



**Group of Delegates in attendance at the First International Conference of Negro Workers — Hamburg, Germany, July 7, 8, 1930**

workers over the heads of the "leaders", for only in this way will the opposition be able to expose the treacherous role which the fakers are carrying on, especially since the crisis which is forcing them to come out with more and more "left" phrases in order to cover up their deception.

The opposition must pay special attention to the organization of the agricultural labourers and the unorganized workers in the basic industries (oil and asphalt), as well as transportation.

Committees of action must also be set up among the agricultural workers of all the sugar and cocoa plantations, as has been successfully done on the Felicity Estate, (where, it may be noted, 2000 labourers armed with cutlasses, agricultural forks, hoes and other implements marched on Port-of-Spain, the capital of the Island, July last, and demanded that the plantation owners and the Government withdraw the wage cut — from 1 shilling to 9 pence — and abolish the increased hours of labour).

Despite all the attempts of the labour fakers and the petty bourgeois nationalist leaders, such as the Hon. Serran Teelucksingh, "labour" representative of the Legislative Council of Trinidad to persuade the workers to turn over the leadership of the struggle into their hands and return to the estate, the strike committee bluntly refused to permit the men to go back to work until all of their demands had been granted.

Since this armed demonstration, the Trinidad Press reports that there is considerable unrest on all the large plantations, where the workers, inspired by the militancy of the labourers of the Felicity Estate are also setting up committees of action to put forward their grievances and lead them in the struggle.

The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers should render all aid and assistance possible to the struggling West Indian workers, and to support the economic and political demands of the toiling population of the West Indies in their fight against the imperialists and the native capitalist exploiters.

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## APPEAL TO THE BLACK SOLDIERS OF FRANCE

Black soldiers of the imperialist rulers of France, we send you a warning and an appeal. A new war is very near. It is being prepared by the rulers of France who have conscripted you into their armies, the armies with which they have conquered and oppressed the peoples of East, North Africa and Black Africa. They will demand that you fight for the "mother" country as they demanded before.

They will tell you that you must fight for Liberty, for Equality, for Fraternity. But there is no liberty, no equality, no fraternity. In the last great war you were placed in the first line trenches, to lead the charge against the enemies' fortification. They said this was an "honour" bestowed upon you for your bravery and daring. You paid for this honour upon their altar of imperialism with tens of thousands of lives. They promised you great rewards. They have squeezed billions of profits out of the exploitation and oppression of millions of colonial peoples, out of your brothers and sisters of Black Africa. And what has been your reward?

Even today in the armies of France you are paid a lower wage than the white soldiers. You are dragged away from your homelands to serve in the armies of the rulers of France oppressing other colonial peoples as your brothers and sisters of Black Africa are oppressed. Conditions everywhere in the cities of France, in the villages in the barracks are intolerable for you. But this is not all, what of your mother country Black Africa? She groans under the iron heel of the oppressor, and for you the oppressor is also the ruler of France, the one who commands you to fight, the one whose promises to oppressed and exploited workers regardless of race means nothing.

After the last world war the rulers of France and of England redivided African colonies among themselves. Today those colonies are in desperate straits.

Black soldiers of French Equatorial Africa, in 1910 your country had a population of 7,500,000 and in 1924 a population of 2,500,000. Where have those 5,000,000 gone? Dead! They died from famine, from disease, from forced labour, from slavery, the results of their exploitation and oppression by the rulers of France. In 1928 17,000 Negroes were worked to death, in the construction of the French railroad from the Congo to the sea.

Black soldiers of France, your brothers and sisters in 1924 revolted under the terrible exploitation of the French masters who had robbed them of their lands and were taxing them to death. The revolt was drowned in blood. This even while you were serving in the armies of the French imperialists. Again in 1928 they revolted. Driven to the point of desperation by the unbearable oppression of the French overlords which had grown steadily worse, seventy thousand of them were killed as the armed forces of the imperialists of France put down this uprising in blood. Thousands of more who fled to the Belgian Congo died of famine there. These are the fruits of your victory of 1914—1919, Black soldiers of France.

In 1910 the Cameroons had a population of 8 million and in 1928 of only 2 million. Where have those 6 million black toiling masses gone? The way of the dead in French Equatorial Africa, the way of the decimated black masses of the Belgian and French Congo, of Dahomey and Senegal, of the Sudan and East Africa. Under the iron heel of the ruthless masters of French and English imperialism these toiling black masses — your brothers and sisters have been done to death. These are for Black Africa the fruits of the victory you had gained for that so-called mother country and its imperialist rulers.

Black soldiers of France, the workers of Soviet Russia gained a great victory in 1917. They too in 1914 were called to war by the rulers of their country who are the friends of the rulers of France. But in 1917 they revolted against the terror, the exploitation and oppression of those rulers. The worker and peasant soldiers of Russia killed their officers. They overthrew the whole system of Tsarism, ruling princes and capitalists and took the government of their country into their own hands. Since 1917 they have governed themselves. They have freed the small nationalities which were oppressed under the rule of the "Friends of imperialist France". The workers and peasants of these freed republics are now building their own industry and culture together with the aid of the freed Russian workers and peasants.

Black soldiers of France, the position of the workers and peasants who now govern their own Russian Socialist Republics was in 1917 little better than the position of the ruthlessly oppressed black masses of Africa today. They stand now freed men and women, the rulers and builders of their own country. The position of the black masses of Africa remains worse than that of slaves. In Soviet Russia the peasants are freed from the centuries of ignorance, of supersti-

tution, of customs and traditions, free from labouring in the fields for 14, 15 hours a day. In Black Africa you remain chained to the hoe and the wooden plow. A change must come.

Black soldiers of France, the workers and peasants governing themselves in Soviet Russia are forming an indissoluble bond of unity and struggle with the oppressed and exploited masses all over the world.

Black soldiers of France, it is against these workers and peasants that the imperialist overlords of France and England, your exploiters are preparing the new war. It is against these toilers who have demonstrated their friendship with the toiling masses of the world that you will be forced by your oppressors to fight. They want to destroy the first Socialist Government of the World, because it is the symbol of freedom, because it is an inspiration to you and the toiling masses of other countries.

Already the Poincares and Briands have plotted to destroy the Soviet Union. But they have been caught. Every move by which they hoped to defeat the plans of the workers' Government has been revealed. But the danger is not passed. The imperialists and especially rulers of France will go ahead with their plans to attack the government of the workers and peasants. The campaign of lies go on against the Soviet Union.

The example of the Red Army of the Soviet Union is yours to follow. War against imperialist War. Long live the class War. Do not be used as tools of your oppressors to drown in blood the glorious victory of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. You must struggle for the establishment of independent Native Republics in your home Black Africa. The day of Black Africa's emancipation from the horrors of slavery and of forced labour, of poverty and famine, of disease and premature death will come only when you have gained victory over that class that would drive you to war against your brothers. Link arms in struggle with the revolutionary workers of France against the common enemy.

Black soldiers of France, in all the world the Negro masses are exploited and oppressed. The hour of their international struggle is at hand, against the imperialist rulers of the world.

Long live the International solidarity of the workers and toiling masses of the world!

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## SITUATION OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN GAMBIA, WEST AFRICA

By E. F. Small, secy. Gambia Labour Unions.

(Speech delivered at the First International Conference of Negro Workers.)

The general labour position in Gambia is a chapter of the old story of imperialism. The final stage of imperialism has almost reached completion; the State machine is being continually turned from "benevolent" and "philanthropic" uses to serve exclusive capitalist interests; the Negro workers and peasants are the hopeless underdogs of the situation — the forsaken victims of capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

It is this fact that called the Gambia Labour Union into being one year ago. With the exception of administrative clerical workers, all workers and peasants are now represented by the Union. Of these an aggregate membership of 1,000 workers, and 2,500 peasants has been registered. Of course, they are all Negroes. As yet there is no European settlement. Europeans are employed in the administrative and mercantile departments as supervisors. They have no permanent interest in the land. Their periodical tours to the Coast are prompted by motives of self-betterment, and racial aggrandisement. Therefore, all the same the race-issue in its broadest possible sense, is no less real in the relations of the white bosses to their black subordinates; this imperialist regime is naturally opposed to equal rights and opportunity, and conducive to race discriminations and disabilities of a colour-bar.

Within few months of its inception the Gambia Labour Union was called upon to face its first industrial struggle; for the first in time the Colony's history, hundreds of operatives went on a general strike both for the right to organize in trade unions as well as for an increase of wages and better conditions of employment. I will emphasize only its salient features of the strike. Leading commercial firms in Gambia attempted to stifle the newly-formed organization at its very inception. They assailed the elementary right of the workers to organize in trade unions, giving the employees three days' notice to quit the Union or be dismissed. Strike notices issued by the Union were treated with sheer contempt.

Before, during and after the strike the merchants had official support in their attempt to suppress the trade union rights of the workers. An official warning issued during the strike against alleged intimidation of workers had the practical effect of preventing picketing, and culminated in an armed Police raid on the 14th of November last, in which civilian passengers were wounded in the streets of Bathurst. So far standard minimum rates of wage have now been fixed jointly by the Union and the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce, but in spite of the agreement reached in settlement of the strike, workers are being victimized by lock-outs, dismissals without notice etc. It is even proposed to import cheap labour from abroad, Jamaica and other places. And it is hoped this Conference will have some effect in preventing the victimisation of Negro workers by their own comrades.

A striking instance of the victimisation of trade union workers may be seen at the Public Works Department in Bathurst. This you will find combined with a system of piece-work and contract, which constantly throws the men out of work, and is a typical example of State exploitation of cheap labour in the guise of public economy. To carry out this anti-trade union system of exploiting cheap labour non-trade union foremen are employed, while there has been a lock-out of hundreds of trade union workers at the P. W. D., since last November. This lock-out had been threatened by the Government during the strike, when serious objections to the system were raised by the Union. Though the general works of the Department have been stopped for so long the estimated expenditure for the year is allowed to run as if there had been no close down, so that in the end the talk of public economy, is a mere lip-service.

Employment for the worker and peasant in Gambia is seasonal. That is to say it is limited to the period of the trade season, which is now regulated to last from December of one year to April of the next. This recent regulation, as will be seen in the case of the peasants, is a striking episode of **imperialism**. There are no manufacturing industries. The classes of workers are those whose services are required to carry on the trade in groundnuts, of which an average of 70,000 tons are exported annually from the Gambia. Comparatively few of these are regularly

employed. The large majority are employed more or less for two to three months of the year. How can this majority subsist for the remaining nine months of the year? It becomes perfectly clear that these workers are faced by the most serious question of a living wage.

The workers and peasants in Gambia are in the most pitiable plight. There are no big farmers in the Colony, nor is there individual ownership of cultivable land; all such land is cultivated by a primitive custom of joint ownership. The peasant is employed during the lean months of wet season. During this part, there is a dearth of foodstuffs, and the conditions of life are the most miserable. The area on which food crops — rice, maize, etc., could be grown is severely restricted, and improved methods of cultivation are beyond the peasants' means. To obtain money for his other requirements, therefore, they have to supplement the rising of a limited supply of foodstuffs by growing groundnuts so greedily hunted by the European capitalist.

The Government realises the extreme poverty of the peasant. But instead of relief advances are made to the peasants in the shape of a yearly supply of imported rice and seed-nuts. After harvest when the peasants try to hold out for better prices round goes the Government collector to demand the payment of the taxes and debts for rice and seed-nuts.

The poor peasants are thus forced to part with their produce at any price. They begin work each with a debt of £ 4 to £ 5. The peasant can reckon on an income of £ 7. Deducting from this the debt he has incurred of £ 4 to £ 5, he is left barely with about £ 3, on which to subsist with his family all the year round. Can you imagine the degradation to which he is reduced by such circumstances? Can you imagine how population could increase, or how the problems of disease and infantile mortality could be solved so long as the peasants' hard toil is exploited to its utmost limit for the benefit of foreign capital?

It is important to note that in this state of affairs local merchants in Gambia have gradually diverted their attention from their primary interest — the profits realisable on the sale of capital goods, and are now concentrating upon making big profits from trade in raw material which they contrive to purchase at the lowest possible prices. In spite of the inevitable set-back this entails in goods trade, huge mergers, combines, trusts pools and participations, local and foreign are being formed to grind down the peasants and corner their produce. These pools are formed to exploit cheap labor and effect economies at the expense of the worker and peasant. Their natural consequences are large overstocks of goods and unemployment. The part the state machine is made to play in the crisis is the most remarkable. By the present regulation of the trade season you have seen how the interests of the peasants are played into the hands of the merchants.

While thousands of workers are being constantly thrown out of work there is no effort made to protect the worker or to relieve the unemployed; nor are the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Acts extended to workers in Gambia.

From the brief report you can see that Gambia is smarting from the effect of the economic and industrial condition that is sweeping the face of the world. The workers and peasants have experienced the needs for active resistance against capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

The workers of Gambia responded with great enthusiasm to the call of the International Conference of Negro Workers and Peasants. It is our hope that this Conference will go a long way to consolidate the forces of economic and industrial resistance against all forms of capitalist oppression not only among Negroes but among workers and peasants of the world.

# OUR STUDY CORNER

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(The aim of this corner is to help Negro workers along the line of self-education on trade union questions; to help them with the theories and practices of the International revolutionary labour movement, and the history of its development; to place Negro workers in direct contact with the Red International of Labour Unions; to bring labour questions and information to the widest number of Negro workers in shops and factories — in order to help develop leading cadres of Negro organizers, agitators and trade union leaders and to stimulate the class consciousness of masses of Negro workers. We shall also from time to time carry Book Reviews and comments. We therefore suggest, (in order to make this corner useful and practical), that study circles, groups or corners be organized amongst Negro workers to discuss the questions raised here as well as questions arising at their work; that correspondence be established with this corner; that all workers desiring direct contact with the school and the Correspondence Courses of the RILU make it known to this corner.)

## The Rise and History of the Trade Union Movement

The Trade Union movement is a mass movement of the proletariat. Its aim is to improve the position of the working class, and (as we shall see later), at various stages of its development, different methods have been used to achieve this purpose. But when the unions reach their highest stage of development the realization is forced on them that the only way out, is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist Society. The trade unions have their roots in the capitalist system and are born of the conflicting interests of the workers and the capitalists.

The capitalist system of production began to develop at the end of the 18th century, with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England (1765—1825) and the Great French Revolution (1789). This system is now dominant in every part of the world with the exception of the USSR where it has been displaced by a more efficient form of Socialist production. Instead of a primitive economy where all necessities were satisfied on the spot, as was observed during feudalism, we now have a commodity economy — an economy that produces goods for a market, turning labour power into a commodity also.

The indispensable condition for the existence of the capitalist system of production is to prevent the producer from controlling the means of production, for the buildings, machines and equipment, the means of production belong to the capitalists and not to the workers who are the producers. Since the workers have no means of production they are compelled to sell the only commodity in their possession, namely, their labour power. When the capitalists hire and exploit labour power capitalist accumulation commences. This accumulation, coupled with the competition between the capitalists, gives rise to a concentration of capital, all means of production being concentrated into the hands of a few capitalists.

As a result of the concentration and centralization of production, small enterprises are either ruined or simply become auxiliary enterprises of the big plants,

being entirely dependent upon them. Large-scale capitalist production brings large numbers of people together who were in no way connected with each other before, but, who thanks to capitalism (finding themselves in the same conditions of exploitation and oppression), are stirred to give expression to their indignation and to improve their lot.

The capitalist system of production gives rise to various classes in capitalist society. A class is a group of people standing in the same relation to the means of production, playing the same role in the social production. The bourgeoisie owns and controls the means of production. In capitalist society the bourgeoisie controls the industries and lives on the surplus value produced by the workers. The working class does not own the means of production. They are producers and are exploited by the bourgeoisie. All class relations in capitalist society lead inevitably to a struggle between of the capitalists to increase their exploitation of the workers that is to increase their share of the social wealth.

(To be continued.)

## Organisation and Functions of a Strike Committee

1. A strike Committee is an organ for leading militant collective actions of the workers.
2. The election of a strike committee should take place several days before the lockout takes place or the strike is declared. If the lockout sets in suddenly or the strike breaks out unexpectedly the election of the strike committee should take place immediately at a factory meeting called before the workers go home.
3. The election should take place at factory meetings where all the workers take part, regardless to race, political faith or trade union membership — organized and unorganized. Democratic elections must prevail. The size of the committee depends upon the magnitude of the strike. Names should be put up right after the opening remarks.
4. In a small enterprise there should be one member on the committee for every 25 or 50 workers; in bigger enterprises one member to every 100 or 200 workers; in big enterprises of 20,000 or more workers the strike committee should consist of 200 or 300 members, with representation from all departments of the enterprises.
5. A big strike committee should elect an Executive whose business shall be to call the members of the committee together regularly, render an account of the activities and to keep them in contact with the strikers.
6. Definite functions should be assigned to each and every member of the committee.

### Functions and Tasks

1. The first and foremost task of the strike committee is to lead the fight to successfully achieve the demands of the workers.
2. The committee must increase its fighting capacity by eliminating any influence of reformist trade union officials and fakers, by exposing their fake "revolutionary" phrase making and double crossing tactics — (negotiation behind the backs of the workers, etc.).

3. It must organize demonstrations outside the trade union halls, call joint meetings of organized and unorganized workers, collect money, and help the workers.
4. The strike committee must enter into negotiations and eventually sign agreements, declaring before hand that all agreements made by the reformist bureaucrats behind the backs of the workers cannot be binding on the workers.
5. The strike committee must always be watchful of new political developments, the bosses bringing in additional measures against workers, injunctions, court actions etc.; it must at every opportunity appraise the workers of the ultimate aim of strike struggles — the Destruction of the State apparatus.
6. The strike committee organizes regular registration of all workers involved in the conflict; it must establish control bureaux.
7. It must establish strict discipline amongst its members; during its formation provisions should be made for the recall of members who are not doing their duty in regard to energetic conduct of the struggle.
8. The strike committee must keep close connection between the strikers and the unemployed workers to prevent them being used to break the strike.
9. The strike committee must organize pickets and self-defence corps in the following manner:
  - a) pickets should consist of all workers, and the unorganized should have the cooperation of the experienced workers;
  - b) the pickets must be carefully selected of young workers (usually the most aggressive strikers), older working men and women and the wives of working men;
  - c) the widest possible working class circles should be drawn in;
  - d) in places where the terror is great or likely to be, self-defence corps should be organized as soon as the strike breaks out and the most active workers drawn into them;
  - e) Sport organizations and working class women's Leagues should also be drawn in;
  - f) special attention should be paid to the struggle against police and private detective agencies — factory police, factory spies, fire brigades, etc.
10. The committee must gain the support of sympathetic workers, in other industries, in the same industries in joining countries and workers in far away countries.
11. By constant militant and aggressive action the strike must be pursued towards a successful conclusion. At the conclusion it will be found that the strike committee will have performed many of the duties of a permanent organ of the workers. The workers should not let the opportunity slip of utilizing the committee for building up a strong militant trade union movement.

Note: Strike Committees, Action Committees and Lockout Committees are often interchangeable terms — they are primarily active struggle organs.

# WORKERS CORRESPONDENCE

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Guadeloupe, 1930.

Comrade:

The call to the International Conference of Negro workers did not leave the workers of Guadeloupe indifferent. The papers spoke a lot about it. Due to the cyclone of September 12th 1928, our resources came to an end. At the time when we had started to recover, a strike of agricultural workers took place, the results of which are the following:

Dead . . . . .	3
wounded . . . . .	4
jailed . . . . .	5

This is the capitalist procedure! . . . and above all of the French Government whose slogans are: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! Let me tell you about the meaning of this trinity. These three words have been separated by three periods. We should read: Liberty, none, equality, none, fraternity, none!

This is the slogans of the capitalists!

In order to defend the comrades in jail we had to spend much money. It is impossible for us to make the trip from Guadeloupe to England. We know that our Negro comrades from the United States are seriously engaged in the success of the London Conference. At this great Conference we should hope to present our misery, and the sufferings of the workers of Guadeloupe under French Imperialism.

Fraternal greetings, Ponte.

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International Negro Workers' Review.

December, 1930.

Comrades:

I think we can be of great aid to each other. Our paper can furnish you with a weekly digest of Southern conditions and you in turn can give us great aid by supplying us with information about the movement and conditions of the Negro masses in colonial countries — something we need very much in internationalizing our local struggles.

Our main task in the South is to break thru the wall of white chauvinism — we will not be able to make a step forward unless we do that. For that reason our paper concentrates chiefly in combatting the "white supremacy" ideology of the South, and clearing the way for united struggle of white and black toilers against Yankee imperialism. The deep crisis, eating away at the vitals of both Negro and white workers and farmers here, is doing much in the way of opening the eyes of the white workers towards unity in struggle with their black brothers.

I am sure that in the name of the readers of the Southern Worker, which is still but a very young paper, I can send our fraternal greetings of solidarity and best wishes for success in achieving your aims to the new international Negro paper of struggle.

Fraternally yours,

Jim Allen, "Southern Worker".

Note: The "Southern Worker" is a weekly paper of the Communist Party of the United States for the workers of the Southern part of the USA. We invite our readers to correspond with the paper. — Editor.

## Negro Workers' Review — Hamburg

Comrades:

I am a white marine worker. Greetings to the International class struggling Negro workers!

Gee!, things are rotten here in the South — soup lines, bread lines, flop houses; the city jails are full. The cossacks chase the unemployed workers out on the prairies to starve. The g. d. cowards wont fight back, many are doing the "dutch" Taking poison. For me I am waiting for the barricades, they can't come too quick for me. I am going up in my fifties but I'll fight the 100 percenters. Comrades send us some German papers, Negro workers of Africa write to your brother workers — white and black in the South. I am sending you in this letter some letters from other workers here at Galveston.

Revolutionary greetings

A. W. — Galveston, Texas, USA.

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### Starving ex-soldier for united fight.

Atlanta, Ga.

Am unemployed for 8 months. Was a soldier in the world war where I fought for Wilson's equality and democracy for Negroes. Because of the wounds I received in battle, I cannot get a job. They want younger fellows who they can work like the devil for nothing at all.

The City here opened up a Community Kitchen dump. Everyday, hundreds of unemployed, starving Negroes and whites, go there with their two cents and get a can of slop. But the Negroes, because of the discrimination there, are not going any longer. They would rather starve than be insulted as they are down there.

When a Negro does get past the insulting red tape and question cards he has got to fill out, then he finds that he must have two cents and a tin can in order to get a cupful of stinking mixed vegetables and a hunk of stale bread. The whites get their choice of soup or milk and even some of them have coal delivered to their homes.

The Negroes are not putting up with these miserable conditions and are organizing into the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, to fight discrimination of all kinds, off the job and on the job.

— Unemployed Negro Ex-Soldier.

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### Other News from the USA.

A "League of Struggle for Negro Rights" was organized at St. Louis, in the USA during September.

Charlotte, N. C. — Three Negro boys, aged 15, 16, and 17, were sentenced to serve 15 years in the penitentiary for wounding a 15-year-old white boy scout in a scuffle. The white boy scout had a rifle and one of the Negro boys a revolver. Solicitor Carpenter, of Gastonia fame, used all his arguments of "white superiority" and "patriotism".

Rochester, Minn. — The boss class is attempting to bar Negro, Indian, Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese workers from resident in certain parts of the city and enforce strict segregation.

Albany, Ga. — Eddie Marsh, 18-year-old Negro farm worker, was sentenced to death for killing his landlord, a pecan grower, in a quarrel.

Blanchard, Okla. — Following the discovery of the body of a white woman near a cave here, from 200 to 300 Negro families were forced to leave this region by the lynch terror, leaving all their property and crops, which were taken over by the white landlords.

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**INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE**  
**OF NEGRO WORKERS**

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