

THE NEGRO WORKER



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SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONGRESS

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I.

CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE
OF NEGRO WORKERS

The Negro Delegation of the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism and fraternal delegates from colonial and European countries and the U.S.A., in a special Negro Workers' Conference at Frankfort, Germany, July 26, 1929, discussed the conditions and situation of the Negro workers throughout world and their relationships with workers of other races. At the close of the Conference A CALL WAS ISSUED FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WORKERS TO TAKE PLACE IN LONDON, IN JULY, 1930. A Provisional Committee of Negro Worker representatives from the various countries was elected to carry out preliminary organisational plans. Details of the Conference and other plans will be announced later.

The following is the provisional Committee, which is to be increased :

United States America

William Pickens, NAACP. F. Premice, Furriers' Union.
E.L. Doty, Plumbers' Union. Otto Hall, Negro Dept. TUEL.
Isaac Munsey, Miners' National Union. Mary Burroughs, Teachers' Union.

South Africa

W. Thibedi, Federation of Non-European Trade Unions.
Andrews, T.U. Congress.

East Africa

Johnstone Kenyatta, Central Association of Kenya.

Haiti and West Indies

George Padmore, Printers' Union.
Henry Rosemond, Furriers' Union (USA).
Dicadosse.

France

Ali, C.G.T.U.

England

M.E. Burns, T & G.W.

Chairman : J.W. Ford (International Trade Union
Committee of Negro Workers of the RILU).

Organisations represented :

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the RILU.
American Negro Labour Congress.
League for the Defence of the African Race.
The Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, South Africa.
Trade Union Congress, South Africa.
National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (U.S.A.).
Central Association of Kenya. East Africa.
Indian National Congress.
Trade Union Educational League (USA).
All-China Trade Union Federation.
T & G W England.
C.G.T.U. France

International Trade Union Committee
of Negro Workers of the RILU.

II.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

Report to the IIInd World Congress of the League Against
Imperialism
by Comrade FORD
(International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers
of the RILU)

Comrades: - My report has three tasks: It must point out the conditions

and situation of Negroes under imperialism in the present phase of imperialist expansion in Africa and the territories of the Negro peoples; secondly, it must point out how the Negroes themselves must meet these conditions and circumstances; thirdly, it must point out the task of the League Against Imperialism with regard to these conditions in its general struggle against imperialism.

I. - Imperialism: General Statement

The so-called Negro "problem" has been consistently misstated for so long that a survey of it is needed, especially with regard to the conditions of Negroes under imperialism and capitalism. From the political report made here on the opening day we have already seen the general decay of capitalism, and the sharpening antagonisms that are producing a real serious crisis in capitalism and imperialism and are really characteristic of capitalism at the present time. This period is of tremendous significance to the international working class and oppressed peoples and is of very great importance to the Negro people themselves. The future history of the Negro in the struggle for liberation, for political, social and economic advancement depends immeasurably upon how they estimate the present period of imperialism, the concrete tasks of organisation they set themselves to achieve these things and the unity they establish with the international working class in the struggle against imperialism. Indeed the Negro people are passing through one of the most important periods of struggle for liberation. We have already seen the great struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants, we see rising waves of revolt and struggle in India, we are witnessing great waves of revolt of the working class and proletariat in the "home-lands" of imperialism.

Imperialism and the Negroes

For our purpose, in dealing with the special question of the Negro, imperialism is that stage reached by capitalism when the whole globe has been divided and distributed amongst a few capitalist powers (this especially applying to Africa); and when there is going on amongst the Negroes of America class changes, the development of a Negro bourgeoisie which by subordinating itself to the big white bourgeoisie causes a more intense exploitation of the Negro toiling masses of America. Imperialism nurses and stimulates racial hatreds amongst the workers of various races and exploits Negroes by means of racial oppression. Imperialism "declasses" the Negro intellectuals and professions and either draws them into the ranks of its own reaction or throws them limping into the ranks of the working class. Imperialism has chains forged around the neck of the working class, has bound nations and races of all countries into enslavement by means of starvation and the brutality of capitalist state coercion including the police and the militia. Finally it has grabbed within its clutches, by means of "small" wars and punitive expeditions, colonies and semi-colonies, where the grinding oppressed colonial peoples groan under the weight of its slaver's yoke.

World War Awakes Negroes

During the imperialist war of 1914-18 hundreds of thousands of Negroes for the first time were brought into direct contact with western customs and culture; millions of Negroes were brought from the agricultural and peasant regions of the southern part of the USA into the industries of the North and became a fixed part of the industrial proletariat of America; millions were driven into the imperialist armies. Imperialism has, further carried industrial development into the colonies of Africa and is producing, though small, yet a substantial proletariat, especially in South Africa.

Already the post-war period has given rise to a class-consciousness and organised revolt of the Negro toilers against imperialism. But in order to understand this new period of the Negro's struggle it is necessary to understand the old periods of capitalist exploitation and oppression of the Negroes.

II. Modern Imperialism and the Negro

1. - The process of the economic and political enslavement of the Negro peoples has extended over a period of 300 years and may be divided into three stages.

(a) The classical period, the period of Merchant-capitalism which stood everywhere for a system of snatching slaves, marked the birth of the notorious African slave trade. This was the time when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were at the high-tide of their business of dealing in slaves. It is estimated that over a hundred million Negroes were torn from Africa during the course of 300 years. Fabulous fortunes have been made on the slave traffic. It is estimated that profits ranged from 100% to 150%. In the early colonial days in Massachusetts the rum-slave traffic was paying 100% profit. The average price of slaves were : in 1840 - \$325, in 1850 - \$360, in 1860 - \$500. It was on slave traffic profits, including the rape of India, that England was able to lay the basis of her British Empire; it yielded tremendous profits to America, too. Thus capitalist exploitation and profits were at the very basis of the beginning of the enslavement of the Negro people.

(b) The second period, the period of industrial-capitalism, saw the beginning of the territorial division of Africa, and the capitalist exploitation of its natural resources through the exploitation of the labour power of the natives. At the same time, because the slave traffic and this method of securing labour supply became too costly and wasteful, this period witnessed the liquidation of the "legal" slave traffic. This stage marked not only the period for supplying the primary resources of the growing manufacturing enterprises of England, but also saw, in America, the slave traffic give away to the intense plantation exploitation of the Negro slaves as the main source of profits and the basis laid of the present might and wealth of American imperialism. Over 75 million bales of cotton were produced in America from 1826 to the opening of the Civil War of 1861-65, and from the close of the Civil War to 1884 over 15 million bales. Thus the cessation of the slave traffic really increased and carried forward the profit making of the previous period.

(c) The third stage (and this is the period that we are most concerned with), is the epoch of imperialism and marks the completion of the partitioning of Africa and the complete enslavement of its people. It sees, in addition to the already intense exploitation of the Negroes by white big business class demarkations amongst the Negroes themselves, in which the rising Negro bourgeoisie is working hand in glove to support the exploitation of the Negroes by the big white bourgeoisie. The already extreme racial barriers continue the special exploitation of the Negroes. All in all this stage is marked by the most intense exploitation of the Negroes.

Policy of Imperialism

2. - What is the present policy of imperialism with regard to the Negro peoples? Whereas in the early history of India, England followed a policy which unrooted and tore down old customs and institutions and feudal systems (which amounted to a social revolution), in Africa, excepting possibly South Africa, British imperialism is following the policy of maintaining the old customs and hindering the industrial development of the country and is ruling Africa through native chiefs while she sucks profits from the territories. Thus it perpetuates a degrading policy which hinders the advancement of the toiling masses of Africa.

French imperialism, while tearing down old customs is at the same time in actuality exterminating whole populations in the territories under its sway. Taking the healthiest and fittest men from the villages to work on railroads, etc., it thus leaves whole villages and settlements to die a slow death.

Leaving only the old men, women and children, the fields are left uncultivated or the crop ungathered this meaning death by starvation for the whole population. But France is no worse than Portugal, Holland, Belgium or any other of the "civilised" countries that have taken upon themselves the "burden" of adapting the "backward" races to European civilisation.

The policy is actually a policy of retarding the industrial development of the country, a policy which results in retarding and hindering the advancement of the African people. And as its complement you have the agrarian policy - the policy of maintaining Africa as the "countryside" for the European Imperialists, as the leading source of raw materials, as market centers, as centers for the loaning of capital accumulations gained through the exploitation of the workers in the home countries. As sources of raw materials, as market centers and as centers for surplus capital accumulation, Africa is leading to intense rivalries and contradictions amongst the imperialists themselves, and is one of the determining factors leading to another war.

Industrialisation in Africa

3. - This does not mean that industrialisation is not taking place in Africa, quite the contrary. Let us examine this.

The figures on the export of capital to Africa from Britain are significant:

<u>Year</u>	<u>British cap. to Africa</u>	<u>Total export of capital</u>	<u>% to Africa</u>
1925	£14,832,000	£60,162,000	244

This capital is going in one form or another, towards the development of industries in Africa. This does not mention large amounts of capital from French, American and Belgian sources. This represents a decrease in British capital export to Africa since 1923-24. But on the other hand, there has been a gigantic growth in American capital export to Africa.

As a result of these imperialist interests in Africa tremendous industrial developments are going on---the building of railroads, the developing of mines, steel mills, etc. The chief industries in the Belgian Congo (extraction of copper, gold, diamonds, silver) have in the last few years trebled their output as the following production figures show; Copper in 1921 - 31,000 tons, in 1926 - 82,000 tons; diamonds in 1921 - 157,896 carats, in 1926 - 1,114,383 carats; gold in 1921 - 2,228 kilog., in 1926 - 3,645 kilog. Exports were: 126,210 tons in 1923, in 1926 - 203,000 tons; imports: 330,000 tons in 1923, in 1926 - 666,000 tons.

In South Africa the output of gold, coal, lead, zinc, etc., has taken tremendous strides. Production has reached tremendous figures involving also much native labour. Gold production in 1927 was 10,299,200 ounces, valued at £43,685,300. Lead production in Rhodesia in 1927 was 5,857 tons, and in the first quarter of 1928, 1,495 tons. Copper in Tanganyika, in December 1927, showed 9,800 tons produced, and in the first quarter of 1928 - 37,600 tons.

Rhodesia produces the CHEAPEST ZINC IN THE WORLD, with one plant producing at the rate of 18,500 tons per year.

The report of the Union mines of Haut-Katanga, Belgian Congo, showed a production of 1,730,000 tons of copper for 1927. The report also showed a business total of 410,025,734 francs, and a profit of 140,297,877 francs. This is the production of copper, tin, radium, cobalt, uranium.

At Pretoria in South Africa a large steel mill is under construction.

On the West Coast of Africa the British are carrying intense industrial developments.

In LIBERIA we find that a USA rubber concern, the Firestone Co., has entered this part of Africa. There are 30,000 acres planted with 6,000,000 rubber trees; 10,000 natives are working for less than 30 cents per day.

The Native Population (Proletariat)

The overwhelming majority of the South African population is native and coloured (about 5 1/2 million native and coloured people and one and a half million white). The Negroes constitute the majority of the WORKING CLASS. Let us take the figures:

White	176,072	(27%)
Coloured	467,013	(73%)
	<u>643,085</u>	

	White		Coloured	
1) Mining	39,029	(11%)	305,589	(89%)
2) Transport	66,139	(62%)	40,830	(38%)
3) Production	71,004	(37%)	120,594	(63%)
	<u>176,072</u>		<u>467,013</u>	

In the Belgian Congo in 1929 in the gold, copper and diamond mines there were 31,655 native workers; in 1926 there were 61,182. In the Union mines of Catagu there were 16,448 native workers.

Agriculture

4. - Here again South Africa is typical. The native and coloured population may be divided as follows:

- 1) Natives on their own tribal lands (reserves) 51%
- 2) Detribalised natives on European-owned land 34%
- 3) Native workers in mines and city areas 14%

In 1910 the agricultural export of South Africa was £9,500,000 in 1927 it was £22,000,000; in 1910 the agricultural export was 18% of the total exports, in 1927 it was 32%. This, too, in face of the increased gold export for the same year - from £32,000,000 to £42,000,000.

The number of dairy factories in South Africa increased during the period 1915-25 from 59 to 124. In Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Liberia and in the whole West Coast of Africa vast agricultural developments are going on.

In South Africa the native reserves form only 1/8 of the total land of the union, and natives are not allowed to purchase land outside the reserves. Certain areas of crown land which it was once suggested might be added to the reserves are being alienated to the whites, e.g., large areas in the Northern Transvaal which were regarded as suitable for cotton growing. The existing reserves are hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the present population, and large numbers of natives are compelled for this reason, not forgetting taxation and pressure from their chiefs (who act as government agents), to go out to work in the white areas. At any moment over 1/3 of the adult male population of the reserves is away at work in the towns or on the white farms.

Now let us refer to a few statements of leading imperialists of Africa. General Herzog last year said: "The farmer would have to exert himself to keep the natives on the land, for there is the danger of the native becoming an industrialist instead of an agriculturist... that might prove a disaster for the farmer of South Africa".

The king of Belgium, in opening up a railroad in the Congo, said: "The railroad will assure the development of agriculture, which alone keeps the natives to the soil."

Major Christy of England in a recent speech said: "African equatorial regions contain inexhaustible supplies of vegetable products and lie almost at the front door of Europe. For the world distance does not mean what it did and the difficulties of Saharian transport are rapidly being overcome. In the near future, as I see it, the native of tropical Africa will, with encouragement, be the producer of a large proportion of the vegetable raw materials of the world."

Political Situation

5. - The native population has in South Africa no electoral rights (with the exception of the Cape province), the power of the State has been monopolised by the white bourgeoisie which has at its disposal the armed white forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the Boers, defeated by the arms of the British imperialism at the close of

the last century, had for a long time carried on a dispute with British capital. But as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white South African bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming together with the latter a united front of whites for the exploitation of the native population.

In West Africa and other parts we have practically the same situation: Imperialist rule by indirect methods through native chiefs with the overwhelming population without any political expression. In French Africa they rule by the iron hand of the army and constabularies, this being true also of the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Africa.

6. - America and the West Indies

America

In America there are upward of 12,000,000 Negroes of which two-thirds are peasants and agricultural workers living in the South. During and since the world war there was a great migration of Negroes from the South into the industries of the North and this has created an industrial Negro proletariat.

The general outline of the economic and industrial development in America is fairly well known to all. The general situation of the Negro worker and the Negro peasant cannot be separated from that of the white and other workers and farmers of America. There are, however, some very special and characteristic features of the Negro's exploitation and conditions under imperialism in America that must be considered by us.

86% of the Negro population live in the South; of this number 74% reside in the rural districts and depend upon agriculture for a livelihood. Approximately one-half of these rural dwellers live in the so-called "black belt" where they constitute more than 50% of the population. The great mass of Negroes are subjected to the most ruthless form of exploitation and persecution. American imperialism utilizes peonage, share-cropping, landlordism, etc., for the super-exploitation of the Negroes and to suck out superprofits. In order to perpetuate this super-exploitation there has grown up and constantly extended its hold a system of political inequality, lynching, segregation, "jim-crowism", etc.

The American imperialists faced with the growing revolt in the ranks of the great mass of the Negro workers and peasants, either must see these revolts grow in size and momentum or try to hamper them by granting concessions and even assisting the development of a Negro Bourgeoisie; They are openly supporting the development of Negro big business enterprises. To take two cases this is being done by such outstanding plutocrats as Rockefeller and Julius Rosenwald of Chicago. Rockefeller has recently organised a bank for Negroes in New York.

Besides the Negroes themselves are feverishly building big business enterprises, in Chicago, New York, North Carolina, and throughout the country. Thus the lot of the great masses of Negro workers and peasants is becoming doubly hard, the exploitation is like a double edged sword. The Negro has no political rights in the South where the great bulk of his race live.

West Indies

The West Indies are typically agricultural country. It is the biggest market place for the export of goods from America, more so indeed than any of the Latin and Central American countries. The whole of the West Indies are under the iron hand of the American marines. The Independence of Haiti, gained by the overthrow of French domination during the Haitian Revolution, has been completely nullified by the American marines, the people are garrotted and ruled, in addition to the marines, by a fake illegal president who is nothing but a tool of American imperialism. The country in spite of its natural richness is in poverty, the like of which has never been seen since the days before the Haitian Revolution.

7. - Forced Labour

I must draw special attention to this question. We have recently had from the pen of a French journalist a vivid picture of the effects of forced labour in Equatorial Africa. He tells of how the natives in building the Ocean-Congo railroad work with only pick and shovel and without the aid of other mechanical devices and transport; how they have to carry building material hundreds of miles on their heads; how they must work ten and twelve hours a day at a stretch, half starved, almost naked, without shelter or other protection from the inclemencies of the weather; how they die off like flies. For every kilometer of railroad laid down the toll is 200 deaths; already 17,000 Negroes have perished in laying the railroad. In the forty years that France has ruled the Congo the population has gone down 75%, principally from the effects of forced labour.

Mozambique Treaty

This treaty allows the Rand mineowners of South Africa to recruit native labour in Portuguese East Africa for certain definite considerations at the rate of 75,000 natives per year, each native so recruited works for a period of 18 months. Many natives have died in making the long trips because of the change in climate, because of inadequate transport facilities and protection on the way; half of the native's wage is retained until his return at the end of his contract period. Portuguese Negroes indentured in this way find themselves in extremely bad conditions. All articles taken out of South Africa are heavily taxed, workers have to pay additional fees if their passports are prolonged.

West Africa

In West Africa railroads and bridges are built by forced labour. In Portuguese West Africa, in British South West Africa floggings and vagrancy laws are resorted to to force the natives to work. In certain sections boys 14 years of age are forced to labour. In other sections taxation had recourse to to get ablebodied men conscripted for periods of 6 days at a time.

West Indies

Here we find the same kind of "community" improvement resorted to; natives at the point of US marine bayonets are forced to build roads without compensation; natives are conscripted for work on the Cuban sugar plantations.

Southern U.S.A.

In the southern part of the USA facts come to light daily of the existence of peonage by which Negroes are worked on the plantations of the South as forced labourers. In some cases Negroes have been discovered who have been in this bondage since the Civil War, not knowing even that bond slavery had ended with the War. Recently reports have come out in which the police forces of Florida are forcing Negroes to build roads without pay. Negro convicts are leased to mine owners and plantation owners in the South.

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Comrades, I have referred only briefly to some of the territories that are under the heel of imperialism. Some, such as Liberia, Abyssinia, etc., I have not mentioned to any great extent. But as you will readily realise the imperialist oppression of the Negro peoples of the world covers a very wide field that would take days to go into in detail. But we have had a general picture, now we must work out a line and policy for our fight against imperialism.

III. - Tasks and Tactics in the Struggle Against Imperialism

1. From the foregoing certain very definite conclusions follow. The League's programme demanding Independence, independence in its very essence, is correct.

The toiling masses of the Negroes throughout the world can see no hope for rectifying their conditions under imperialism indeed there

is no hope, not the slightest chance. The Negro toiling masses must look forward to mobilising their forces for a joint struggle against imperialism, for independence and self-rule.

Independence, Self-Rule and Self-Determination

South Africa

The inception of Negro reformism, as a result of the corruptionist policy of the white bourgeoisie, constitutes the characteristic fact of the present political situation in South Africa.

The united front of the British and South African white bourgeoisie against the toiling Negro population, backed by the white and Negro reformists, creates the possibility for uniting the white and black proletariat and the landless black peasantry for a struggle against British imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and against the white and black reformist leaders.

South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The basis of the South African question is the black peasantry whose land has been expropriated by the white exploiting minority. Seven-eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence, the national question lies at the foundation of the struggle against imperialism in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class.

To complete and carry forward these demands we must put forward the central slogan—AN INDEPENDENT NATIVE **SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC** BASED UPON THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ORGANISATIONS WITH FULL SAFEGUARDS AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL NATIONAL MINORITIES.

America

In America the main struggle, as we have seen from the foregoing, is by which the Negroes are bound down against the political, economic and social inequalities. It is the Negro agricultural labourers and the tenant farmers who feel most the pressure of white persecution and exploitation. Thus, the agrarian problem lies at the root of any Negro liberation movement in America. Their objective position facilitates their transformation into a tremendous force against U.S.A. imperialism. Under the leadership of the proletariat, these toilers will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against imperialism. We must fight for full emancipation. We must fight for complete political, economic and social equality. In the Southern part of the U.S.A., on the "Black Belt" where they constitute the majority of the population we must support the right of self-determination.

We must carry on a relentless struggle against the terrorism of the fascist Ku-Klux-Klan and the American Legion; against mob violence and lynch law; against all forms of racial chauvinism, all forms of racial discrimination and segregation.

West Africa

Complete national independence for all the colonies of West Africa (Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Nigeria).

Liberia

The complete independence of Liberia and the immediate withdrawal of American imperialist agents from Liberian territory.

The Belgian Congo

The independence of the Belgian Congo.

Abyssinia

The unqualified independence of Abyssinia; the abrogation of all treaties that provide for the partitioning of Abyssinia.

Haiti

The complete sovereignty and independence of Haiti; the cancellation of all debts and the restoration of the Customs; the abrogation of all treaties which are directed towards the political and economic subjugation of Haiti.

Jamaica

The complete separation of Jamaica from the British Empire.

Central American Countries

For all the Central American countries we must demand for the Negro subjects full and complete political, economic and social equality.

East Africa

For all the colonies of British East Africa we must struggle for:

- 1) The British evacuation of the Colonies.
- 2) The return of expropriated territory of the natives.
- 3) The abolition of "Corvée system" and forced labour.

2. - What Must Be Done? (Trade Union Organisation)

The fight for the emancipation of the Negroes depends, as we have seen, upon the fact that the great majority of the Negro people are workers and peasants. Included in this struggle, however, may be intellectuals and even bourgeois elements with some very characteristic limitations of which we shall speak later. We must have organisations and programmes.

The revolutionary labour movement---because it is homogeneous, because it brings together great masses of workers who have the same demands and the basis for common and mutual unity, because it does not limit itself to local and national demands but unifies great masses of workers throughout the world on the basis of identical demands against an identical enemy---is the real form of organisation for the struggle against international imperialism. The Trade Union is the characteristic form of organisation. Unified in the trade unions, the working class, can be relied upon to carry the struggle through to its ultimate end. There will be no vacillations such as we see in the ranks of the intellectuals. For example, in America the intellectuals formerly put forward and fought for social equality, but now we see quite a characteristic change in these intellectuals; they are now denying the struggle for social equality and falling in with a new reformist programme of collaboration with the capitalists in the exploitation of the Negroes. The working class, however, will go on to the end; it has the courage; it has the energy; it has the numbers. Therefore the essential form of organisation to carry out our demands must be the trade union with a clear-cut programme.

(a) A Trade Union Programme

Comrades, the Negro toiling masses are subjected both to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression---they suffer as members of an oppressed race and of the working class. In this country or in that one or the other form of oppression predominates.

The struggle of the Negro toilers for liberation is insolvably bound up with the wider struggle of the international proletariat and the Negro workers must line up in the international revolutionary class struggle the world over, by organising their forces for joint struggle. In order to help the establishment of such a united front between the Negro workers and their fellow-workers, in order to liberate the Negro workers from the influence of reactionary nationalistic petty-bourgeois ideologies and draw them into the lines of the revolutionary class struggle it is necessary to follow a trade union programme.

Equal Pay for Equal Work. - As a general rule Negro workers are working at lower wages than white workers. In South Africa for example the wages of native workers are from four to five times lower than of white workers; in America the constant lowering of the wages of Negro workers, the employment of Negro workers only upon their acceptance of lower wages than white workers, not only means the lowering of their own standards of living, but the standards of white workers as well: in the West Indies and in Cuba on the sugar plantations Negro workers toil for only a few cents per day. In order to raise the standards of living and subsistence of Negro workers it is necessary for them to struggle for "equal pay for equal work", irrespective of race, colour or sex. At the same time the fight for raising the general standards of living of all workers must be continued and carried on by Negro

workers in conjunction with their fight for equal wages.

An Eight-Hour Day. - Of equal importance also to Negro workers is the question of hours of work. In most industries and at all kinds of work Negro workers are forced to toil from 10 to 12 hours per day, in some parts of the world, especially in the colonies, Negroes work 16 hours and some times longer per day. In the main, Negro workers must struggle through their trade union organisations for the eight-hour day. In the meantime they must begin to agitate for, and achieve ultimately, a seven-hour day and eventually a six-hour day.

Forced Labour. - Forced labour we have already touched upon. We must fight it wherever it exists, also against being forced to work for no pay at all as for example "for civic improvement" which is nothing but a disguised form of slavery; in the West Indies against the U.S. marines forcing natives to work for nothing at the point of the bayonet; against the forcing of West Indians into Cuba to work on the sugar plantations of the American imperialists; in South Africa against forced labour which is sanctioned by the Mozambique Treaty; in French Equatorial Africa against the forcing of natives to work the railroads; in the USA against forced labour on the roads such as recently came to light with regards to Negroes being forced to build roads in Florida; the peonage system which is wide spread in the South; against Negro convicts being forced to work in the coal mines and plantations being leased out by the police officials.

Labour Legislation. - In our programme of trade union activity there must be demands for legislative provisions, for the adoption and enforcement of insurance laws covering accident, sickness and old age pensions, etc., to be a charge on the employers.

Protection for Women and Youth. - Any trade union programme must focus especial attention on the question of women and youths, and equal pay for equal work, equal benefits and proper working conditions for them. Especial attention must be paid to the question of protection for expectant mothers working in production, vacations before and after child birth, full payment and nursing intervals during the working day after returning to work.

Freedom of Trade Unions. - For the right to organise trade unions, the right to strike and the right of free speech; for all of these very elementary rights wherever they do not exist?

Against Class Collaboration. - Already we see the Pullman Company (in the case of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) fighting the workers by means of company unionism and other such schemes. We must fight against all such, against governmental force and coercion, compulsory arbitration; against all reformist class collaboration.

Against Racial Barriers in Unions. - Here is where the reformists compromise. While they mouth phrases about fair treatment, etc., they deny admittance of Negroes into their unions upon an equal basis, even if at all. Most of the AF of L unions either have definite restrictions or they have unwritten laws which prevent Negroes from freely entering the unions. The first prerequisite for a victorious struggle against imperialism is the admittance of Negro workers into the unions and a 100% organisation of all Negro workers into trade unions. We therefore must put up a relentless struggle for lowering the racial bars in the trade unions and the opening of all unions to Negro workers regardless of race, colour, sex, etc.

Special Unions of Negro Workers. - Realising the necessity for trade union organisation where special bars are not lowered against Negro workers and unions refuse to admit Negro workers, special unions of Negro workers must be organised. In cases where there are white unions admitting Negro workers but treating them as second class members with unequal rights and privileges, special unions of Negro workers must also be organised.

Against White Terrorism--Organisation of Defence Corps. - We must carry on a relentless struggle against terrorism in all its forms--against lynchings, police and soldier terrorism, against the assassination of trade union leaders and social workers amongst Negro

workers, against their arrest and deportation. For this purpose it is necessary at times to organise special DEFENSE corps. These corps should protect Negroes in the organisation of trade unions, the holding of meetings, etc., and really protect workers against the fascist terror of the bosses.

Housing and Social Conditions. - The housing of Negro workers is the worst in the world wherever they live. We must demand adequate housing conditions and that adequate attention be paid to the prevention of disease and the protection of health, and the well-being of their families. We must absolutely oppose the compound system that exists in South Africa; and in general work for better social conditions amongst Negro workers and their families.

Agricultural Workers. - Of special significance are the conditions amongst agricultural workers; these conditions are worst of all amongst Negro workers. We must fight for special demands for Negro agricultural workers: shorter hours, special social legislation, protection of women and children, etc., etc.

Against Confiscation of Peasant Lands and Communals, Poll Tax and Hut Tax. - Of particular significance is the land question and the agrarian policy of the South African Government. We must fight against the confiscation of the land of the natives and its reservation for white settlers in different parts of Africa. This policy is carried out by means of special taxes, POLL AND HUT. We must fight against these taxes and for the restitution of all land confiscated in the past to native communities and for the abolition of all taxes.

Civil Rights. - In our main struggle against imperialism we are out to achieve all civil rights and the abolition of Pass Laws and all other laws abrogating the rights of Negro workers, to achieve universal suffrage, freedom of speech, freedom of workers' press. All colour bars and systems existing in the West Indies and South Africa and elsewhere must be abolished. These are elementary rights which are at the very basis of any TU activity and must be the basic part of any TU programme. Included also are such questions as SELF-DETERMINATION, THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND IN SOUTH AFRICA A NATIVE REPUBLIC. IN THIS WAY THE UNIONS ALSO MUST participate in the political struggles of the workers which cannot be separated and eliminated from the purely economic struggle of the trade unions. A special task of the unions is to struggle against reformism also in the form of the religious and nationalist and petty-bourgeois ideologies which befog the minds of the workers.

Struggle Against War. - The struggle against war which we shall discuss under another heading must also be part of the trade union programme.

The Negro workers of the U.S.A. must concentrate their forces in the unions of the Trade Union Educational League. Its special Trade Union Department for Negro workers is organised to deal with the special problems of the Negro workers and struggle for their admittance into all unions of white workers in America upon an equal basis.

The Non-European Federation of South Africa must strengthen its forces and upbuild their organisations. They must extend their influence among the agricultural workers, penetrate and organise the big basic mining industry, and struggle to build a strong revolutionary movement in South Africa based on all the workers and peasants regardless to race or colour. They must struggle against the Amsterdam International and all reformism whether represented by Kadalie or by Ballinger of the General Council of England.

(b) Liberation Movements

The liberation movements of the Negro masses take different forms in different sections. The essential characteristic of Negro Liberation movements must be that their central question is the question of the relationship to the Negro masses. They must be based upon the great bulk of the Negro populations, their demands, their specific and special demands. Liberation movements cannot hope to be successful

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