

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.

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

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