are passed for their enslavement and misery. In some of the islands while it is true there is a "labor party", such bodies are affiliated to the damnable, treacherous Second International, and their whole policy is not one of leading the masses in struggle for better every day conditions

of life, against imperialist oppression, but on the contrary, to placate their anger and to keep them docile slaves to the British rulers.

### **Labor Traitors.**

This is especially true in Trinidad where under the leadership of Cipriani, etc., the "labor party" is nothing more than a mouthpiece of the British "labour" party of England. The old policy of the imperialist in appointing some of the native lackeys to important government positions is in wide use; and this is held up to the masses as an example of what they can attain if they remain peaceful, and loyal to their European masters. It must not be forgotten, however, that the entire governmental machinery is in the hands of the British imperialists through their white governors, colonial secretaries, judges, etc. Thus although the overwhelming majority of the population are Negro workers, their whole life is determined, regulated and supervised by the white imperialist agents whom the British government sends to the islands from time to time without consulting the popular will of the inhabitants. This is how the much boasted about British "democracy" operates in the colonies.

### **Agrarian slavery.**

The British West Indies are not to any great extent industrially developed. Of all the islands the one which can boast the most industries is Trinidad, and even here the industries are limited to oil, pitch, sugar, railroad and shipping. The whole bulk of the population is agrarian workers and herein lies the basis of the Negro liberation movement in the British West Indies. The conditions under which these masses toil are horrible. The hours of work are on the main from sunrise to sundown under the most excessive heat of the sun. The West Indies are located in the tropics and the heat is intense. The wages received by these workers are, in the writer's opinion, the lowest in any section of the world. They range from four cents to twelve cents a day. The workers own no lands, nor have they any plots in which they can cultivate a few vegetables—consequently they live from day to day on the verge of starvation. All the lands, estates amounting to hundreds and thousands of acres are owned by the European, Negro, or Indian imperialist plunderers, absentee landlords and English joint stock companies.

### **Child Labor.**

The death rate of the infants of these agrarian workers is exceedingly high. Every year hundreds of Negro babies die—their young lives snuffed out and coined into pounds, shillings and pence for the coffers of the imperialist bandits.

The small percentage of industrial workers, while their conditions may be slightly better, are in the main terribly exploited, consequently the general conditions of the toiling masses can be fairly estimated as only a degree above slavery. Because of the low earning power of the parents, children from six years up are forced into the fields and plantations in order to make up the family income—which still remains miserable. This situation not only stunts the growth of these children, not only does it wreck their little bodies in a few years, but it also greatly contributes to the widespread illiteracy prevalent in these islands. This child slavery of Negro children in the West Indies is one of the most damning evidences of British colonial plunder. The writer recalled a scene a few years ago when he was a seaman on a Royal Mail Steam Packet ship trading between British Guiana and Canada. It was in the British West Indian island of Saint Lucia. The ship docked for coaling. There with baskets containing many pounds of coal on their heads were Negro children eight, nine and ten years of age, carrying the coal from the coaling station across a plank which

connected the ship to land, and finally dumping the coal into the ship's hold. On their faces could be seen pain and agony, their little bodies emaciated and shrunken from the hard toil which they were forced to undergo. This incident in Saint Lucia is an indication of the extent of child labour in the British West Indies.

### Squalor and Degradation.

The abode in which these workers live are the most horrible imaginable. They cannot be called houses since they are only shacks covered with thatch and walled around with mud. There are numerous huts of this type in the villages, or native quarters, with no sanitary conditions whatever. There is no wonder that disease often breaks out in these quarters which oft-times affect the whole population, resulting in numerous deaths. But British imperialism is not concerned about these filthy conditions of the life of the masses. Its one and only interest is the exploitation of the masses—the coining of the masses' blood into gold.

Recent years have seen the Negro masses recognizing the miserable conditions under which they live and toil, and showing signs of struggle against them. The Negro misleaders who put themselves at the head of this struggle instead of waging a fight for improved conditions of the masses, raised only a faint plea for a "West Indian Federation". And a West Indian Federation to these misleaders is only a plea for themselves to get a greater share in the exploitation of the masses. While the slogan of a "West Indian Federation" and self determination must become one of the central slogans in the struggles of the Negro masses in the West Indies, it is necessary to point out to them that they can only enjoy the rights of such a Federation if its governmental apparatus is in their own hands. Such a Federation with the Negro misleaders at its head will only mean to the masses a change in the colour of their oppressors — it will merely be a substitution of white imperialists oppression for black capitalist oppression.

### What must be done?

The present main task of the masses is the organization of revolutionary trade unions to combat the frightful oppression of the imperialist plunderers. **The fight for shorter hours, more wages, better working and living conditions, and against unemployment and its effects—hunger and starvation must become a living thing.** But it can only become such if carried on in an organized manner. The imperialist bandits will never stop their plunder of the masses unless the workers by their organized might and power compel them to do so. This organized might and power can only be united and consolidated under the leadership of revolutionary trade unionism, not the sort of fake Workingmen's Association which Cipriani and other grafters have under their thumbs. It must be a real militant movement controlled by the rank and file workers themselves.

In this respect the workers must wage a determined struggle to smash to pieces the infamous caste system of the imperialists. The imperialists divide them into "touchables and untouchables" in order to weaken their ranks, to make their resistance to slavery and oppression impotent. It is their duty to unite, to close their ranks, and join together in a united struggle for their freedom.

Already in some of the islands there is the beginning of the development of a trade union movement. Unfortunately, however, these unions have not a revolutionary programme of struggle and are more or less led by the reformist traitors of the Amsterdam International (Cipriani in Trinidad). This situation naturally places a great task upon the **International Trade Union Committee of Negro**

**Workers**, not only to establish contacts with the workers of these islands, but to enter the field as an independent organizer of these masses.

Simultaneously with the development of the trade union movement, the workers and peasants have been carrying on agitation for a representative form of government, as well as struggles for reduction of the excessive high taxes. The imperialists fearing a popular uprising in those islands where the masses are most developed have acceded to their demands. Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes and Grenada have been granted limited representation on the Legislative Councils, in the others however, the Crown Colony system in the vilest form still prevails.



**Coolie labourers on a cocoa plantation in Trinidad. These Indian workers are imported into the West Indies as indentured slaves to work for British and native capitalists. They get about 5 cents per day for 16 and 18 hours work.**

That the masses are already in motion recent events show. Recently a strike of longshoremen took place in Trinidad in which a splendid fighting spirit was demonstrated by the workers. This was followed by a demonstration of workers and peasants in Grenada against high taxation for balancing the budget. The demonstration assumed such proportions and the anger of the masses become so aroused that the government fearing an uprising was forced to withdraw the tax.

Consequently the need of organizing the Negro workers as well as the Indian plantation coolies in the British West Indies into militant trade unions is on the first order of the day. More and more as the masses feel the intense misery in which they live they show their determination to struggle. This struggle must be organized in order to be victorious. It must not only meet with the assistance of, but it must be led by the **International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.**

# The Labour Movement

## The Economic Crisis and the Negro Workers

By O. E. Huiswood

Editor's note:—

The following is the first part of a report made at the recent plenum of the Red International of Labour Unions by comrade O. E. Huiswood, chairman of the Negro Trade Union Committee. It gives an analysis of the world economic crisis and its effects upon the Negro workers in America, Africa and other colonies, and the struggles which they are conducting against wage cuts, longer hours, and unemployment. The concluding section dealing with strikes and demonstrations of the workers against starvation and taxation in Africa and the West Indies will appear in the next issue of our journal.

The Red International is the only trade union international organization which pays any attention to coloured workers, helping them to organize so that they can get better conditions. This is just the opposite policy of the reformist trade unions, such as the Amsterdam International, the American Federation of Labour and the British Trade Union Council. The reformist leaders who control these organizations are only interested in the coloured workers in so far as they can help the capitalists to rob them. They are the imperialists agents in the ranks of the workers.

Negro workers in all parts of the world, especially in Africa should therefore read this report carefully and write us about their conditions. We appeal to Negro editors in the colonies to reprint this report in order to inform the workers of the conditions and struggles of their black class brothers in various countries.

### The Capitalist Offensive

Even before the present world economic crisis of capitalism, the conditions of the Negro toiling masses were among the lowest in the world. Everywhere they are relegated to the most degrading forms of unskilled labour and even in the few instances where they have been permitted to work in semiskilled and skilled occupations they received less wages for the same work as performed by the white workers. Through these and other methods, the capitalists extract super-profits out of the toil of the Negro masses on the basis of which they are able to bribe the upper strata of the white labour aristocrats. However, since the crisis the economic, political and social status of the Negro toilers has become ever more intolerable.

The economic crisis has affected with particular severity the millions of super-exploited black workers of the African Continent, the West Indies and of the United States. The results of this are manifested in the widespread unemployment, the complete ruination of millions of peasants due to the ruthless imperialist policy of land expropriation and in the policy of continuous introduction of newer and heavier taxes on these toiling masses. Besides, the banks and trusts, through the monopoly control over peasant production are able on the one hand, to continually crush down these peasant masses ever further and further and one the other hand, through the inflation of monopolist prices of the manufactured products to take away from the peasants ever higher and higher amounts for these commodities. These conditions have brought about

indescribable misery among the industrial workers and peasants in Africa and throughout the Black World.

As the crisis deepens the imperialists intensify their attack upon the Negro toiling masses on whose backs they hope to throw the major part of the burden in their attempt to find a way out of their difficulties. The reasons for this are obvious.

First, Africa and those colonial and semi-colonial countries which are inhabited largely by Negroes represent the last stronghold of world imperialism.

Secondly, the vast majority of the Negro workers in the United States and in the colonies are still largely unorganized, thanks to the policy of the reformist trade union bureaucrats who place the Negro workers in a special category and whose policy is the same as the imperialist policy of isolation of the Negro masses from the struggle of the white workers so that the imperialists can all the more better exploit them.

This is the policy of the social imperialists of Amsterdam and the second International, as well as of the repeated acts of betrayal of the Negro reformists within and without the trade union movement who are going more and more over to the side of the capitalists and who are aiding either directly or indirectly in the attempt to suppress the growing movement of revolt on the part of the Negro masses. But in spite of this growing repression, in spite of the terror we see everywhere, the growing mass movement of the Negro toiling masses against oppression, against the various forms of terror which is launched against them by the imperialists, and we notice recently in the United States the beginning of the development of a joint struggle on the part of the black masses with the white for a final struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression. This situation calls for the doubling of our energies in order to win over these exploited Negro masses and to draw them into our activity. The growing revolts against taxation which have been occurring and are still going on in West Africa, in the Belgian Congo, must get the immediate attention of the R. I. L. U. sections in developing a mass movement and drawing them in the orbit of revolutionary struggle. We must make the African colonies the center of gravity of our work.

### **Not Sufficient Support for Colonial Struggles.**

But it must be said at the outset that the national sections of the R. I. L. U. in spite of the adoption of the resolution at the 5th Congress on the work among the Negro workers have not translated the resolution into action. But rather, as is quite often the case, they have simply resolved to do nothing. With the result that we find that in these colonies, practically no work has been done on the part of the sections of the R. I. L. U., not even in the metropolitan countries. We must ask our French comrades, to give us an idea of what work was done in the French colonies since the 5th Congress of the R. I. L. U., what work has been done by the French section of the R. I. L. U. among the 50,000 Negro workers in France? How many have we got in our revolutionary trade unions? I don't think they have 2. What work has been done in the French colonies? And when we realize the fact that today the French imperialists are striving fast to create a huge professional army among the Negro colonials and are beginning to depend more and more upon this black colonial army for the next war and for war against the Soviet Union; when we recognize and realize the fact that the reformists in France are attempting in a number of ways to draw in the Negro workers to fight on the side of the imperialists, we must ask the question, what work are our French comrades doing in the colonies? The same thing applies to our comrades in Great Britain. In Great Britain there are permanent colonies

of Negroes in London, in Cardiff and in Liverpool. But are they in the revolutionary trade union movement? What is being done to get these Negro workers acquainted with our program?, what is being done to get them into our movement? Not only so far as the Negroes who reside in England are concerned, but those in the colonies, in Africa, in the British West Indies. Our British comrades have up to date not taken the first steps in beginning some actual work amongst these colonials. We see in the United States the beginning of some work among the Negro workers by the T. U. U. L. but one must say that the work of the T. U. U. L. among the Negro masses in the United States is today too abstract, too general and not one real attempt is made to begin the actual organizational work in a number of industries which are basic industries where we have large numbers of Negro workers. No work is being done to draw them into the T. U. U. L. There are a number of industries where there are Negroes concentrated in which the T. U. U. L. can and should begin to actually carry on some struggles and carry on some work in order to draw these Negro workers into our movement.

Here we see some very evident weaknesses so far as the activities of the T. U. U. L. is concerned and yet the conditions are particularly favourable. For instance, as comrade Stachel pointed out that in the miners' strike 6,000 Negroes participated, which is nearly one-fifth of the total number of strikers. These Negro strikers fought and fought bitterly on the side of our union. Now the problem is to be able to keep these miners, to develop the union, to have a large membership of Negro workers — this is the task confronting the miners union at the present time.

#### **Achievements and Weaknesses of Committee.**

While the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers can register certain steps forward since the 5th World Congress, in widening its contacts and in rendering political and organizational aid to the workers in the colonies, particularly in South Africa, and to a certain extent in the West Indies, nevertheless we must say that the work of the Negro Trade Union Committee up to the present time has been largely of a propagandist character, largely one of making contacts here and there. The Negro Committee was not able to make up to the present time Africa the centre of gravity of its work and to begin actual organizational work on this Continent.

The immediate task before the Negro Committee is the question of crystallization and broadening these contacts and of actually beginning to lay the basis for organization in Africa.

#### **Unemployment in South Africa.**

I want to dwell for a few minutes on the actual situation of unemployment among the Negro masses. In South Africa, we have today a growing unemployment among the native workers and agricultural workers and also among the poor whites who are flocking into the towns, who are leaving the farms in order to seek work in the cities and are swelling the already large army of unemployed. In the cities fully 50% of the native workers are unemployed which totals about 250,000 workers. The effects of the agrarian crisis has been so tremendous in South Africa that the mass of poor white farmers are drifting into the cities to find work. We find in many sections of South Africa an actual famine condition. This condition has led to the complete bankruptcy of large sections of the poor white farmers. And

what is the solution to this situation as proposed by the ruling class of South Africa?

Through the "Civilized Labour Policy" of the South African Government we find the dismissals of native workers taking place not only in skilled work, but also in semi-skilled work, in unskilled work. The jobs from which the natives are dismissed are being handed over to white workers as a means of course of fostering a breach between the whites and the blacks and to prevent their joint action. Mr. Creswell, Minister of Labour in South Africa, in a recent speech indicated quite clearly, the policy which the South African Government is pursuing in trying to place the greater share of the burden on the shoulders of the black workers. He said, "The government by affording employment to over 20,000 Europeans on works on which formerly natives were used, is striving to do its share in meeting the unemployed position".

Not only unemployment but direct wage cuts are affecting every single industry in South Africa today. Particularly in the offensive starting in



**American Negro and White Workers delegation in the Soviet Union.**

Johannesburg, and in Cape Town against the railroad workers. The Negro workers on the railroad were recently given a cut of 25 percent. In the Rand coal mines a wage cut of 5 percent is being carried through. In Rhodesia a cut of 7½ percent is going into effect mainly against the white workers in this region.

#### **Joint Struggles of White and Black Workers.**

But despite this situation of unemployment, of continuous wage cuts, of discriminations there has not developed in South Africa any real mass unemployment movement. The unemployment movement in South Africa today is confined on the one hand to a small movement of whites and colored in Johannesburg and Cape Town and on the other hand to a number of organizations dominated by reformists and capitalist politicians in the larger industrial centers of South Africa. One must bear in mind the following two things insofar as the natives are concerned. In the first place no native in South Africa is allowed to stay in



a town more than 6 days if he is unemployed. With the result that the natives keep moving from town to town. This of course makes work difficult, but on the other hand there are tens of thousands of natives who violate the bourgeois laws and still remain in Johannesburg and other cities. These unemployed natives could form the basis of a strong movement among the unemployed. Secondly, the question of struggle for relief in South Africa. Due to demonstrations and a number of struggles the poor white farmers and white workers were able to get relief from the government in Johannesburg and Cape Town. This relief was extended only to the whites and to the colored in Cape Town, but not to the natives. Since in South Africa the natives are considered as



Rolling palm oil in Sierra Leone — at 9 pence per day.

vagrants they are not given any relief. In fact when a native cannot pay his rent which is 7 days over due, he is liable to arrest and imprisonment at hard labor. This is the terror which is waged against the native workers in South Africa. But the fact that our comrades in South Africa have practically capitulated before these difficulties and have not attempted to build or develop a movement of the unemployed among the native workers shows the weakness, a basic weakness in the work of the African Federation of Trade Unions.

#### **Starvation and Taxation in West Africa.**

In West Africa we have the Government policy of retrenchments, which means lay-offs of the natives, starvation and the replacement of the natives by Europeans to a certain extent, with the result that we have a number of strike movements developing in West Africa as was shown in the Volta Transport Company, where the native workers went on strike against the policy of dismissal of the natives by the employers. The unemployment situation is particularly aggravating in West Africa and it is interesting to note the methods

and character of the solution which the Government proposes in Sierra Leone. The Government has issued a proclamation that according to the instructions from the colonial secretary by January 2nd there must be enrolled in the West African Army no less than 1,000 native workers. This is the beginning of a policy of militarization in West Africa. This is the method through which the West African Government is seeking to solve the crisis.

### Widespread Misery in the West Indies.

In the West Indies and in Cuba where the colonies which are what one may call one-crop-countries, depending in the main on the production of sugar, the crisis has been particularly severe and has affected large masses of Negro workers. The policy of the colonial government in the West Indies is a policy of liquidation of the peasantry and the creating of a huge army of agricultural workers who are compelled to work on the plantations owned by the absentee landlords and foreign Corporations. There are certain sections in the West Indies where one can go throughout the countryside and find tens of thousands of natives living in actual starvation. They are compelled to live in company huts and those who happen to be working are getting a miserable pittance. The sugar crisis has paralyzed the entire sugar industry in the West Indies, throwing thousands out of work in Cuba. On the Cuban sugar plantations where large number of West Indians slaved there are about 80,000 Jamaicans, and about 30,000 Haitians who are today being returned to their respective islands to starve. In order to stem the tide of the growing revolts of the masses the British "Labour" Government was forced to contribute something from the treasury to ease the conditions of the starving population.



Cutting canes on American Plantation in Cuba at 30 cents per day.

But the local government, apart from some fake relief schemes gives no direct aid in any form. As a result of this situation there are increasing demonstrations against unemployment on the part of the workers in the West Indies. To be sure these demonstrations are largely spontaneous because in these countries where the movement like in Trinidad is under the complete leadership of the reformist Cipriani, these unions do not carry on any strike struggles or demonstrations. Only in the case of British Guiana had recently we a number of organized demonstrations and these demonstrations are taking on more and more a class character. In the last demonstration 2,000 or more workers



**Disease infested homes of Negro workers in America for which they pay high rents to black landlords.**

participated marching through the streets with banners and flags demanding relief, no payment of rent, no evictions. This is also due to the fact that we have in the recent period aided this organization by means of an Open Letter, and other communications. Already we see as a result by the adoption of the demands which we have suggested to this union.

#### **Afro-American Masses Destitute.**

In the United States we have a situation, particularly in the Black Belt of the South, where the Negro masses are actually faced with a condition of destitution. Today in the United States, approximately one million Negro workers are unemployed. If we take large cities into consideration, if we take cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, we find an immense disproportion between the Negro population and the number of Negro unemployed. We

also find the increasing replacement of Negroes by white workers. The crisis has brought about a situation where the standard of living of white workers is being lowered particularly in the South to that of the Negro workers, with the result that the jobs which were formerly a complete monopoly of Negro workers due to low wages, are now being taken over by whites at even lower wages than the Negroes formerly received. Besides this the policy instituted by the local governments as in South and North Carolina has been to the effect that the positions formerly held by Negroes are now to be held by whites. I do not think I have to go into any explanations or reasons for this. It is quite obvious that the bourgeoisie attempts by this method to divide the working class and to place the major share of the burden of the crisis on the backs of the Negro masses. Coupled with this is the intensification of the terror and lynching of the Negro masses as exemplified in the case of the 8 unemployed Scottsboro boys who were framed up and condemned to be legally lynched.

In the struggle against unemployment in the United States the Negro workers have played a particularly important part and especially in Chicago and



**The home of a native worker in West Africa.**

Cleveland, where the bourgeoisie through its ruthlessness and through its terror, massacred Negro workers in order to split the movement of the unemployed. We see a joint movement of white and black workers for the first time on a mass scale fight not only on the question of unemployment but on the question of Negro rights. At the funeral of a Negro worker that took place in Cleveland 30,000 workers participated. Approximately one-half was composed of white workers. There is a growing movement on the part of the white workers to fight in solidarity with the Negro workers, to fight against the terror and the condition of oppression imposed upon the Negro workers. It is the task of the T. U. U. L. to take the necessary steps to widen this joint movement of struggle, and to crystalize our growing influence organizationally. Our immediate task is the organization of the Negro workers into our revolutionary unions, for the joint struggle with the white workers against capitalism.

(To be continued.)

# Solidarity Between White and Coloured Sailors

By G. Kouyatte.

Since three months the Unitarian Federation of Sailors and Fishermen, with the active support of the C.G.T.U., is carrying on in all French ports an energetic agitational and organisational campaign among the sailors and fishermen.

The preparation of the fight of the sailors, on the basis of a united front against all wage cuts and against unemployment, demands the greatest vigilance of the revolutionary workers because of the new tactic applied by the capitalist war mongers and of the cynical manoeuvres of the reformist leaders, who are combined to divide up the ranks of the workers and weaken their struggles.

The reformist trade union leaders of France have sold themselves to the armament magnates and are participating in their war business.

It must be remembered here that at their trade union congress of Sept. 1931 they demanded, in a special resolution on employment, the priority of getting jobs for the French sailor and the repatriation of the colonial and foreign sailors. They thought that in this way they could regain the confidence of the white seamen who have been suffering so much by their treachery in all their economic struggles of the past. And they were especially out to break up the united fighting front of all seamen, by mobilizing the white against the coloured workers and the unemployed against those still lucky enough to have jobs. In their policy of "divide and rule" they were of course supported by the administration of the Seamens' Labor Exchange and by certain shipping companies among which the Company of the **Chargeurs Réunis** deserves special mention.

## Terror Against the Colonial Workers

In Bordeaux the trade union bureaucrats, Durand and his clique, started a regime of terror against the coloured seamen: 14 Arabian sailors, 9 Indo-Chinese, and later 18 more Arabs and 14 Indo-Chinese were shipped back to their countries between Nov. 25, 1931 and Jan. 9, 1932.

These coloured comrades were replaced by white unemployed seamen, with the active support of the agents of the **Chargeurs Réunis** in Bordeaux.

Similar outrages occurred in Havre on a number of ships; although the dismissed coloured seamen had been serving the companies as long as from 3 to 11 years.

When the coloured seamen sent a delegation to protest to the director of the **Chargeurs Réunis** in Havre, this worthy gentleman said that he was only carrying out the instructions of a circular of the Ministry of Commercial Marine. **It is thus obvious that the government, the social-democratic municipal authorities of the ports and the shipowners are all supporting the demagogic demands of the reformist leaders.** This becomes even more obvious when we quote from the answer of the Minister for the Commercial Fleet to an interpellation of the social-democratic deputy for Dunkerque, who was evidently annoyed that the unemployed Negro, Indo-Chinese, and Arabian workers were not being shipped back home quickly enough. The minister, after excusing himself for the delay by pointing out that his Ministry had not the necessary funds to "carry out a collective repatriation", stated that he had undertaken steps for collaboration between all ministries concerned, namely, the Ministry for Interior, for Labour and for the Commercial Fleet, "in order to put an end to a situation which could not continue without detriment to the public order".

So here we see mobilized against the colonial seamen the coalition of all the apparatus of capitalist exploitation, force and oppression.

### **Under the Leadership of the Revolutionary Trade Union**

In spite of all attempts to sabotage and intimidate the Negro-, Indo-Chinese and Arab sailors, they have come by the hundreds to the meetings of the revolutionary sailor's union in Rouen, Havre, Dunkerque, and other French ports. They have fully agreed to support our programme on the basis of united front on board of the ships, in the preparatory Committees for the strike and in the unemployed committees of the ports. They have stood together with their white comrades on the picket lines. When partial strikes on various ships broke out; the colonial seamen in big bodies collectively joined the revolutionary seamen's union. Such an active participation of the colonial sailors, such a readiness to get organized under the banner of the C.G.T.U. means the full condemnation of social and national chauvinism and the class collaboration policy of the reformist leaders.

The campaign of the **Unitarian Federation of Sailors and Fishermen** which is the practical consequence of our conference of port and dock workers of the 27th of December has shown an undeniable success. The sailors are fighting comradesly together on all ships where wage cuts are threatening. Our unemployed comrades, too, are demonstrating together in Havre, Rouen, Bordeaux and Sain-Nazaire. The possibilities for the rapid development of our union are becoming bigger every day. But it is important that the functionaries of our sailors' or fishers' unions should now also organize the unemployed or partially unemployed. Every meeting, small as it might be, must be made an occasion to consolidate our influence by systematically recruiting new members for our union. The meetings have no real value for us unless they help us to develop our organization.

We must keep up the close ties with our colonial comrades and entrust them with practical tasks within our organization. In this way we shall not only develop their understanding for economic struggles, but we shall also strengthen the united front between the white and coloured workers against wage cuts, against unemployment, starvation and against all ministerial decrees — the originators of which are in reality the trade union reformists.

The campaign of our Federation has made possible the gathering, irrespective of race and colour, of the seamen and dockers. This is a good step forward for the preparation of the World Congress of the I.S.H., where representatives from the imperialist countries will meet with workers from the colonial countries to discuss and plan their common class interest.

Let us work as intensely as possible for the preparation of that congress, the principal task of which will be the internationalization of the struggles of these two sections of the working class, the common interests of which are beyond the artificial frontiers of the capitalist countries.

## **The World Congress of Seamen**

The International of Seamen and Harbour Workers (I.S.H.) in Hamburg has taken the initiative for the convention of a Unity Congress of the Water Transport Workers of the World on May 20, 1932. — All Negro seamen and dockers are invited to send delegates. The Congress will discuss among other questions the organization of the struggles of the water transport workers of the colonial countries.

# Workers Correspondence

## NEGRO LEADER TELLS ABOUT TERROR IN KENTUCKY

Dear Comrade Editor,

I already wrote you about our last strike, but now we are entering another struggle in Kentucky. I would like to tell you of what is happening in the mines down in the South. I will deal specifically with Negroes and their conditions.

The Negroes are a small minority in the strike area in Kentucky, being about 3%, while thousands of them are employed in the Penn.-Ohio district. They are at this time facing the most terrible conditions of all the miners in the South. The miners are segregated into the most miserable section of the Company Camps and are not permitted to leave this section without a guard or a pass from the gun men. They are also discriminated against and the white miners are not permitted to associate with them whatsoever. The starvation of the Negroes in Kentucky is shown by their wives and children. Many of them have not sufficient clothes and shoes. They are also afflicted with the disease called Flu. The Negro miners are willing to join our Union to better their conditions and to fight against the starvation program of the Kentucky Coal operators.

The only Union that has ever been in the South was the **National Miners Union** which at their first meetings went in with their program of full unity of the coal miners in Kentucky. There is quite a membership and they are yet joining the **National Miners Union**.

I attended the first District Convention of Kentucky on the 13th of December and there was not a Negro present. This was due to the terror of the imported gun men who are picked up in the slums of the large cities and shipped into Kentucky to shoot down the miners. Many of the Negroes as well as the white miners were taken for a "ride", beaten up and told not to come back to Kentucky. This terror which is still going on was used before the Convention and particular attention was paid by the gun men to see that no Negroes attended the Convention. Just the same I was able to speak at the Convention and the workers gave me a great applause, as the first Negro to speak for the **Union** in Kentucky. As I write this letter I think that it is the task of all the workers throughout the world to give as much help as possible to the Kentucky Strike. So far, since the Strike which began on January 1st the terror is increased. Almost all of our organizers that were sent there by the National Office are arrested and held for "Criminal Syndicalism", which means in Kentucky, if not defended, and the cases won, from 5 to 25 years in the Penitentiary. I know that we Negro miners are in the position to give some help to the leaders of our revolutionary Union.

I hope that the revolutionary trade union movement internationally is going on at high speed and that you will continue to correspond with me and help us in our important work.

Comradely yours,

**I. HAWKINS,**

**Head of Negro Department, National Miners Union.**

Pittsburgh, Pa., U. S. A., January 6, 1932.

## LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

London, W. C. 1, 10th February, 1932.

Dear Comrades,

The Executive Committee of the British Section of the League Against Imperialism directed its Secretary to write to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the question of the Colour Bar in Britain, and we are sending you a copy of our letter.

To the Right Honourable.

Sir Herbert Samuel, C. C. B., M. P.

Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Home Office,

Whitehall, S. W. 1.

Sir:—

I am directed by the Executive Committee of the British Section of the League against Imperialism to bring to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government through you the following facts relative to the operation of the Colour Bar in Britain and to request that you will move the competent authorities to take such action as may be possible to convey to the establishment concerned that its attitude towards the Negro Race is objectionable and harmful.

The League Against Imperialism has been informed by Mr. David Tucker, Master of Arts of Bermuda and now a student of law at the Inns of Court (Middle Temple), who is the Publicity Secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples (Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E. C. 4) that on the afternoon of December 10th last he invited the Secretary of the British Section of the Workers' International Relief, Mrs. Isobel Brown, to tea at the Essex Stairs Tea-Rooms, 24, Essex Street, Strand, W. C. 2 which are adjoining the Middle Temple.

Mr. Tucker has been so frequent a visitor to this Tea-room with friends of both sexes as well as alone that he might almost be considered a regular patron.

When he entered the Tea-room as usual on the afternoon of December 10th he was informed that he and Mrs. Brown could not be served. No reason for this refusal was given by the management of the Tea-room. This incident is naturally resented and deplored by Mr. Tucker and Mrs. Brown and those associated with them in their work on behalf of the oppressed peoples, and they have brought the facts to the knowledge of the League Against Imperialism, which as you are no doubt aware, is an international organization striving for the freedom and independence of the subject peoples.

Now this instance of race prejudice in Britain is not an isolated instance, confined to one country.

On the very same day that the incident above described occurred in London, December 10th 1931, the "Evening Standard" reported the lynching at Lewisburg in West Virginia of two Negroes, Tom Jackson and George Banks. These men were dragged out of Green Brier County Jail by a mob of 60 persons and swung up on the telephone post, where bullets were poured into their dangling bodies.

This was the second instance of lynching reported within a week. On December 4th 4,000 people raided a hospital in Maryland and hanged a wounded Negro, who was accused of shooting a resident.

More recently the British Boxing Board of Control has given expression to racial prejudice by deciding that no coloured man shall even be permitted to box for a British title.



There has been another example of this artificially created racial feeling and its disastrous results in the recent murder scandal at Hawaii, which is inflaming opinion throughout the Pacific islands at a time when hostilities have broken out and a great concentration of armed forces is taking place.

I am instructed to express the hope that you will use your influence with a view to avoiding any recurrence of the insulting treatment of which Mr. David Tucker, the Publicity Secretary of the League of Coloured Peoples, and Mrs. Isobel Brown, were the victims on December 10th and to request that you will be so good as to acquaint the League against Imperialism of the action taken.

Copies of this communication have been forwarded to the Lord President of the Council and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

(Signed) Reginald Bridgeman  
Honorary Secretary.

---

The following reply has been received from the Home Office:—

Home Office,

11th February, 1932.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst., relating to Essex-Stairs Tea Rooms, Strand, Refusal to serve to coloured man and white woman.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,  
(signed) John Anderson.

---

## GARVEYITES PREPARING WORKERS FOR CANNON-FODDER

New York City, February 4th, 1932.

Dear Comrade Editor:—

Living in the heart of the Negro district in New York City I believe that the publications which your Committee has to offer would be enlightening to me and my comrades, giving us a clearer view of the class fight of the Negro masses and the fight against imperialism.

We have a tremendous task at the present moment in fighting the ideology of the Garveyites who are telling the Negroes that Japan has started to make the world supreme for the darker races. When one takes up the daily papers and reads of how the Japanese imperialists are massacring thousands of Chinese workers and peasants, with their women and children it seems hard to believe how any twisting of words might give what the "Garveyites" would make the Negro masses think. Yet the situation exists, and with the help of the pamphlets which I hope you will send me and the courage of the revolutionary workers of the world, we young workers will fight until we have completely exposed the Negro reformists.

Comradely Yours

E. L. B.

---

## "NEGRO WORKER" BIG SUCCESS IN LIBERIA.

Monrovia, Liberia, January 11th, 1932.

Dear Comrade:—

I received the copies of the "NEGRO WORKER" today for which please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation.

These pamphlets I have distributed amongst my countrymen, and you will observe that, as they are **so much in demand, there is not even a single copy left with me.**

I am in hearty accord with the ideals for which the "INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS" stands and will do all that lies in my power to spread this all-important propaganda amongst the poor, oppressed and hard working indigenous population of my country.

The evils pointed out in the contents of your article are most prevalent in our country and I have not the least doubt that a revolutionary workers movement will serve as a sort of salvation to us. Please send me more copies per first mail and I shall be happy if you will send me copies regularly, for which I shall make remittance in postage stamps. You will hear from me again.

Fraternally Yours,

M.

## LIBERIANS INSPIRED BY "NEGRO WORKER"

Monrovia, Liberia, January, 10th, 1932.

Dear Editor:

I wish to extend many thanks to you for the parcel containing copies of the "Negro Worker".

You will be surprised to note that I do not now have a single copy of my own. I have gratuitously given all away. **The demand is beyond description for this paper;** and even now as I write this letter, I am being bothered by the numerous inquiries (from men and women of all classes) that have been coming since the 7th inst, for the "Negro Worker". It appears as though the people had a natural instinctive liking for it; doubtless because the movement is the greatest and most effective inroad that has ever been openly made upon white imperialism.

In conceive it is your desire to have the ideals of this great movement inculcated and diffused throughout Africa. In this connection, however, although you have not requested me to start any organization in behalf of your Committee, I would suggest that in course of time, not very long, we should have a branch of this world wide movement organized right in the city of Monrovia, and subsequently in the other Counties.

In order to facilitate easy organization in future, I would suggest that you send me regularly not less than 25 copies or more of this monthly.

I am confident that when this plan is followed and carried out for at least five or six months, Liberia will be ready to present very shortly thereafter a united front of formidable constituency against capitalist oppression and the imperialism of the white race. Liberia is a country where this evil is most omnipresent, and **as soon as the oppressed and exploited indigenese and all other workers ascertain the source of the evil, there is no doubt that they will make it the greatest movement in Liberia, yea, throughout Africa.**

Fraternally Yours

T. K.

Just Off the Press!

# THE LIFE AND STRUGGLES OF NEGRO TOILERS

By  
GEORGE PADMORE

London

128 Pages / Price 1/—

This book gives for the first time an account of the life and struggles of Negro toilers from a **working class point of view**, on an international scale. It shows the misery and oppression which imperialist rule has brought for millions of black toilers in Africa, America and the West Indies; but it also tells of the valiant struggles which these masses are carrying on against their slave-holders. It shows them the way to freedom through **revolutionary class organization** and united struggle with the international proletariat.

**A most indispensable source of information for every worker and sincere fighter against imperialism:**

No class conscious worker in the "mother" countries should fail to read this book which contains in condensed form an up to date description of the terrible conditions under which their black comrades are living.

**Its appearance at this time when the international bourgeoisie is spreading lies about forced labour in the USSR is a fitting answer to these slanderers.**

The Negro workers will find here a graphic description about the toilers of their own race in different parts of the world, and of the treacherous role of the Negro reformists and bourgeois nationalist leaders.

---

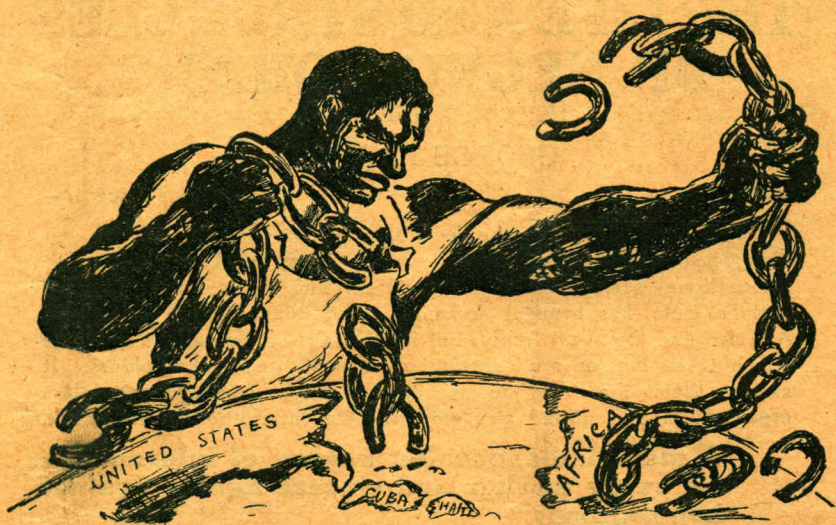
## Order Your Copy Today From:

WORKERS BOOKSHOP, 16, King Street, LONDON W. C. 2.

WORKERS-LIBRARY PUBLISHERS, P. O. B. 148, Station D,  
NEW YORK.

AFRICAN FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, P. O. B. 4179,  
JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF NEGRO  
WORKERS, 8 Rothesoodstrasse, HAMBURG.



## **AFTER READING THE "NEGRO WORKER"**

**Don't be selfish! Pass it on to a fellow-worker!**

**Tell all your friends about us! Send us their names!  
We will send them a free copy.**

**By building the "NEGRO WORKER" you help in  
strengthening the fight for our Emancipation!**

**Collection Number: AD1715**

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation*

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2013

**LEGAL NOTICES:**

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.