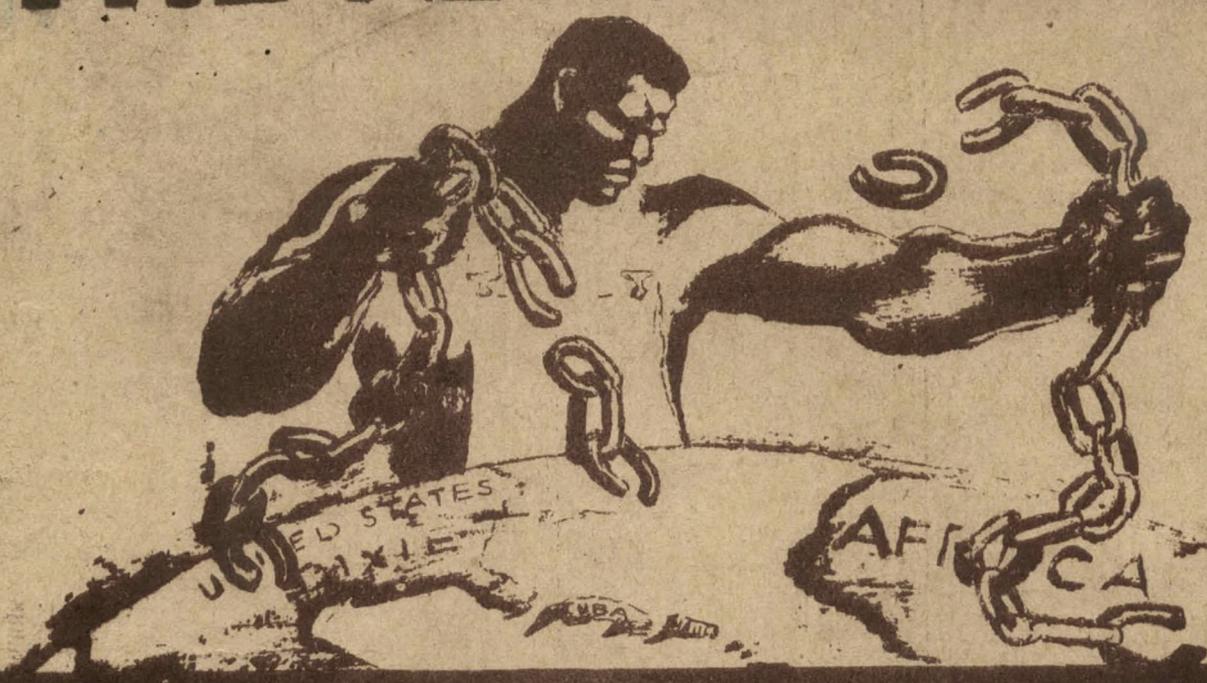


# THE NEGRO WORKER



On the Fifth Congress of  
the R.I.L.U.

Special Number  
1st November, 1930.

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G. PADMORE AND G. HERNANDEZ  
in charge of editing.

STATEMENT TO OUR READERS.

"The Negro Worker" is the official organ of the Negro Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions in Moscow.

The Negro Bureau was organized in 1928 for the following purposes:

1. To direct and stimulate the activities of the revolutionary trade unions in organizing Negro workers into the trade union movement.

2. To promote the revolutionary trade union movement in Africa and West Indies, where the majority of the Negro toilers are being ruthlessly exploited by various imperialist powers --- Great Britain, the United States, France, Belgium, Portugal, etc.

3. To spread the principles of the revolutionary trade unionism among the Negro agricultural workers, who formed the bulk of the black toiling masses in the various countries inhabited by Negroes.

4. The Bureau also conducts a relentless struggle against white chauvinism (race prejudice), another forms of bourgeois ideology among the white workers.

5. The Bureau at the same time attempt to promote and develop a broader spirit of internationalism among the Negro workers by calling upon them to support the Soviet Union which fights for the freedom of the working class and all oppressed peoples, as well as the Chinese and Indian revolutions and all other liberation struggles of the colonial masses.

6. The Negro Bureau pays special attention in combatting Negro reformism (such as the Garvey movement), and other forms of Negro bourgeois nationalism, which instead of conducting a militant struggle against the imperialists who exploit the Negro toilers make compromises and betray the struggle at every decisive moment.

7. In order to aid in carrying out the above tasks we appeal to all class-conscious workers to write letters to "The Negro Worker" describing the conditions under which Negro toilers live in various countries. We will always be glad to publish correspondence from white and black workers dealing with their conditions.

8. In order to popularise our program we appeal to all militant Negro newspapers in America, Africa and the West Indies as well as to the revolutionary press to reprint articles, speeches and resolutions published in "The Negro Worker" from time to time. On application to the below mentioned address, the Bureau will be pleased to supply additional copies of "The Negro Worker" which will be posted to any part of the world free of cost.

Negro toilers! Make "The Negro Worker" your fighting organ in your everyday struggles, and for the final abolition of capitalism and the emancipation of the working class.

Negro workers! Fight against imperialist wars in which you are used by the capitalist class as cannon fodder in order to promote their own interests of robbery and exploitation

Negro workers! Defend the Soviet Union --- your fatherland, the fatherland of all workers and oppressed people.

Address all letters, articles and other forms of correspondence to

Negro Bureau  
Profintern  
Moscow,  
U.S.S.R.

THE V CONGRESS OF THE RILU AND THE BLACK  
COLONIAL MASSES.

(By William Wilson).

The Vth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions met at a moment of tremendous international importance. The great economic crisis of the capitalist world reflected itself in a series of extremely disastrous panics on the stock exchanges in the great financial centers, in numerous bankruptcies of "reliable" business houses, in the complete closing down of many industrial plants and the operation of others on a part time basis, the ruination of tens of thousands of "comfortably fixed" middle class people, mass unemployment, reduced wages, the lengthening of the working day and general worsening of the living conditions of the working class. The industrial crisis is enormously aggravated by the great agrarian crisis with its tremendous drop in the prices of agricultural products which resulted in terribly increasing the misery of the colonial peoples. The relations between the ruling class and the exploited and oppressed masses was changing. Nowhere was this more clearly to be seen than in the colonial world where the millions of colored toilers of many races and nations existed under conditions of extreme poverty and inhuman exploitation. Here the full weight of the crisis was felt. Here the offensive of the stricken bourgeoisie was most intense and the defensive power of the exploited masses weakest, but here too, the revolutionary temper of the masses flamed high.

The revolutionary upsurge of these oppressed masses had reached in many places the stage of armed conflicts in China; it was expressing itself in numerous economic and political struggles in India, and in a series of spontaneous revolutionary outbursts in Africa.

The ruling class was confronted with conditions which made it an absolute impossibility to go on ruling in the same old manner as before. The mask of democracy with which it had cloaked its savage dictatorship had to be thrown aside. The "white man's burden" was shown to be the blotched money-bags filled with the loot stolen from the native masses. Boots and spurred he sat upon the backs of the miserably degraded colonials and efforts to free themselves from the ever-increasing burden of taxation and slavery were now and then drowned in blood, under the direct guidance or full support of the leaders of the "Labour" and "Socialist" parties.

This in brief was the picture of the world situation which filled the eyes of the 571 representatives of the 17 million of fighters who have enlisted under the revolutionary banners of the RILU. This was the picture which for the first time was presented without any attempt at veiling its horrors, of lynching, pass laws, poll tax, head tax, forced labor and slavery to an international delegation of Negro workers' representatives and the black representatives of the toiling masses of Africa. The representation of the Negro masses was international, - from Africa, from the United States, from the Carribes and from South America, it had been elected by the toiling masses themselves.

There was only one place in the world where such a picture could have been shown: a country free from the terrors of the capitalist economic and agrarian crisis, free from the dangers of political strikes, of mob violence and white terror, a country where hundreds of once oppressed nationalities now stand together in a free federated union of Soviet Republics; a country where the working class is master of all that it produces and all that it surveys, a liberated working class linked in an indissoluble alliance with the poor and middle peasants; a country free from all save the threat of war by the imperialist powers.

One of the important questions discussed at the Congress was the linking up of the proletarian struggle in the metropolitan centers with the struggles against imperialism in the colonies. The weakness of the proletariat in the ranks of colonial and semi-colonial countries was exhaustively analysed; the methods to be employed to secure proletarian hegemony in the colonial movement and to utilise this as a unifying contact between them and the fighters for the proletarian revolution and

dictatorship in capitalist countries was outlined.

For the first time the representatives of the exploited millions of Black Africa saw their revolutionary liberation struggles posed in correct relation with the proletarian revolutionary struggles in capitalist countries. Certainly the liberation struggles of the Negro peoples had always been an inseparable part of the world revolutionary movement against imperialism but the isolation of the African peoples, their unfortunate lack of direct contact with the European revolutionary movement or with the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese and Indian peoples had deprived them of the benefits of the knowledge of the experiences gained in these struggles.

For the first time the representatives of the proletarian masses of the "mother" countries came face to face with those who could describe in detail the concrete struggles of the African colonials against imperialism. The struggles of these peoples lost much of its "abstractness", the underestimation of the importance of the struggles of the Negro peoples to the world revolutionary struggles was dealt a smashing blow. The imperialist utilisation of the exploitation of the black peoples to undermine the standard of living of the "home" workers and consequently to intensify the degree of their exploitation and oppression was clearly drawn. The use of these natives peoples for purposes of imperialist wars was unfolded.

For the first time representatives, of the masses of black Africa saw a world advancing toward socialism; saw a freed working class, an emancipated peasantry linked together in a common struggle to construct a new world on the ruins of the world of capitalist exploitation and oppression which had been theirs before. This could not fail to have great effect upon them all. Nor was it unexpected when these African delegates one after another pledged the support of those whom they represented to the toilers of the Soviet Union; pledged their support for unity of struggle with the enslaved wage workers of the metropolitan areas, pledged their support of the struggle against the coming armed attack upon the Soviet Republics.

A concrete and tangible program was formulated. The revolutionary trade union movement pledged itself to support the struggle for the emancipation of the colonies in a real and serious manner. The establishing of closer contacts between the workers of the imperialist countries and those of the colonies was a leading plank in the program.

The entire world revolutionary movement must hold each and every section of that movement to the letter of that pledge. The workers of the black colonies still to a large extent regard the workers of the imperialist countries as part and parcel of the machinery of exploitation. These white workers have many a time participated in the lynching mobs, in the attacks perpetrated upon the black and colonial peoples, therefore the fears of these toilers are not unnatural. To overcome this mistrust, the unity of all the exploited and the oppressed must be strengthened for this unity alone can bring the victory over the exploiters and oppressors.

Long live the revolutionary solidarity of workers of the capitalist countries and of the colonies!

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REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE  
OF NEGRO WORKERS OF THE R.I.L.U.

Reporter - Comrade James W. Ford.

Comrades:

In America we usually refer to the Negro work, women work, and youth work as the holy trinity. I am now bringing before you the final link in the holy trinity.

For the first time Negro work is being brought seriously to the attention of the international congress of the R.I.L.U. the importance of the

Negro problem to the revolutionary trade union movement has been pointed out, comrades, from time to time on a number of resolutions of the Red International of Labour Unions and the Executive Bureau of the RILU. We have seen since the war a growing number of Negro toilers and workers that have been drawn into the various industries in the various parts of the world that supply for us the basis for organise the Negro toilers to participate in the revolutionary movement.

We have, comrades, in America, for example, since the war seen the bringing in of over two millions of Negro workers into the main industries of the United States. These toilers have been brought from the agrarian and the agricultural regions of the United States into industry as a fundamental part of the proletariat of the United States. The Negro toilers of the US in addition to class exploitation have the special problem of racial oppression. This exploitation manifests itself in the degree of rationalisation, the speeding up of the workers and general exploitation of the workers in America by the American capitalists.

Therefore, the Negro workers in America are in a position to play a very important role in the revolutionary struggle of America, but not only in the industrial sections, The Negro workers at the present moment show themselves as a factor in the agrarian movement. The present agrarian crisis in the United States along with the industrial crisis is a fundamental characteristics of the American crisis and is particularly affecting the Negro toilers in America, as a matter of fact the majority of the Negro toilers are in the agrarian and agricultural regions of the South. This tremendous crisis brought about by the mechanisation of the farms and the cotton has thrown millions of Negro toilers off the farms and chased them into the cities where they aggravate and make worse the general crisis of capitalism in America.

In the industrial centres of America, in addition to the tremendous exploitation through rationalisation, the Negro toilers who are a large part of the unemployed army in America, numbering some 500,000 workers and with their families and other dependents numbering upwards of a million so that specifically, comrades, we can say the significance of the Negro toilers in America, in the present industrial and world crisis of capitalism, is very great.

But not only in America in the colonial territories and in the colonial world the Negro toilers too are being drawn into the present crisis, of capitalism, and this crisis is throwing them into more militant struggle.

In S.Africa, where the majority, the great majority of the working population is the native toilers, rationalisation, the industrial crisis, and the intense agrarian crisis has thrown them into the struggle and they are a big factor against the bourgeoisie in S.Africa. The agrarian crisis has thrown millions of these workers into the cities. The task of the organisation of the Negro toilers in South Africa is a big factor in the present revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat.

Then in other sections of the world, in West Africa where we have colonies of British imperialism, Gambia, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Liberia, the crisis has manifested itself in the over production of a number of the special products of this area, agricultural products, cocoa, rubber, a number of other products especially produced in this area. The crisis here also has made itself felt especially on the Negro toilers and natives of this section.

In the West Indies, here we have a similar example, where the crisis manifested itself by the throwing of more and more of the native and most terribly exploited Haitian workers, Cuban workers, (where there are a great number of Negroes), Jamaican workers, Trinidad workers, etc, out of work. There the workers, especially the native workers are terribly exploited by the imperialists of England, France and America. There are many other sections of the world to where the Negro toilers are being drawn into struggle.

Comrades, this position of the Negro toilers throughout the world has made them a very powerful force in the revolutionary movement.

The fact that their exploitation has made them more militant in the present period of the crisis has been demonstrated by a number of revolts, a number of uprisings, a number of expressions of restlessness of the Negro toilers against imperialism.

We have seen, for example, in Equatorial Africa in 1928 for the first time a significant uprising of the native toilers in this part, against the brutal oppression of French imperialism. This uprising had many characteristics of a organised and a more or less well-organised effort on the part of native workers against French imperialism.

In South Africa we have had during the last period a number of manifestations of the struggles of the workers through strikes in Rhodesia, strikes of natives and whites in Johannesburg and in a number of points in South Africa. We have seen the militancy of the Negro toilers expressing itself in the West Coast of Africa. We have seen recently the great uprising of the native workers in which native women have taken the leading part against exploitation through taxation of the natives. In this uprising more than 500 native workers, the majority of them women, were shot down by the forces of British imperialism, directed by the so-called "Labor Government". In other parts of Africa we have had similar expressions of the revolt of the Negro toilers in Gambia, Sierra-Leone. In the United States of America, where the crisis has made the bourgeoisie exert greater force and oppression on the Negro workers, expressing itself in the increased lynching of Negroes, by the enforcement of laws (on the statutes for over fifty years), charging Negro and white organisers with the death penalty for the organisation of Negroes and whites in the same organisation. Despite this the Negroes are beginning to show restlessness and beginning to excite the bourgeoisie and to intensify the present crisis.

All of this shows the present significance of the Negro toilers in the different parts of the world in the international revolutionary movement. The work of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers organised by the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions has been determined, comrades, by in the first place, the political line laid down by the 4th Congress of the RILU on Negro work. It has been determined by the conditions which I have just described, subjectively and objectively manifesting itself in the movements of the Negro workers, and by the conditions of the Negro toilers have also been determined by this general situation described to you by comrade Sosovsky.

Work among the Negro toilers up to the IV Congress and even up to the present time has not been carried out sufficiently by the sections of the RILU. It was for this reason that the Executive Bureau of the RILU, after the IV Congress of the Red International set up an International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. Little work had been done before the IV Congress, other things had hindered the development of the trade union movement and the revolutionary movement among the Negro toilers. Amongst these hindrances and amongst these things was first the illusion that had existed among a number of sections of the Red International of Labour Union, and particularly Chauvinism that existed in the workingclass as a whole, and the general underestimation of the Negro work. A general laxity in Negro work had been determined in this period because of these manifestations of Chauvinism that had existed in the white working class for over a century.

During the period which is covered by this report and which has been characterised by the growing militancy of the Negro toilers, the main work of our Committee has been concretely, the following political and organisational tasks: - First the work of our Committee has been to carry on a struggle against this Chauvinism that expressed itself in the various movements and among the working class. For example in the United States of America, where the Chauvinism that had existed up to this time was of the gravest kind, it had absolutely hindered all work among the Negro toilers in the United States on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. This is the first point.

The second point was the task of awakening the class consciousness of the Negro masses. The class consciousness of the Negro masses had been

hindered in the first place because of the Chauvinism of the white working class and because of intense racial and nationalist tendencies among the Negro population-

The third point, the question of the stimulation of the organisation of the Negro toilers was another problem that our Committee has been attacking.

Fourth, the question of the organisation of an international conference of Negro toilers. These, comrades, have been the main points upon which the work of the international committee has been carried on.

In the accomplishment of these tasks we have not only attacked that Chauvinism, but we have tried to actually assist by concrete measures, the fight of the struggling against Chauvinism and the assisting of the Negro toilers.

The Executive Bureau of the Profintern has from time to time discussed the problems of Chauvinism, has passed a number of important resolutions on this question and has also taken a number of organisational steps to rid the various sections from these hindrances to the movement of the Negro toilers.

Another center of activity where the Negro trade union movement has affiliated to the RILU is in South Africa.

In South Africa during the last period we have given very special assistance organisationally, and given special direction as to how to organise the active workers in South Africa, how to bring them into the organisational plans for building a revolutionary movement and building revolutionary trade unions in South Africa.

In addition to this, also, our Committee has sent representatives to the various sections affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. To name, for example, during the last year, sent represents to the French section of the RILU, to the German opposition in Germany, to the Belgian section and made special efforts in France and also in the United States, representatives to stimulate and to carry forward these organisations of Negro work.

During last August at the Conference in Vladivostock contacts were made with Negro seamen for the purpose of stimulating the work among the seamen into organisation.

As to the 4th point comrades, in the work of our Committee. That is, the organisation of an International conference of Negro workers. This question was first raised by the representative of the Negro committee at the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held at Frankfurt, Germany, last year. Also at the Executive Committee session of the League Against Imperialism the question was raised about the Negro toilers, about the organisation of an international conference.

And, finally, this conference was held in Hamburg, Germany, in July of this year.

Now comrades, coming back to some of the points I have touched upon I want to point out that the position that the RILU, the Executive Bureau of the RILU, on the Negro question has been correct. For example the struggle against Chauvinism, what do the facts show in this case.

What have we experienced by the line laid down by the RILU with regards to the organisation of Negro toilers. Let us take the United States. Again for example take the work in the Southern part of the United States, we have the most intense form of racial prejudices, we have made efforts against Chauvinism, against race prejudices amongst the workers, the line has been correct for the organisation of black and white workers into the same revolutionary trade union organisation.

In Gastonia, the great strike at Gastonia, what after all was the central idea, the central point in Gastonia? The central point in Gastonia was the Negro question, the central point in Gastonia which frightened the bourgeoisie was the fact that the Red Trade unions under the instructions of the Executive Bureau of the RILU had correctly advocated the joint unity of black and white workers in this struggle in the South.

The issue therefore was a correct issue, a correct revolutionary policy. Some of our comrades resisted this idea, but the results show that the line was correct, because even in the South, the backward white workers

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re-acted favourably to the line that we laid down, for black and white workers were accepted upon the same basis, that they must unify as one class against the exploiters, in the Southern part of the United States, to the extent of white organisers and white workers in the South defending Negro organisers against lynch mobs of the bosses. This shows that our line was correct. That the central issue was the **organisation of the Negro workers into the red unions of the RILU.**

The political significance of the Negro toilers in the South has been thus raised to a very high level; a big political task for organising the working class in America for the struggle against American capitalism. Also in the South, through great effort we have been able to get Negro workers as organisers to come into the South to organise black and white workers, as well as having white organisers in the South for the organisation of the Negro and white workers. For you comrades, who do not understand the peculiar significance of this in America, this was one of the greatest tasks that the revolutionary trade unions have faced in America during the present period.

As to South Africa, what are the facts? Here also we have had to deal with the question of chauvinism and outline the correct policy; that the majority of the workers are the native workers. These workers, therefore, must be the center of gravity and the basis of our organisations, particularly in the mines and in the agricultural sections of South Africa. We, in the Executive Bureau have consistently agitated and instructed our comrades to penetrate the great mass of the native workers and we have had an increased participation of the native workers into the movement in South Africa and have had new cadres of native workers drawn into the movement. However, we have a great deal of work to do in this connection still. Also in connection with this general line we have had the affiliation of the Native Federation of Unions in South Africa to the RILU in February, 1929. And also, to show the correct line has been carried out we can take the simple example that even in South Africa a number of native tribes that had no trade union basis for organisation had heard of our program and made direct application for affiliation to the RILU. In South Africa, too, the question of the struggle for a native Republic has been a main task.

What are the results generally with regard to the line of the RILU in Negro Work? We find in every section where our comrades have made the least effort at more activity of even amongst the white workers has been carried on, and has manifested itself in the assistance or cooperation with the organisation of the Negro workers. All of this shows that the line of the Executive Bureau has been correct and must be followed out and that heretofore our comrades have not entered sufficiently into before, and even now, to the line of the Executive Bureau.

As to other point, the response of the Negro toilers to our efforts is to raise their class consciousness and to organise and develop their movement. In the United States of America, since the 4th Congress, Negro toilers are showing a determination and willingness to join the Red Unions and are being more and more influenced by the Red Unions.

More and more Negro worker have understood the line of the RILU, and have heard for the first time the policies of the RILU. Many of the Negro workers have broken away from Garveyism, the Negro reformism, and come to the red unions as a result of our correct policy.

We have already referred to the tribes in South Africa, native tribes, tribes that are very backward, that have come under the influence of our correct line. In South Africa the natives also have been struggling against the Negro trade union reformism, which has expressed in the leadership of Kadalie, who has affiliated the organisation of the Native workers to the Amsterdam International.

But what is important these organisations have lost their influence and decreased in numbers as the organisations affiliated to the RILU have increased in numbers.

The participation of the Negro toilers in the leading cadres of the work has been most helpful in stimulating the class consciousness of the Negro toilers increasing their activities in the trade union movement, the

revolutionary trade union movement. The agitation that the Negro committee of the Executive Bureau has carried on against special exploitation against the Negro workers, for example, the Vestris disaster in which we sent out an appeal to the Negro toilers has particularly attracted the attention of large numbers of Negro seamen in the various parts of the world.

As to the awakening of the class consciousness of the Negro toilers, let us take for example, the great Haitian demonstration on the part of the American workers in 1929, December, against the massacre of the Haitians by the United States marines. What, comrades, was the effect from an international point of view of stimulating the Negro toilers to class consciousness? The fact that a large section of the white working class in America had demonstrated in solidarity with the Haitian workers against the United States imperialism. It was for the first time that the workers saw a revolutionary movement in America supporting their struggle. Not only in Haiti, but in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in a number of Caribbean colonies, this simple demonstration on the part of the working class of America considerably influenced the class consciousness of the Haitian workers, of the Negro workers as to the solidarity of the revolutionary movement with regards to their struggle.

Let us take some of the results in South Africa and in the United States. I have already said that the Non-European federation of trade unions has developed considerably as a result of the renewed activity of the revolutionary elements in South Africa to carry out the line of the Executive Bureau. Organisations in other sections of South Africa have been stimulated by this activity.

In the United States, the red trade unions and every union and every League of the TUUL have for the first time we find a larger and larger number of Negro workers, participating in the activities of the Red trade unions. In a number of unions we have a large number of Negro toilers as members of these unions.

In France we have had some results from our agitation there on the part of one Negro comrade Koyate who has made special efforts to organise some of the Negro workers residing in France.

As to another point, and that is the question of the organisation of the International Conference of Negro Workers. Here I must give some facts about the shortcomings, about the achievements and results. When we consider the political significance of the Negro toilers at the present period of capitalism, we can readily understand the great political significance of this International Conference held at Hamburg in July. In the preparation a great deal of agitation was carried on throughout the various sections where the Negroes are. This has aroused the Negro toilers in the various parts of the world to the necessity of organising the trade union movements in their countries. It not only aroused the Negro toilers, but aroused the wrath and anger of the bourgeoisie against our efforts to organise the Negro toilers. However, there were some very serious shortcomings in the organisation of this conference, in the preparations that have been made for it and in the help and assistance rendered by the sections affiliated to the Red trade union center.

In the first place, we must point out that we in the center made many mistakes and had many shortcomings of a political as well as a technical character. With very little experience in organising conferences, it was quite natural that we would have many serious shortcomings as to how to draw larger and larger masses of Negro toilers in the preparations for this conference. We in the center did not sufficiently push the sections of the Red trade unions to help us in this movement. But the most serious shortcomings in our conference and in the preparations was the shortcoming of the Red sections. For example, the Minority Movement in England rendered practically no assistance in the organisation of this conference despite the fact that we had planned to hold the conference in the center of British imperialism itself, London. The Minority Movement rendered very little assistance, comrades in trying to assist them in getting delegates from among the seamen from the colonies of the British Empire. The same thing may be said of the French affiliated Red unions who did nothing with

regards to bringing Negro workers from the French colonies to our conference. Also in Belgium section. In the United States we were not sufficiently broad in our campaign for organisation of the conference and bringing the wide masses of Negro toilers in the participation for the election of delegates to the Negro Conference.

As a result of these shortcomings, comrades, this poor representation, poor participation and poor preparation showed itself in the composition of our Congress. Our Congress was arranged originally to be composed of 25 delegates from various sections of the Negro world. We had only 17, we had 7 delegates from the United States, all workers from the factories, we had 2 delegates from the Gold Coast, one from Gambia, one from Nigeria, a white delegate from S. Africa, representing the native trade union, a delegate from Jamaica and other. Other delegates were supposed to come to our conference did not arrive, because of difficulties. Some of these comrades have only arrived to our conference in the last few days here at Moscow.

At this conference we took up, the main political task that the Negro toilers face at the present time. The task in the economic struggles of the Negro workers, the task of struggling against Social Fascism, the fascism of the Amsterdam International and the American Federation of Labour, holding the workers back, actually participating in the execution of the Negro toilers as it expresses itself in a number of the colonies, where Belgian Socialists, English socialists, French socialists were. We have outlined there a complete programme of struggle against Negro trade union reformism, we have outlined a detailed programme for the trade union organisation of the Negro toilers in their struggle for shorter hours of work, in the struggle against speed-up system of the rationalisation system, this especially exploits the Negro toilers, also the most important question of forced labor amongst the Negro toilers was taken up.

This is perhaps one of the biggest political tasks that we have before us in the organisation of the Negro toilers, this forced labor is seen in South Africa, West Africa, Jamaica, Haiti and all of the colonies, and even to a certain extent in some parts of the United States.

Another very important political question was the question of the struggles of the Negro toilers against the war which is in preparation. Our conference pointed out the particular significance of the Negro toilers in the last war, how the imperialists drew them into the war to be used as cannon fodder and even how at the present time they are preparing great armies of Negro toilers to be used in the next war against the revolutionary trade union movement and also against the Soviet Union.

These political tasks were taken up in quite some detail. These political tasks were outlined to the Negro toilers at this Conference. These are the basis for the preparation of a future conference of the Negro toilers, and will be the basis for continued efforts to organise the Negro workers in the different sections of the world in the coming period.

Comrades, I have spoken of the shortcomings with regards to the preparation of our Conference in Hamburg. It is necessary now to deal with some shortcomings with regard to work among Negroes. We have already seen that repeatedly the Executive Bureau of the RILU has continued to instruct the Red sections to give more attention to the organisation of the Negro toilers. But what has been the attitude of all of our sections? In some cases the attitude amongst the reformist and right elements has been the same attitude as the social-reformists' but of course there were kicked out of the movement that is, an attitude of indifference to the organisation of Negro toilers, an attitude of chauvinism to the Negro toilers, of opportunism in the organisation of the Negroes. The Negroes have had experiences with the white working class, as with the boss class --- oppression, slave-drivers, at least with the reformist section. This section is the right hand of the bosses in the exploitation of the Negro. Therefore, the Negro toilers have the right to be suspicious of the organisation of the white working class, even suspicion of the revolutionary trade union organisation and, comrades, we must say frankly, we must approach this question frankly, and say that even among the Red trade union sections of the RILU, among the

revolutionary trade union movement. The agitation that the Negro committee of the Executive Bureau has carried on against special exploitation against the Negro workers, for example, the Vestris disaster in which we sent out an appeal to the Negro toilers has particularly attracted the attention of large numbers of Negro seamen in the various parts of the world.

As to the awakening of the class consciousness of the Negro toilers, let us take for example, the great Haitian demonstration on the part of the American workers in 1929, December, against the massacre of the Haitians by the United States marines. What, comrades, was the effect from an international point of view of stimulating the Negro toilers to class consciousness? The fact that a large section of the white working class in America had demonstrated in solidarity with the Haitian workers against the United States imperialism. It was for the first time that the workers saw a revolutionary movement in America supporting their struggle. Not only in Haiti, but in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in a number of Caribbean colonies, this simple demonstration on the part of the working class of America considerably influenced the class consciousness of the Haitian workers, of the Negro workers as to the solidarity of the revolutionary movement with regards to their struggle.

Let us take some of the results in South Africa and in the United States. I have already said that the Non-European federation of trade unions has developed considerably as a result of the renewed activity of the revolutionary elements in South Africa to carry out the line of the Executive Bureau. Organisations in other sections of South Africa have been stimulated by this activity.

In the United States, the red trade unions and every union and every League of the TUUL have for the first time we find a larger and larger number of Negro workers, participating in the activities of the Red trade unions. In a number of unions we have a large number of Negro toilers as members of these unions.

In France we have had some results from our agitation there on the part of one Negro comrade Koyate who has made special efforts to organise some of the Negro workers residing in France.

As to another point, and that is the question of the organisation of the International Conference of Negro Workers. Here I must give some facts about the shortcomings, about the achievements and results. When we consider the political significance of the Negro toilers at the present period of capitalism, we can readily understand the great political significance of this International Conference held at Hamburg in July. In the preparation a great deal of agitation was carried on throughout the various sections where the Negroes are. This has aroused the Negro toilers in the various parts of the world to the necessity of organising the trade union movements in their countries. It not only aroused the Negro toilers, but aroused the wrath and anger of the bourgeoisie against our efforts to organise the Negro toilers. However, there were some very serious shortcomings in the organisation of this conference, in the preparations that have been made for it and in the help and assistance rendered by the sections affiliated to the Red trade union center.

In the first place, we must point out that we in the center made many mistakes and had many shortcomings of a political as well as a technical character. With very little experience in organising conferences, it was quite natural that we would have many serious shortcomings as to how to draw larger and larger masses of Negro toilers in the preparations for this conference. We in the center did not sufficiently push the sections of the Red trade unions to help us in this movement. But the most serious shortcomings in our conference and in the preparations was the shortcoming of the Red sections. For example, the Minority Movement in England rendered practically no assistance in the organisation of this conference despite the fact that we had planned to hold the conference in the center of British imperialism itself, London. The Minority Movement rendered very little assistance, comrades in trying to assist them in getting delegates from among the seamen from the colonies of the British Empire. The same thing may be said of the French affiliated Red unions who did nothing with

regards to bringing Negro workers from the French colonies to our conference. Also in Belgium section. In the United States we were not sufficiently broad in our campaign for organisation of the conference and bringing the wide masses of Negro toilers in the participation for the election of delegates to the Negro Conference.

As a result of these shortcomings, comrades, this poor representation, poor participation and poor preparation showed itself in the composition of our Congress. Our Congress was arranged originally to be composed of 25 delegates from various sections of the Negro world. We had only 17, we had 7 delegates from the United States, all workers from the factories, we had 2 delegates from the Gold Coast, one from Gambia, one from Nigeria, a white delegate from S. Africa, representing the native trade union, a delegate from Jamaica and other. Other delegates were supposed to come to our conference did not arrive, because of difficulties. Some of these comrades have only arrived to our conference in the last few days here at Moscow.

At this conference we took up, the main political task that the Negro toilers face at the present time. The task in the economic struggles of the Negro workers, the task of struggling against Social Fascism, the fascism of the Amsterdam International and the American Federation of Labour, holding the workers back, actually participating in the execution of the Negro toilers as it expresses itself in a number of the colonies, where Belgian Socialists, English socialists, French socialists were. We have outlined there a complete programme of struggle against Negro trade union reformism, we have outlined a detailed programme for the trade union organisation of the Negro toilers in their struggle for shorter hours of work, in the struggle against speed-up system of the rationalisation system, this especially exploits the Negro toilers, also the most important question of forced labor amongst the Negro toilers was taken up.

This is perhaps one of the biggest political tasks that we have before us in the organisation of the Negro toilers, this forced labor is seen in South Africa, West Africa, Jamaica, Haiti and all of the colonies, and even to a certain extent in some parts of the United States.

Another very important political question was the question of the struggles of the Negro toilers against the war which is in preparation. Our conference pointed out the particular significance of the Negro toilers in the last war, how the imperialists drew them into the war to be used as cannon fodder and even how at the present time they are preparing great armies of Negro toilers to be used in the next war against the revolutionary trade union movement and also against the Soviet Union.

These political tasks were taken up in quite some detail. These political tasks were outlined to the Negro toilers at this Conference. These are the basis for the preparation of a future conference of the Negro toilers, and will be the basis for continued efforts to organise the Negro workers in the different sections of the world in the coming period.

Comrades, I have spoken of the shortcomings with regards to the preparation of our Conference in Hamburg. It is necessary now to deal with some shortcomings with regard to work among Negroes. We have already seen that repeatedly the Executive Bureau of the RILU has continued to instruct the Red sections to give more attention to the organisation of the Negro toilers. But what has been the attitude of all of our sections? In some cases the attitude amongst the reformist and right elements has been the same attitude as the social-reformists' but of course there were kicked out of the movement that is, an attitude of indifference to the organisation of Negro toilers, an attitude of chauvinism to the Negro toilers, of opportunism in the organisation of the Negroes. The Negroes have had experiences with the white working class, as with the boss class --- oppression, slave-drivers, at least with the reformist section. This section is the right hand of the bosses in the exploitation of the Negro. Therefore, the Negro toilers have the right to be suspicious of the organisation of the white working class, even suspicion of the revolutionary trade union organisation and, comrades, we must say frankly, we must approach this question frankly, and say that even among the Red trade union sections of the RILU, among the

revolutionary trade unions affiliated to the RILU, especially the opportunists, that the Negro toilers also have a right to be suspicious of them and their so-called "superior" attitude towards them. They have the right because of this to be suspicious that the Red unions may have the same policy towards them as the Amsterdam International, as the American Federation of Labour, because for fifty years the Negro workers have felt the special racial abuses of the white working class and they have not seen very much difference between any of them, at least in an organisational point of view. I say again that the opportunist leadership in the Red Trade Unions have led to this condition. We must drive them out of the Red Unions.

I think the Red International of Labour Unions and the Executive Bureau has been correct in insisting that our sections should give more attention to the organisation of the Negro toilers. But comrades, again we must say that our sections have done nothing towards the organisation of the Negro toilers, towards drawing the Negro workers into the revolutionary movement. We can take them one by one. England, the MM in England has done nothing, and even in the United States although there is a change as a result of the struggle that has been carried on, still there is not sufficient work being done in America.

With regards to the line laid down by the RILU. Comrades, I think that the 5 Congress and the delegates must seriously consider this question, seriously approach this question, seriously give a very self critical approach to this question, seriously analyse it, and frankly say to themselves what they have not done and what they propose to do. However, comrades, I don't think that it is time for us to make too many promises, but actually time to get down to work to carry out the policies and line of the Red International.

Comrades, we have come at the 4th Congress, we have brought forward the question of the Negroes to the 4th Congress, but even yet we find that this question has not been carried out in all sections. We have now at the 5 Congress of the RILU for the first time a Brazilian representative of the Negro toilers in Brazil, and we must say from that conversation that we had with him, we discover in Brazil the same problem, the same struggle there that we have had in the other parts of the world. The workers in Brazil have not yet actually got down to the organisation of the workers in Brazil, have not yet got actually down to the fundamental task of organising the agrarian workers in Brazil, because our comrades there have not yet seen that the agrarian problem is the fundamental problem in Brazil, and that the great majority of the Brazilian workers are Negro toilers. So at that point I want to place this question before our Brazilian comrade and I want to invite the participation of our Brazilian comrades on this tribune to state quite frankly before this Congress what is the situation in Brazil, why is it that we cannot have a delegation of it here in the RILU in Brazil here before, what the attitude of the white comrades has been, we have in a disguised form the manifestations of Chauvinism, manifestations of white chauvinism. With regards to the Brazilian organisation these problems must be analysed by our Congress.

Now, comrades, we have talked of the shortcomings, we have talked of the political successes of the Negro toilers, the question now is what are our tasks and tactics in the present and coming period and the growing revolutionary struggles of the workers in the first place demand more and more attention by all our sections to participate more and more in these struggles.

For example, one important political task is the self-determination of the Negro toilers in the various parts of the world and in particular in the United States, of the actual putting forward of the slogan of self-determination in the Southern part of the United States.

Concretely we have a number of tasks that must be operated by all sections in the carrying out of the line of the RILU in the drawing of the Negro toilers into the revolutionary movement, these tasks are concretely:

1. To help and assist the new international trade union committee of Negro workers that has been recently re-organised at the Hamburg conference

of Negro toilers. In the main the tasks are the strengthening of the existing contacts and connections with the Negro toilers in the various parts of the world, the establishment of new connections with the Negro toilers in the various parts of the world.

2. The popularisation among the Negro masses of the principles and the resolutions of the revolutionary class struggle.

3. To assist in the organisation of peasant organisations and the drawing of them into direction and connection with the RILU.

4. To disseminate information about conditions of work and life of the Negro toilers.

This is to be particularly disseminated among the white working class in the imperialist countries, to struggle against white chauvinism in the ranks of the working class, to struggle against Negro reformism and Negro nationalist ideologies and Negro trade union reformism, particularly in South Africa and in the United States.

The next task, generally, is to assist in the preparation for a second international conference of Negro workers. We have a task in the great continent of Africa where we shall have a special section of our work. There we must strengthen and build the Negro organisations of the Negro workers in South Africa, Gambia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and a number of other points for the building of a revolutionary trade union movement, for the participation of the white revolutionary movement in the advanced countries in this development. The sections of the Red trade unions in France must develop their colonial sections and actively organise them and have special sections for the organisation of the Negro workers and seamen in their sections there. This must be done in France, England, and the USA.

Comrades, in conclusion I have not had time to outline all of the tasks that are before us at the present moment, but I think in conclusion, in spite of all, that we are on the road for the first time for the organisation of the Negro toilers. I think we can say that the Executive Bureau of the RILU and the RILU itself has for the first time brought forward the question of the organisation of the Negro toilers. Not only have we gained organisational results, but also worldwide influence among the Negro toilers, and contrary to the opinions of certain sections of the RILU trade unions, particularly in America, where they had the policy that the Negroes were reserves of capitalist reaction, that the Negro toilers are a fundamental part of the revolutionary trade union movement and are assisting the development of this movement to a higher level and at the present time assisting in shaking the very foundation of capitalism in America. The RILU can be said to have penetrated the whole world and brought the Negro workers into the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the new Executive Bureau and will carry forward what we have already accomplished, the bringing of millions of millions of Negro toilers into the revolutionary trade union movement not only for the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union, for establishing and bringing of a workers' government in every section of the capitalist world, for the bringing of great majority of toilers into the revolutionary movement, for the overthrown imperialism.

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## STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM:

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One of the questions which was sharply raised during the discussions of the Fifth Congress of the RILU was the necessity of struggling against white chauvinism. The Negro delegates from Africa, the United States and Latin America all pointed out that white chauvinism was one of the greatest obstacles which stood in the way of winning the Negro workers for the revolutionary movement; and because of this, it is absolutely necessary that we carry on relentless struggle to eradicate this bourgeois ideology from the ranks of the white workers.

The importance of this phase of our revolutionary work was also fittingly pointed out by Comrade Losovsky, the Secretary of the R.I.L.U., in the course of his speech on the discussion in the main report to the Congress:

### Excerpt From Comrade Losovsky's Speech.

A very big problem at this Congress has been presented by the representatives of the Negro colonies and Negro workers of the world. Comrade Ford, in his joint report and other speakers as well, have told us that they are entitled to look with suspicion even upon the revolutionary trade union organisation, when it comes to the racial problem. I must state that, most unfortunately, comrade Ford is perfectly right. I could give you the latest sample of what it means, just fresh from the United States, a sample that is simply astounding for the revolutionary labour movement. In his last letter to us comrade Schmies, president of the Trade Union Unity League tell us that during the Chicago unemployed workers convention all the delegates had their dinners in a cooperative Lithuanian restaurant, which is run by Lithuanians belonging to the TUUL. Yet, the people running this cooperative were strongly against the Negro delegates having dinner in their restaurant, the excuse being given that this would be likely to drive away customers. So what these "comrades" suggested was; "We will let the Negroes have the money, and they can go and eat wherever they want to". I hold that an incident like this is simply a crying disgrace and a blot upon the revolutionary labour movement (cheers). And members of revolutionary trade unions, or communists, or that type --- if there happen to be communists among them --- should be thrown out neck and crop. There is no place for them inside the TUUL. (Continued and loud applause).

Comrades, a single fact like this is sufficient, however, to back up the justifiable suspicions of our Negro comrades. But I want to ask you what sort of action our organisations take when they come up against facts of this kind. To write to Moscow means very little. What I am interested in is what was done, what has been done, in the United States to stigmatise white chauvinists of this kind? What have you done? After all, the struggle against white chauvinism is not a matter of our meeting together in congress once in two and a half years, passing resolutions unanimously, and then allowing you to take up a perfectly cold-blooded attitude to facts like these. That isn't fighting white chauvinism, that is masking condoning white chauvinism (cheers). The struggle against white chauvinism must mean that every member of our organisation who has shown himself to be a white chauvinist must be branded for what he is at meetings of the workers (cheers). What you have to do is to brandmark this sort of racial chauvinism, which is the plainest indication of bourgeois mentality in the heart of the working class that you can get. And these people have to be stigmatised both at meetings of the workers, in the press, and if necessary by means of a special campaign of open-air meetings on the subject.

I can quote you an incident of much the same kind which occurred at the Stalingrad Tractor Works, of which you are already aware. At that place an American worker struck a Negro workers. If the Soviet workers had looked upon this incident in the way people do too often in the United States they would have waited till the next Trade Union Congress which is due to meet in a year's time, and would there have passed a special resolution. But that is not the way the Soviet workers go about it; they did not wait till their Congress was due to meet (cheers). When this incident

became known in the press, in all the factories of cities like Moscow, Leningrad, Charkov and others and plants in places as wide apart as the Urals, and the Far East the workers met and passed protest resolutions. They elected special delegates which they sent to Stalingrad in the capacity of public prosecutors against the hooligan in question (cheers). That is what you call fighting white chauvinism, this is what is meant by really mobilising the workers, and rapping every rowdy over the knuckles who takes it into his head to show his racial "superiority" over Negro workers. I think our comrades from South Africa, the USA, Latin America, and the Antilles could learn something from the Soviet workers (applause) in this line also --- I don't happen to be speaking of other lines of work at the moment --- and realise the way to go about it, to take action rapidly, in organised fashion, and with a real punch behind it, for the purpose of at once putting our foot down upon every sign of deviation from class policy; then you have the strength of the Soviet working class.

Tremendous political importance attaches to the question of organizing the Negro workers. It is only out-and-out bureaucrats who cannot realise this, and only people cherishing nothing but bourgeois prejudices, who cannot see that the twelve million Negroes in the United States represent a huge potential revolutionary force of the immediate future. Only people understanding nothing of the class struggle or of the revolutionary movement can fail to realise that the revolt of the Black Continent against imperialism is only beginning, and that our job is to make use of this huge amount of combustible material, to make allies for ourselves of these vast masses seething with hatred against their oppressors, to draw them closer to ourselves, and to assist them with the vast amount of experience we have accumulated. We have to make fighting allies in the battles lying immediately ahead of these immense numbers of colonial slaves, these huge reservoirs of human materials, which the bourgeoisie and the corrupted workers look down upon from the heights of their white grandeur. That is our job! (cheers).

The RILU and its affiliated Sections must do everything they can to help in the further unification of the Negro workers to utilise and develop the labours of the conference which was held in Hamburg, and to transform the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers into an organisation with backing among the masses throughout the whole Black Continent, in the United States, in Latin America, and in the West Indies.

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THE NEGRO MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

(Comrade Tom Marsh - Nigeria).

Comrades, as you all know the original home of all Negroes is Africa. Today we are scattered all over the world, about 250 to 270 million Negroes. Therefore you find that we Negroes of Africa are called barbarians by all the civilised world. But today you find that that word is being made use of more by the capitalists and imperialists who make use of this word in order to crush the workers all over the world. They use every effort to crush the workers, and they even have the Amsterdam International helping them.

We have all listened very attentively to Comrade Losovsky's elaborate and exhaustive speech in which, under the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers he mentioned that the problem of organising Negro workers and of strengthening the influence of the RILU among them was a burning question even before the 4th Congress of the RILU.

I bring these few straight words before you---there is more behind these few words than the actual phrase. The workers in Germany, in France, in England, in the United States, have paid very little attention to the organisation of Negro workers in the different colonial countries and in the Southern States of America.

Comrades, we Africans came to this Congress of the Profintern not only to make speeches, but to find ways and means whereby we can put in the most favourable activity in our revolutionary movement. We have in this hall Germans, French, Americans, Japanese and Chinese workers, besides others. Comrades, look up and you can see the slogan "Workers of the World Unite". This is for every worker whether he be white, yellow, brown or black because we are for unity. As you all know, unity is strength.

We come again to the Negro question. Organisation of the Negroes is a very hard task, as we all know, the capitalists and imperialists are not sleeping. They pay greater attention to the organisation of the Negro than the proletariat does. They know the danger in the organisation of the Negroes, and they are using every imaginable means to crush those Negroes working in cooperation with the white revolutionary workers. We see today the means used in India and China. Comrades, you in the USSR are the inspiration of all workers and this Fifth Congress of the Profintern is one of the ways in which it shows the practicability of building up true Socialism. I say, "Long Live the USSR".

The organisation of the Negro workers in the different capitalist countries has not been given the serious attention it needs. There seems to exist among many workers in the different imperialist countries what I will call white chauvinism; and I will say that as long as this spirit exists the revolutionary movement is greatly handicapped. Because capitalists pay such serious attention to the Negro movement they are, therefore, able to divide the white and black workers in their countries. The question then arises on what side should the Negro workers throw in their lot?

I am a full-blooded African and I think I am voicing the entire opinion of the majority of the toilers of my race when I say that all oppressed Negroes of the world will fight and die with the working class (Applause).

Comrades, look at the piano. It is a good specimen of the workers organisation. You can only hear the sound of the piano by pressing the keys. The keys are painted in white and black. So are all the workers of the whole world. The black keys are called flats and the white sharps. The black keys represent the Negro workers. The white workers by not organising the black workers, allow them to take the position of the flat keys, but before you can get very sweet and melodious music on the piano, you are bound to press the black and white key together. Therefore, it is your duty to organise the black and white workers together. (Applause).

Comrades, as I have stated before, the capitalists and imperialists are not sleeping. They have, in crushing the workers, two very strong instruments: the first, I will say, is race prejudice. They try to create

a distinction between the whites and blacks by preaching race prejudice. The capitalists know what they are doing.

For instance, take the Negro Congress which should have been held in London on July 1st, it was banned by the McDonald Government, and what did we find? What was the action of the working class movement? They did not come forward and protest against this prejudice although it was an occasion for them to act. They think this is only a question of the Negroes - that it affects the Negroes only; but that same instrument is going to be used by the capitalists when they come among the Negroes. They are going to tell the Negroes "When we banned you from England, what did your white brothers do?" "Did they protest?" The capitalists know the danger of organising the Negro workers, and therefore they are prepared to do anything in order to prevent the black and white workers coming together. But we workers can meet them on the same ground.

We have another illustration of how the white workers should make intensive propaganda, and that is by going among the workers and preaching to them that the Negroes are their brothers fighting one common enemy and that is the capitalist class, taking as your point that the Negro and the white workers have only one kind of blood and that is red blood. (Applause)

Comrades, Comrade Losovsky stated it is a difficult problem to organise the Negro workers. Another instrument that is being used among the Negro workers by the capitalists is a book. It is the book that is called the "Bible". Thousands of pounds, millions of pounds, have been given by the capitalists to have the "Bible" translated into hundreds of languages to arouse in the workers a submissive feeling in order to take away the ground from under their feet.

Comrades, I say again we workers can meet them on the same level. Let us bring out our "bible". We have a "bible". We have a stronger "bible", a superior "bible". Where is that "bible?" What is that "bible?" Here in this same hall we have that "bible" - it is Lenin's works. (Prolonged applause). Comrades, when I say Lenin's works I mean that the workers should put forward a great effort and have Lenin's works printed and published in as many languages as the "Bible" has been printed. (Applause). With Lenin's works every worker is expected to go into the factories and mines and we must see that in every factory, work shop and mill, which are our stronghold, we must put copies of Lenin's works in the workers' hands. Let the toilers read, learn and digest Lenin's works. As long as we take the Negroes and organise them and also carry on extensive propaganda among the workers we shall see the growth of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries and in the colonies.

Comrades, I say Long Live the Soviet Republic!

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Comrade Green

Comrades, originally the African Federation of Trade Unions whom I represent here elected 5 Negro delegates besides myself, but owing to the persecution and oppression of the imperialist government, in S. Africa, it was not possible for the Negro delegates to be present at this Congress. It is quite likely that before the Congress is over, notwithstanding the brutal oppressive measures adopted against the Negro workers, notwithstanding the persecution, we will find ways and means to get the Negro workers to represent their class and race here.

I want to say at the outset that the economic crisis which is shaking the very foundation of the capitalist structure in the imperialist countries has had a very serious effect of S. Africa. In spite of its geographical remoteness, in spite of its mineral wealth, the economic crisis has reacted from Wall Street to S. Africa. In actual practice, the crisis expressed itself in the following form: S. Africa is principally an agricultural country and as a result of the drop in the world prices of

agricultural commodities, an agrarian crisis has set in resulting in hundreds and thousands of native workers being thrown off the land, hundreds and thousands of white and native farmers being ruined, by bankruptcy and thrown on to the already existing large army of unemployed. The drop in the price of diamonds has accentuated the economic crisis for the diamond industry in one of the important industries in S. Africa.

In proportion to the population in S. Africa we probably have as large a percentage of unemployed as in any part of the world. The capitalist rulers composed of the imperialists of Britain and the feudal landlord aristocrats of S. Africa have tried to solve their economic problems in the good old fashioned way by means of taking the land from the workers in order to compel the masses to work for them under slave conditions, thinking that by increasing the degradation and exploitation of the Negro masses still further they are going to solve the economic crisis which faces the country.

In consequence, they have already introduced a series of laws against the Negro masses and in particular against the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party of S. Africa. The effect of these new repressive measures, however, has been entirely to the dissatisfaction of Hertzog and of the imperialists of the Labour Party. They have not solved the economic problem in S. Africa, and their oppression has resulted in a revolutionary upsurge not only among the industrial masses but also among those millions of agrarian slaves who are coming into the revolutionary movement against the imperialist and landlords.

I do not want to go into details as time is limited, but it is sufficient to say that during the last 2 years, as far as drawing in masses into the revolutionary movement is concerned, we have made more progress than during the last 30 years. The difficulties are enormous, but I must say that S. Africa does not in any way support the theory of exceptionalism. We realise that practically all the mistakes made in the imperialist countries are also made by the right wingers and reformists in S. Africa. We find a lack of faith in the masses, and particularly the Negro masses and a general unclearness in carrying on revolutionary trade union work.

The Negro workers are, however, beginning to assert themselves and are assuming the leadership of revolutionary organisations.

The question of unity has also been made a fetish in S. Africa where we have really two trade union movements - one reformists - white organisation and a Revolutionary Negro organisation as well as a reformist trade union among the Negro workers which in all questions has betrayed the Negro workers. We had a case where Negro furniture workers made an agreement of mutual assistance with the European and colored furniture workers. In the month of January, the Negro workers of Johannesburg helped the European workers who were on strike, but about two months later when the Negro workers came out on strike, white workers not only betrayed them but when the Negro strike pickets were being led away by the police, the workers who had received assistance from the Negro workers two months before jured at the strikers.

We face tremendous difficulties, but notwithstanding this we feel sure that this Congress will hammer out a proper policy for the revolutionary trade union movement in S. Africa.

We must realise that S. Africa is one of the most important links in British imperialism. Millions and millions of pounds from that country are being drawn by the British imperialists through the exploitation of the vast masses of Negro and white workers.

Let me say that the white workers who thought that the privileges they enjoyed in the past would be maintained and continued for ever are beginning to realise now, as a result of the sharpening of class contradictions in the country, that these will no longer exist in the future.

The capitalist rulers in S. Africa made up their minds to level down all the workers to one level and we know quite well that this means the level of the Negro workers, unless all unite together, and fight for a common high standard for all.

In spite of the fact that we have as yet made little progress in

combatting the chauvinist and reformist policy of the white workers we are now being assisted tremendously in this struggle by the economic development of the country and the economic crisis of the moment. These are gradually knocking out of the minds of the aristocratic trade unions in South Africa their belief that they will forever be able to maintain their seven and eight pound per week, while the Negro work for a few shillings or nothing at all.

The organisation of the Negro workers in the revolutionary trade union movement in Africa generally, and South Africa particularly has not received the attention it deserves. The industrial proletariat of Africa is not very numerous although in South Africa there are one million Negro industrial workers and one-fourth of a million white workers. Notwithstanding the fact that the industrial proletariat is small, with the weakening of imperialism in China and with the revolutionary movement in India, the imperialists of Britain, France, etc., are concentrating seriously on the second line of defence. This vast continent has been crossed from South to North and from North to South several times both by motor and aeroplane and everything possible is done by them to open it up. This is not for the purpose of advancing scientific development. The imperialists know how to penetrate the continent of Africa and we must also learn this. We cannot do it with exactly the same methods as are used in Europe and America. We must study this continent and when we do this we will realise that these numerically weak industrial workers are capable not only of forming a very determined force against British and international imperialism, but they are in a position by organising themselves to lead not only the industrial proletariat of Africa but the 250 million native peasantry there.

We must not forget, comrades, that although Africa at the present moment may not be very highly developed, although not "the jewel in the crown of British imperialism", we must realise that the imperialists are concentrating on Africa, that the dark continent is being gradually opened up and that tremendous possibilities for invigorating imperialism be there. But we must see that the development of the continent does not result in a new life for decaying imperialism but on the contrary expedites its downfall.

I want to say in conclusion that one of the best ways of bringing about a real understanding between the colonial workers and the European workers is not to ignore what is happening there but to concentrate on the work there, expose imperialist atrocities, help in organising the toiling masses of the colonies. The first time an African representative received any support in exposing the conditions that imperialism introduced in Africa was in the Soviet press.

I want to mention one point to show how little interested the revolutionary organisations in the metropolis are in exposing the work of the imperialists in Africa. I tried to get a few articles published in the Germany revolutionary press to expose the brutalities of the imperialist in S. Africa. No one was interested in S. Africa. This shows the attitude that the workers in imperialist countries adopt towards the colonies. As long as this is reflected in our movement, I am afraid that the unity we must bring about will not be brought about. We in Africa form only one link in the units that are fighting against imperialism and we must strengthen that link and weld it onto the chain of anti-imperialist forces, which embraces the workers of India, China, etc., and of the metropolitan countries. We must see that both inside of Africa and in the European countries and America everything possible is done in order to link up the chain against imperialism.

I want to say, comrades, that Amsterdam has been very busy during the last three years trying to do its dirty work in South Africa, and although it has made little progress because the oppressed African masses have nothing to expect from Amsterdam, it has redoubled its efforts; and we see from the reformist press that Amsterdam bandits lackeys are trying to get the workers away from the revolutionary movement. They have made no success at all, nevertheless, they are concentrating on South Africa. We know that the reformists inside the trade unions and the reformists' apparatus

are doing everything possible to get the Negroes away from the revolutionary movement. Therefore, it is up to us now, while we still have an uncorrupted industrial and agrarian proletariat in Africa with a basis to work on, to concentrate our efforts and activities there, to extend the Federation, which consists principally of workers in the secondary industries into the basic industries and among agrarian workers, not only within the union of South Africa but in the adjoining territories which embrace some 40 million slaves. We must bring unity in the revolutionary movement, without any chauvinistic distinctions. If we don't tackle this vast continent seriously now, if we fail to organise the industrial proletariat to lead the industrial and agrarian revolution in Africa, in a few years the work will be much more difficult, because it is possible — Amsterdam will make headway. We must develop from that small spark which exists at the present moment in Johannesburg into a movement which all embrace the 250,000,000 Negro slaves of the entire African continent, and bring them into the struggle against imperialism.

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Comrade George Miller (Gambia).

Comrades: The thesis we are discussing has drawn special attention to the importance of the Negro workers of the world in the international revolutionary movement. And it is significant that for the first time in the history of this great movement a Negro delegation from Africa is taking part in this Profintern Congress.

This shows that the Negro workers of the world have been awakened to the call of the international struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Although the trade union movement in my part of the African Continent (West) is still a young movement, yet the great thing about it is that it has started there as the direct result of the failure of the old leaders to put forward any programme of militant action for the liberation of the working masses. This first Negro delegation from Africa further indicates that the Negro workers of the world have come to recognise the USSR as the Fatherland of proletarian democracy, that they pledge their support for the defence of the Soviet Union against the capitalists.

The Negro workers of the world are indebted to the pioneering activities of the Red International of Labour Unions for the steps now taken to solve their problems from an international point of view. One concrete result of these activities has been the first International Conference of Negro Workers which took place at Hamburg last July, and which drew up a programme of trade union action for the Negro workers. A part of this programme, comrades, deals specifically with the economic situation of the British colony and Protectorate of Gambia, with particular reference to the struggles of the workers and peasants in that area. From the very start these struggles have been of a marked revolutionary character. They manifested themselves in a general strike which broke out among the Gambian workers last November. In the past unorganised strikes had taken place occasionally in individual local trades, but never before in the history of the colony had there been a general strike which closed the principal trading port of the country and suspended all business for a period of twenty days. It was a successful strike at a time of acute economic crisis. And, thus, in our far corner of Africa we have been able to prove the correct line of policy of the Profintern. We have proved that "the united front from below" alone can carry through a strike, even in times of economic crisis. In other respects we have proved the correctness of the line of the Profintern, and comrades, we are going to continue in that line. We are going to apply the sound counsels that have been offered here. It has been a real inspiration to hear about the struggles of our comrades in all parts of the world. We too, have had our full share of the evil effects of rationalisation. We have our plague of unemployment. At the end of last year the speed-up of industry

reached its climax. Wages in Gambia had been continually reduced since 1921; in consequence hundreds of Gambian seamen and sailors had gone on a strike for an increase of wages and rations. But the struggle was unorganised; it was taken up soon after by the Gambian Trade Union which embraces various sections of workers employed to carry on the trade on the Gambian river. More than 1,500 of these workers, including builders, ship-wrights, carpenters, masons, engineering mechanics, etc., were organised in addition to the sailors, and these represented about eighty per cent. of the total number of workers.

The employers proposed a further 50% reduction of wages. Instead, we demanded a 50% increase. We gave an ultimatum of a general strike to enforce this demand which, of course, was ignored by the Bathurst Chamber of Commerce, the official organ of the employers. In fact, leading merchant houses retaliated by issuing a three-days' notice to their employees to quit the union or be dismissed. Thus we were faced with a struggle for the very elementary right to organise in trade unions, but, thanks to resolute determination of the workers the fight was won, as was also the strike.

Our ultimate victory affords a striking proof of the claims of the revolutionary trade union movement on the workers of the world. It was clear that British imperialism has reached the stage when the state machine becomes by no means the benevolent protector of the exploited workers and peasants, as we had been made to believe, but the tool of organised capitalism. The role of the Government was openly in the interest of the capitalists. They tried to crush the strike by means of military and police terrorism.

They issued an official notice assuring scabs and blacklegs protection against alleged intimidation by the strikers. This was meant to prevent picketing; it was meant also to minimize the gravity of the strike situation. On the 14th of November, our picketing parties came into conflict with the police. Without warning, the military was called in. An armed raid was made on the civilian community in which peaceful citizens were wounded in a bayonet charge through the streets of Bathurst.

But this extreme imperialist measure did not daunt the spirit of the workers. It made them more determined to carry on their struggle. In the end the Chamber of Commerce had to recognise the Union as the official organ of the workers. The strike was settled on the basis of the demands of the workers. For the first time in the history of Gambia minimum rates of wages were fixed for all trades under an agreement signed by the Union and the Chamber of Commerce. Instead of reduction, an increase of 50% was gained both in the wages and monthly rations of all the workers, according to their different grades and categories.

As a result of this successful issue, new sections of workers joined the Union, after the strike and better conditions have been obtained for them. Among these are pilots, clerical and part workers, and, most significant of all, the small peasants, 4,000 of whom have been organised, at their own request, as a section of the Union. 15,000 more of these peasants have expressed their desire to join the Union. These represent 50% of the local peasants, while the workers now total 2,000, quite 90% of the total number of workers.

What we have been able to achieve, as also the means of that achievement, indicates our possibilities for further development and for future struggle. It, likewise, calls attention to our drawbacks in facing the tasks before us. We have needs of an organisational and educational character. We are in need of the right type of trade union workers, leaders and organisers trained from the ranks of the workers themselves who will carry the movement further afield; and direct the struggle along the correct line of policy of the Profintern.

In regard to our more specific tasks we are daily reminded that our struggle has only just begun. The success of the strike naturally embitters the employers who continually seek opportunity to seek revenge. They never scruple to victimize the workers on the slightest pretext, and a daily struggle goes on for the redress of the grievances of the individual workers.

In view of the fact that the working season has been so much reduced, resulting in increased unemployment; in view, also of the fact that the workers cannot subsist in 12 months on what they earn in 3, the question of a living wage is one which we have yet to take up seriously with the employers. We have also to take up the question of a further reduction of working hours, from the 8-hour day, which is now general in Gambia, to the 42-hour week, as also the burning question of social insurance and holidays.

Our tasks, as regards the peasants, are of a peculiar type. They include the abolition of poll tax, forced labor and the law compelling the peasants to sell their produce in given time at the merchants' own prices.

Special attention should be given to the tasks of the international revolutionary movement, not only in regard to the workers and agricultural laborers, but also in regard to the poor peasants.

In conclusion, due attention has been called in this discussion to the anti-Soviet <sup>war</sup> danger. But, comrades, are we going merely to discuss this burning question? Is it enough merely to raise the alarm and do nothing more until war comes? I consider that steps should be taken to counteract this capitalist conspiracy; that a World Workers League should be organised against imperialist wars and for the defence of the Soviet Union. War, comrades, is the capitalists' device to further exploit the working class when all their means of exploitation have failed. It is the vile plot of organised capitalism, after creating extreme unemployment, to doom the unemployed to untimely death and physical destruction. Therefore,

comrades,

DOWN WITH IMPERIALIST WARS!

DOWN WITH THE SPOILS AND HORRORS OF ORGANISED CAPITALISM!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOUR UNIONS!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO GUIDE THE DESTINIES OF THE FIRST WORKERS' STATE AND TO CHAMPION THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

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#### Comrade George Padmore (U.S.A.)

Comrades, the importance of the organisation of the Negro workers as an integral part of the international revolutionary movement has been significantly pointed out by the frequency to which this question has already been alluded to at this Congress. We have heard reports from Negro delegates from various sections of the world. We have had a report from Comrade Ford, the chairman of the Negro Trade Union Committee of the RILU, dealing with the Negro trade union movement from an international aspect. We have also had reports from Negro delegates from the USA, Brazil, and, just this evening, from Negro workers who have come direct from Africa.

Comrades, the characterisation of the present crisis of world capitalism and its effects upon the working class as given to us here by Comrade Losovsky is quite correct. This analysis of world capitalism is of particular importance to the Negro toilers all over the world. As the crisis deepens, comrades, the capitalists and imperialists will not only try to find a way of escape by imposing rationalisation, wage-cuts and unemployment on the workers, in the metropolitan countries, but they will try to shift the crisis from the workers of the home countries of imperialism to the colonial and semi-colonial workers, and especially the Negro workers. They will seek them out as special objects of exploitation, not on account of the color of their skins, but because the Negro workers, despite recent manifestations of revolutionary struggles are still organisationally and politically the most backward section of the international working-class. We must recognise this as a fundamental fact in order that we will be able to work out tactical methods of approach for the various sections of the RILU.

Let us turn to the USA and check up on the activities of the Trade Union Unity League between the 4th and 5th Congress of the Profintern. What are the weaknesses? What are the strong points and achievements of the TUUL in America? We can safely say that we have to some extent combatted the right wing tendencies within the trade union work in America. The TUUL is today marching forward as the leader of big class battles in the USA under the leadership of the Communist Party. The 6th of March amply demonstrates the militant role of the TUUL. The TUUL has turned its face towards the South, which was always the center where the right wing elements have opposed any forms of activity in organising the Negro masses. In this respect we can say that the American section of the RILU has undertaken some forms of activity among the Negro workers in America.

But can we say as much in this respect of the Minority Movement in England? Let us face this problem sharply with our British comrades. What has the Minority Movement done with respect to its colonial tasks? You listened to Com. Allison this morning. It is very significant that Com. Allison, speaking upon the tasks and achievements of the Minority Movement, conveniently forgot to mention India which is a burning issue before us today; and, comrades, when a reporter from the British Minority Movement forgets to mention India, one can realise what part British Africa plays in the Minority Movement.

Recently we have had manifestations of the revolutionary awakening among the black workers in the British colonies of Africa and the West Indies. What concretely have been these manifestations of struggle among these black workers? As a result of the intensified rationalisation in these colonies, the misery of the black workers and peasants have increased themselves. Despite the fact that they are unorganised, despite the fact that they are politically and ideologically backward, they staged demonstrations against British imperialism in Nigeria. A mass uprising took place in that country and McDonald, the social-fascist lackey of British imperialism, ordered troops to fire upon these masses which resulted in the death of 85 women. But did our British comrades of the Minority Movement know about this; did they understand its significance? If so, we are still waiting for action from them.

Even more recently in Gambia, W. Africa, the young trade union movement had to struggle for the right to live. In a mass strike when the armed forces of imperialism were also brought into the streets against these workers, we heard a response among the workers in Britain, but not due to the Minority Movement. It was the Labour Research Dept. of Gr. Britain that protested. Since when does the Labor Research Dept. become the trade union leader of the working class? But it was they who issued a manifesto and not the Minority Movement. These are facts which the Minority Movement must face.

We must combat these tendencies of coming here and accepting resolutions adopted at Congress and not doing any work in the colonies.

Comrades, time is too limited for me to deal with all manifestations of this inertia, in the various sections of the RILU. However, I want to say a few words about the CGTU, the French section of the Profintern. Our French comrade who made a report this morning also forgot to mention anything of what the French comrades are doing with respect to their colonial tasks. We must remember that the whole of Africa is largely divided between Great Britain and France.

The French comrades also have a great responsibility in conducting activities in the African colonies of French imperialism; but our French comrades, like the British comrades, have failed up to now to understand this.

I want to draw the attention of the French comrades to stimulate work in the French countries, especially anti-militarist work. French imperialists will use black troops against the workers, as they used them in the last war, and our comrades must realise the importance of anti-militarist work among these colonial masses. They must also make contacts in the colonies and strengthen the trade union organisations.

It is regrettable that at this Fifth Congress we have not got a single Negro worker from the French colonies.

All this shows, comrades, the backwardness of our activities in these parts of the world.

In conclusion, comrades, I do not want to leave with you a pessimistic picture of our activities among the Negro workers. Thanks to the Negro Bureau in the Profintern, thanks to Comrade Losovsky's optimism and great enthusiasm in this work, we have made a forward step in recently holding a Conference of Negro workers in Hamburg. We made many mistakes in the preparations, but these mistakes can largely be attributed to the lack of contacts of the British Minority Movement, and French section of the Profintern with the colonies. We had to face this conference with very limited forces because our comrades in the English and French movements were unable to give us even the most elementary assistance. But this conference was of tremendous significance. It was the first time in the history of the Negro labour movement that such a conference had been convened. The representation was not as broad as we would have liked it and had anticipated, nevertheless, the political program and resolutions endorsed were 100% on our line, and it shows these Negro workers are no longer afraid of Bolshevism and are prepared to follow the leadership, not of Amsterdam, but of Moscow in fighting against imperialism.

In conclusion, let me say, comrades, to draw your attention to another significant fact to-day at our Conference in Moscow. At this 5th Congress of the Profintern, we are able to present from this rostrum Negro workers direct from the African colonies. These Negro workers are representatives of millions and millions of the most oppressed and exploited human-beings in the world, and the very fact that these delegates are here show that these masses instinctively realise there is one friend, one champion, one organisation on the trade union field that fights for their freedom and emancipation, and that is the Profintern. They, despite the many difficulties put in their way by the different imperialist governments, have come to Moscow to appeal to the British and French comrades and the Profintern to support their struggles and send organisers into their countries and help them ideologically and organisationally so they may be able to prepare for the battles in front of them, for the overthrow of world imperialism, for the emancipation of the workers and the colonial toilers.

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**THE NEGRO MOVEMENT IN NORTH AND LATIN AMERICA.**

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Comrade B e i f (USA).

Comrades, I am speaking in the name of the Trade Union Unity League, the American Section of the RILU.

Comrades, I will first deal with the work among Negro workers. This work, although just at its beginning, has proved that the line of the RILU is correct. The capitalists attempt to pass the burden of the economic crisis on to the unorganised workers, the masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, especially affecting the unorganised and unskilled Negro workers. Comrade Ford had already referred to this. In the South the agricultural crisis has affected millions of Negro peasants and agricultural workers. The bosses in additions have attacked the Negro workers by lynching, mob law, and terror in every form. Beginning with the 4th Congress, some work has been done by the Negro section of the RILU, in America especially. We see organisation developing in every industry of the United States; departments organised in the TUUL, a national department with Comrade Ford in charge. But, comrades, this is not yet sufficient for the work that must go on among the Negro workers.

This brings us to the point of international work among the Negro workers. The demonstration in New York City against the Marines in Haiti, showed the workers in Haiti that they have other workers fighting for them and demanding the withdrawal of the marines from the Haitian Islands. But yet we realise not sufficient work has been done in these Islands, and we must immediately send organisers there to help lead the struggles and organise a sub committee of the American section of the RILU.

Comrades, we all know what lynching means in America, and other parts of the world but we realise that insufficient organisational work has been going on to beat down this terror. We must take this matter very seriously, and do some real concrete work against it, organise efficiently to combat lynching, organise protest meetings and an International Protest Day against lynchings, in every country where this terror is used against the working class.

When we examine the work among Negroes, we can see very many accomplishments; drawing them in our unions, carrying on educational work among them, helping them to expose the role of the reformists. But yet, comrades, the work done is very insufficient. We do not approach the Negro masses as we should - we do not carry on work among them in the factories, draw them into shop committees, do every day to day work among them. But when our trade unions take the work seriously of organising them in the basic industries, in the factory, and mills, instead of waiting until we meet them on the streets or at our meetings, our task will be much more easy.

In Bicknell, Indiana, in the center of the coal district, a town where Negroes never entered where they had posted up "Negroes not allowed", there the white workers together with the Negro workers took one of our Negro leaders into this town, with the backing up of guns. This comrade went there with the protection of the white workers, and spoke from the court house steps. This proves that the fight for emancipation of the Negro race and self-determination is not only the fight of Negroes, but the fight of the workers of the entire working class.

The struggle of the Negro workers is the struggle of the white workers, the white workers must fight for the Negro workers against the terror of the bosses. The struggle of the Negro workers for our program cannot be achieved by the Negro alone; where the white workers stood with the black we can record defeats for chauvinists.

I want to point out here also we have paid very little attention to the agricultural workers. (These peasants and poor farmers who are slaving in the black belt of the South, must also be organised for struggle.) When we look at this question we must realise the necessity of work among these workers, drawing them in the TUUL with a concrete program of struggle, (and for self-determination).

Comrades, in speaking of the TUUL it is advancing and becoming apart and leader of the exploited Negroes in all industries. The TUUL is organising the Negroes in the metal worker, organising them in the needle trades, and organising them in the mining industry which is one of the special industries that is dominated by this crisis. The Negroes were facing the most miserable conditions, are slaving day to day under a lower standard than the white workers. This means that we must absolutely utilise all our forces, bring in new Negro organisers to help in the organisational work in our unions.

We have never made any real effort to bring in new Negro cadres into our revolutionary union in America, and only in the recent months, can we see Negroes coming in and taking leadership. This has shown us, comrades, why the Negro movement is not as great in America as it should be.

And, in the discussion of all the delegates from each and every country we are able to find that this also is the trouble with all our revolutionary unions throughout the world. We must therefore, pay much more attention to this question and train new cadres to take leadership in our revolutionary unions. Fighting in Birmingham, Tennessee and Gastonia was a turning point in the struggle of these workers against the bosses, Gastonia was the real starting point of these struggles which spread all over the South. These workers began to realise the importance of the TUUL and were glad to have our leadership in the fight against the southern mill owners.

Comrades, in conclusion, I would like to speak about this because it deals with our young Negro leadership. The effort that has been made to bring in Negro leaders is improving, but when they began work in our unions, some of the Negro Comrades became dissatisfied and accused the white workers of white chauvinism. This expresses itself in many forms. We all realise that this white chauvinism will hold the movement of the revolutionary unions back and must be determinedly fought against. In bringing in new cadres, in organising new unions, we must point out to the Negro masses and show them that we are absolutely for a full, social and political equality. Thus we will be able to bring the Negro masses into our revolutionary unions. They will struggle with us for the emancipation of the whole working class. (Applause.)

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Comrade Adams (U.S.A.).

Comrades, because of the rapidity of the development of the revolutionary movement in the colonial world and the vicious measures taken by the imperialist powers to crush it, it is necessary to emphasise here that our work of internationalising the trade union movement get on a new stage. Capitalism is consolidating its ranks on a world scale. The world banks, international cartels, like steel, international wage surveys that have for their object the lowering of the wages of the workers of the world to the lowest possible minimum, suggestions like the United States of Europe, suggestions like that of the British Empire for Empire free trade.... all these are consolidations on the economic front. But capitalism is also consolidating its ranks ideologically in its control of the workers.

I want to give just a few examples of the attempts to control the Negro workers. You remember the visit of General Smuts to America last year. When he was there he had conferences with the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Negroes and very plainly put to them the proposition of the leadership of the workers of Africa; and at this moment there is in South Africa one of these petty-bourgeois leaders of the American Negroes to establish control over the Negro workers of South Africa. You have, again, the gestures of the Amsterdam International and the International Labor Office at Geneva such as the conference on forced labor, where they decided that forced labor may be a bad thing but we cannot get rid of it right now. And in this decision they were supported by one of the petty-bourgeois Negroes of France, a member in the French parliament. I want to mention also the international conference of women in Vienna in the early part of this month. They had twelve Negro women delegates from America. On their return to America they will call a national conference of Negro women. I do not need to give you more instances of this consolidation of the imperialist front for the Negroes of the world.

This shows us we must consolidate our forces, and points to the measures we must take to adapt our work to the new period. The comrades in some imperialist countries, have in their efforts to help the revolutionary movements in the colonies held excellent demonstrations. In America they rallied hundreds of thousands of workers. The press campaign in England

have done much to call the attention of the English workers to the revolutionary movement in India and the trial of the Meerut prisoners, but today this is not enough. We must do something more today. We must begin to organise and do concrete work. I have a few suggestions. First of all, that now this work must be the task of the comrades in the metropolitan countries and I want to suggest in these countries (in America, in England and perhaps in France), you have Negroes from all the colonies of these imperialist countries, in some cases practically exiled.

In America we have thousands of these Negro workers; in England you have hundreds, and in France there must be some also. There is the task for us in working with them and drawing them into our movement in the metropolitan countries, organising them with the white workers in these countries.

First of all, comrades, we must build up a close contact between the metropolitan countries and the movement in the colonies.

We can learn from the imperialists themselves something about organisation. In Africa where it was the custom for the imperialists to destroy the native institutions of the African workers, they have stopped this, to a certain extent, and they are now using the social institutions of the African natives to control the African workers. They have made a communal form of organisation in Africa, which is somewhat similar to cooperative societies in capitalist countries. And the Government in the French colonies and in the English colonies have taken this cooperative society of the native Africans and have made a society which is really a Government workers' institution, through which they work and control the workers.

I would like to draw your attention to one contradiction among the imperialists, and that is the penetration of America into Africa. America has been late in getting into Africa but she is using many methods in establishing control. There are hypocritical slavery investigations in Liberia and Abyssinia; she has sent experts in there to investigate schools and has established schools in different parts of Africa.

American finance is going into Africa in large quantities. In the Belgian Congo much money is invested in the copper mines, and the latest example that everyone knows is the enormous investment of Firestone in Liberia. There is another example of an African company which is building the dam on the Nile in Abyssinia. We must learn from the imperialists to find new methods of reaching and getting into these countries. It is a very difficult question but it is one of our tasks.

I said that the capitalists are establishing ideological control over the workers, in the colonies. Comrades, we must challenge this control of the imperialists and their agents. We must challenge this control that is being established through the II International or through their agents and lackeys, the petty bourgeois Negro intellectuals and leaders, <sup>whose names</sup> and show that they are planning for the betrayal of the Negro workers.

In order to do this we must build up our press in the colonies. The Negro workers not only in the colonies, but also in America, lack information. The Negro workers in America know very little about the heroic fight of the Chinese workers, very little about the revolutionary movement of the workers of India; they know almost nothing of the movement in South Africa, simply because our press is very small and very weak.

Comrades, more than anything else, these concrete measures will raise the tempo of our movement, which is very necessary at this period. We will be able to conserve the gains of the revolution; we will also strengthen the movement in the metropolitan countries; we will make real to the workers in the colonies the solidarity of the workers of the world. (Applause).

A Southern Textile Worker. \*

Comrades, I bring to you greetings to the Fifth Congress of the RILU in the name of the seven Gastonian prisoners, in the name of thousands of exploited workers in the South.

You hear of the prosperity that we have in America. That is all right for the capitalists. The prosperity for the workers is 12 long hours of hard slavery in the textile and steel mills. We work from 10 to 12 hours a day. But, comrades, we, the workers of the South, are awakening to the fact that the way to fight the capitalists --- we have woken up that the only way to fight the capitalists is with the RILU. Our answer of the working class in the South you can see today will be in the wind-up. The workers in the South will answer the capitalists with the sword of the RILU.

In the South children go to work at the age of 9 to 12 years old. I went to work 12 long hours in the mill when I was 12 and have been working for 14 years in a textile plant.

These workers, the white workers, have always been told to hate the colored workers, but the black and white workers are putting their shoulders to the wheel in solidarity to fight together to win better conditions for their living. The workers have learned that it is not a race question but a bread-and-butter question. They have learned very well to fight. Now the workers in many plants of the Southern States are meeting in solidarity and demanding unemployment relief. Before if the white workers had been told to sit in a hall with colored workers they would have thought they would have been discredited for life. The reason the bosses divided the workers was so that they would not come together to fight capitalists.

Us, workers in the South, appreciate what the National Textile Workers' Union woke us up to and educated the South and learned us to fight. Before we had organisations of the American Federation of Labour which refused to organise the colored and low-paid workers, but with the NTWU entering the South we found the only way to better conditions was organisations of all the workers.

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\*This comrade is a Southern born white worker. He has been employed since his childhood days in the sweat-mills of North Carolina for the paltry sum of \$15 per week.

When the National Textile Workers' Union, a left wing organisation affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League entered the South in 1929 and began to organise the black and white textile workers together, our comrade was one of the first white workers to join the union. He took an active part in all of the struggles of the workers, and was arrested during the Gastonia strike and charged with the "crime" of organising Negroes into the same union with the whites. For this the comrade along with six others has been sentenced to twenty years in jail. The Social-Fascist leaders of the American Federation of Labour actively aided the textile barons in rail roading these militants to the dungeons of capitalism.

Despite all the attempts of the capitalists and their agents - the American Federation of Labour bureaucrats and the socialists - to crush the spirit of the workers, the struggle continued to spread throughout the South arising thousands and thousands of black and white workers to organise and fight for better conditions.

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Comrade Hernandez, (Cuba).

**Comrades,**

The general conditions of the Negro race in the Latin-American countries deserves our closest and most serious attention; this problem cannot be solved merely by the short speeches made at the international Congress. Here we shall limit ourselves only to the speech made by Comrade Hernandez at the V RILU Congress, who in the near future intends to occupy himself with thoroughly studying up the problem of the Negro in the Latin-American countries, both from a political as well as from a social-economic point of view. These analyses will concern both the Negro natives of Latin-America as well as those imported by the imperialists for work on the sugar, banana and other plantations.

Up till now the revolutionary proletariat of Latin-America has not come to realise the vast significance of studying up the social problems of these countries; even after the Congress in Montevideo, at which these questions were raised in a most concise and detailed form by the revolutionary organisations, and when it was already possible to speak of the organisation and leadership of battles, waged by the Negro against their slave conditions, even after this Congress no steps for analysing the social problems have been taken.

Therefore, the "L'Ouvrière Negro" considers it expedient to print Comrade Hernandez's speech. It is essential that all revolutionary organisations, jointly with the trade unions of Latin-America, standing on the platform of the class struggle, give due consideration to the significance of these problems and occupy themselves seriously with recruiting and lining up the wide masses of Negro workers in these countries.

This campaign must by no means take on a sort of philanthropical, altruistic or charity nature. (Precisely this is the form in which this question has been raised by Sarvez and all other social-reformists analysing the Negro question). Work among the Negro toilers must become an integral part of the common struggle waged by the revolutionary proletariat against all exploitation and oppression.

Only in this way will it be possible to carry on real effective revolutionary work. We must avoid that among the wide masses of Negro toilers the impression arises that white chauvinism has its supporters even in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat.

Comrades, I greet the V Congress of the RILU in the name of the eleven million Negro workers living in the Latin-American countries.

For the Negro workers of Latin-America, as for the international proletariat, the V Congress of the RILU has great importance and extraordinary significance.

The present period, the period in which the working class is now living a period of sharpening, a period of increasing contradictions, a period of sharpening inter-imperialist struggle, of sharpening of the struggle within the capitalist countries - places before the international proletariat tasks and problems from which the Negro proletariat of Latin America cannot stand apart.

Comrade Ford, in his co-report, was not able to touch on the problems relating to the Negro proletariat of Latin America. And that is why the Latin American delegation, which has already discussed in the Montevideo Congress, which has already discussed in the Latin American trade union Confederation, not only the problem of the Negroes in Latin America, but which said that the Latin American proletariat had two problems before it - this delegation wishes to put in a word here. In reality, in Latin America, there are not only Negroes, but also Indians, living as an oppressed class, as an exploited class, and not only as a class, but also as a race.

In the Congress at which the Latin American Trade Union Confederation was founded, we raised this race problem in Latin America in its broad outlines, and we come to the conclusion that the proletariat of Latin America, that the international proletariat, have a very important task, a task which cannot be shifted elsewhere: the solution of these two problems.

As concerns the Negro workers of Latin America, we see here a veritable heterogeneity, a real mixture, for we have in Latin America Negro

workers who speak English, Negro workers who speak Spanish, Negro workers who speak Dutch, Negro workers who speak Portuguese.

In all the different regions of Latin America, the Negroes make up an element which, although not having the external characteristics of the Negroes in the United States, are in practice subjected to the same hostility, the same fierce hatred in all the countries of Latin America.

For instance, we find, that, although the Negro race exists in all countries without exception, and in all the countries of Latin America in a greater or less proportion, there are places where imperialism has concentrated the Negro race, not only the native Negroes, but the Negroes recently imported from the Antilles, from Jamaica, from Guadeloupe and from other places. We find at Choko (Columbia) a large number of Negro workers, doing the hardest and most unhealthy work in the mines. We find in Gubb, on the sugar plantations, Negro workers from Haiti, from Jamaica and even native Negroes cultivating sugar-beet. We find in Panama, Negro workers also working on the sugar plantations and banana plantations, and also working on the canal. And all these Negroes are under the control and the domination of American imperialism.

At Porto-Rico, at Santo Domingo, at Venezuela, in the Atlantic region of Mexico, in all these places, we find Negroes doing agricultural labor, and sometimes working in the mines also.

And what are the conditions of these workers? When we speak of the conditions under which the agricultural laborers live in Latin America, we take in general a typical agricultural laborer, but do not say that the Negro workers, the Indian workers, are subjected to a fiercer oppression, to criminal exploitation.

For instance, Negro workers are brought to Cuba from Jamaica, Haiti, etc., are brought in on boats, resembling the boats of the colonial period when Negroes were being brought to America.

We see that when they arrive, they are kept from all contact with the national population, and as an argument in favor of this, a number of points are raised.

If we see, for instance, that in Guatemala, in Honduras, the Negro agricultural worker is in an advantageous position as concerns wages, it is because he has more physical vigor, because he is more used to work, and he is taken as the standard of work to force the weaker workers to do equal work with the Jamaica Negroes.

Comrades, the lack of time prevents me from picturing the conditions under which the Negro and Indian workers of Latin America are exploited.

What have our organisations done? After the Montevideo Congress, we were able to state that all the organisations of Latin America have done nothing, absolutely nothing, to carry out the resolutions of the Montevideo Congress on the Negro and Indian workers.

There is a characteristic fact which shows how big is this right opportunist deviation of the revolutionary proletariat of America. The Brazilian comrade said here the other day that the trade unions of Brazil are not developing into powerful mass organisations. Brazil is precisely the country where there are eight million Negro workers, and up to now these eight million Negro workers are not enrolled in the revolutionary movement. That is why the trade unions of Brazil will always be feeble, will never be able to transform themselves into real mass organisations.

The most serious defect which our movement shows in relation to this problem is that our comrades consider the question of the organisation of the Negro workers as a quite secondary matter, do not see the double aspect of the question, and think that this problem will be solved as soon as the bourgeois constitutions grant the Negroes (on paper) the same rights as the whites. The shameful race prejudice, the exclusion of Negro workers from labor that is not harmful, making it the more easy for the bourgeoisie to exploit all the workers --- these things the majority of the militants of the revolutionary trade union movement do not see.

It is necessary that this Congress categorically condemn this attitude because, besides embodying a revisionist conception, it is ~~also~~ impermissible

passivity on the part of the militants of the revolutionary trade union movement. If the revolutionary trade unions of Latin America do not approach seriously and consistently the question of studying the conditions and situation of the Negro workers of these countries, all the work of the Montevideo Congress in this respect will be a dead letter, and the fundamental task of the conquest of the majority of the working class for the revolutionary trade unions - "Face to the Masses" - will remain undone.

Comrades, we could raise many more questions concerning the life of the Negroes in Latin America, but it is impossible because of lack of time.

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NEGRO DELEGATION SUPPORTS THE  
FIVE-YEARS' PLAN.

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After the report of Comrade Schwernik, on "The tasks of the Trade Unions in the Reconstruction Period", Comrade Padmore on behalf of the Negro Delegates to the Congress delivered the following speech:

Comrades, on behalf of the Negro delegations from the United States of America, Latin America and Africa, I have been instructed to say a few words on the report that we heard this morning in connection with the industrialization of the Soviet Union and the building up of socialism.

First of all, we would like to take this opportunity of expressing our revolutionary solidarity with the Russian workers and peasants in the building of socialism, and in the carrying out of their Five-Year Plan. We, the Negro delegates to this Congress, have followed with profound interest and proletarian enthusiasm the remarkable achievements of the Russian workers and the Soviet power in the fields of industry and agriculture, and feel confident that our Russian comrades under the Bolshevik leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will complete their plan in five years, or even in four years. We have heard and seen very much during our stay in the Soviet Union, and this confirms our opinion that the Russian workers will be successful in their undertaking. This further refutes the lies and slanders of the bourgeoisie that the Soviet Union is going to the dogs.

Now comrades, what does the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union mean to the international working class? At this time when world capitalism is faced with a deep going crisis, the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union means the accentuation of this crisis. For every factory constructed, every mill opened, every mill created, every mile of railway track laid, every tractor built, every ship constructed, every foot of earth brought within the sector of collectivization, means a fatal blow to world capitalism.

More than this, comrades; the building up of socialism further means the solving of the racial problem. This is of tremendous importance, especially to the Negroes in the United States of America and in Brazil, where the national minority questions are burning and acute problems. The building up of socialism in the Soviet Union shows us how to solve racial conflicts. We will be able to put an end to this so-called race problem because these minorities that now live in the United States and in countries like Brazil, will be given autonomy, will be given the right to govern themselves. Also, we see how this question of chauvinism is dealt with by the Soviet power. Just a few days ago we had a glaring illustration of a chauvinistic manifestation by a white American worker in Stalingrad. The Russian workers, led by their trade unions, did not pamper this white chauvinist, but they rallied their forces not only in Stalingrad but throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union and demonstrated their strength against this bourgeois ideology, white chauvinism.

This is of significance to the white comrades, and shows them the correct way in which to combat white chauvinism, not only by expelling members from the trade unions and parties, but we must demonstrate before the broad toiling masses of the Negro workers in the United States and the world that the only correct way to fight white chauvinism is by carrying on a broad campaign among the masses.

Comrades, let me say that the Negro workers understand all this; we see in the Soviet Union and the Five Year Plan a hope and inspiration, a weapon on our behalf against the bourgeoisie that will break the chains of imperialism that today enslave us. Therefore, we will do our best to defend the Soviet Union in case it is attacked by the imperialists.

Now a few words about the war danger. Comrades, the Right and "Lefts" might pretend not to know what the building of socialism means,

but the international bourgeoisie realises quite well that the building of socialism means an end to their robbery and exploitation and, because they realise that their days are numbered, they are feverishly making preparations for war. At no time has the attack upon the Soviet Union been so imminent as it is today.... We see glaring illustrations of this; we see how the international imperialists, especially the British, French and Americans are instigating the Chinese war lords to attack the Soviet Union. We see the role of the MacDonald social-fascist Government in brutally putting down every manifestation of colonial revolt; we see today the manoeuvres of the American bourgeoisie with all their insinuations to the effect that the Soviet Union Trading Company in New York is responsible for communist propaganda. This is for the purpose of depriving the Soviet Union of an export market. All of these, comrades, are tendencies leading towards war.

Therefore, the question is, how can we Negro workers best prepare ourselves to defend the Soviet Union, our Fatherland. We must adopt more energetically methods to strengthen our working class organisations; we must continue to develop and foster the spirit of internationalism among ourselves; we must take greater interest in the movement of the working class not only of the metropolitan countries, but also of the colonial countries. We must realise that the struggles in China and in India are our struggles against the common enemy. We Negro workers must also conduct a more relentless fight against all forms of reformism, against Gerveyism, which is nothing less than black reformism.

If we assign ourselves, comrades, to these tasks we will be better able to turn the imperialist war into a Civil War against the bosses and for the emancipation and freedom, not only of the Negro toilers, but of the entire workingclass. I pledge to this Congress in the name of the Negro delegates from the United States, Brazil, Latin America and Africa, that we will go back to our respective countries and continue to spread the achievements of Socialism in the Soviet Union among our comrades. We will continue to build up our ranks. We will continue to march forward, and we feel confident that when the opportunity presents itself for the final struggle against imperialism, we will take our places in the vanguard, of the international revolutionary movement for the establishment of the world Socialism.

Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live the achievements of the revolutionary workers of the Soviet Union and the Five Year Plan!

Long live the international revolutionary movement!

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## RESOLUTIONS ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

### 1. The Tasks of the Revolutionary Movement in Africa.

(The following excerpt from the colonial and semi-colonial thesis deals with the tasks of the RILU supporters in carrying on revolutionary work in Africa).

#### NEGRO AFRICA.

The African continent is acquiring increasing importance as an object of capitalist exploitation. The imperialist powers are beginning to take increasing "interest" in Equatorial Africa. Since the world war efforts for capitalist exploitation of the African colonies have become not only popular in the imperialist circles of France and Belgium, but are more and more gaining ground in England, which is energetically exploiting Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, (East Africa), the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, (West Africa). The United States, in turn, are building vast plans for the "peaceful" conquest of certain territories in Africa: Liberia (rubber), Abyssinia, Sudan (cotton).

The intensified imperialist pressure on these colonies is meeting with growing resistance from the toiling masses, in particular from the labour movement (strikes in Gambia, Congo, Rhodesia, and elsewhere).

The conditions for the labour and trade union movements differ very largely in these countries. In a number of African colonies up till very recently the system of slavery was very widespread. Forced labour is still very widely applied. And it was only recently that "free" proletarians appeared, and simultaneously the embryo of the trade union movement (Sierra Leone, Congo, Mozambique). The organisations, however, are still very weak.

The central task in these countries should be to organise the industrial proletariat which, despite its small numbers, is nevertheless the main basis of the world trade union movement in these countries. Leaning on these class organisations of the proletariat, efforts must be exerted to draw in the unions the day labourers and handicraft workers, who comprise the greater majority of the urban proletariat in these countries.

The membership must be differentiated in the existing craft unions by gradually squeezing out the non-proletarian elements (in the first place the small owners). At the same time the handicraftsmen and small traders should be organised in cooperatives, which should be subjected to the constant control of the trade unions.

3. It is necessary to fight for the formation of unions in which the native and foreign workers should unite.

4. The existence of many millions of agricultural labourers in these colonies makes it imperative to organise them (first and foremost at the big plantations). At the same time close connections must be set up between the agricultural workers' and industrial workers' unions to defend the interests of the semi-proletarian elements in the villages.

5. In view of the weakness of the proletariat leading nuclei in the trade union movement of these countries, and the danger arising therefrom of the trade union movement being distracted from the class struggle towards the narrow policy of bourgeois nationalism and class collaboration, the revolutionary trade union movement of these countries is faced with the vital task of training and creating proletarian cadres.

The central problem of the trade union movement in South Africa was and still remains that of labour and the hostile attitude which has been set up between the organisations of white, native and coloured workers who comprise the overwhelming majority of the South African proletariat. According to tradition the white workers look upon the coloured workers as scabs.

In reality, however, it is precisely the native workers who in recent years have displayed great activity in several strikes, some of which were of an outstanding revolutionary character (dockers' strike in Durban,

railwaymen's strike in East London, agricultural workers' strike in Cape province, demonstration to parliament in Cape Town, bloody clashes with the police in Worcester, etc.).

Despite the fact that the "Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union" the only mass organisation of native workers, as the result of the treacherous activities of its leaders, and in the first place of its chief Kadellie, has broken up into three hostile groups and lost most of its members, this union, or rather its remnants, still displays greater activity in directing the struggle of the native workers than the "Federation of Native Workers" affiliated to the RILU (formed in the summer of 1928, affiliated to the RILU at the beginning of 1929). True, the Federation has conducted a few small strikes, but has as yet failed to occupy an influential place in the native labour movement. Both numerically and organisationally the unions belonging to the Federation are still very weak, and furthermore unite workers engaged secondary industries, (laundry workers, furniture makers, clothing workers, etc.). The Federation has not yet approached the basic cadres of the South African working class, who are engaged in agriculture, mining, and in the transport industry. The experience of the Cape branch of the South African National Congress, however, shows that the successful organisation of the more backward agricultural workers is quite possible.

The tasks confronting the RILU supporters in South Africa are as follows: 1) to draw into the revolutionary trade union movement the unorganised workers, and in the first place those employed in the basic industries (mining, transport, and agriculture), setting up new revolutionary unions of native workers in these industries. Besides this a revolutionary TU opposition must be organised in the existing unions, such as the coloured, native, as well as in the white unions. The revolutionary TU Opposition must work in close contact and under the direct leadership of the revolutionary TU centre. 2) A most important task is the struggle against the colour bar and white chauvinism. No compromising with this fundamental evil in the South African labour movement must be tolerated. 3) Simultaneously we should expose the treacherous role of the reformist leaders of both the white and the native unions. A conciliatory attitude to Kadellie, Champion and Bellinger, these three most influential leaders of the groupings into which the "I.C.W.U." has collapsed, as well as the to other reformist leaders, must be considered both wrong and harmful. The realisation of all these tasks calls for the most energetic leadership of the working class struggles on the part of the Federation and the RILU supporters. The Federation must strive to head the strikes even when they have been declared by unions which do not belong to it or by unorganised workers. 5) In drawing the native workers into the trade union movement the Federation must follow the line of the further unification, in its ranks not only the coloured and native, but also the white workers, in order to become the international trade union centre in South Africa. 6) The Federation must maintain the closest connections with the National Minority Movement of Great Britain and with the R.I.L.U.



2. Special Resolution on Work among Negroes in the United States and the Colonies.

(The following resolution dealing specifically with work among Negro workers in the United States of America and the colonial and semi-colonial countries was adopted by the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U.)

1928/1929

1. The Negro workers are one of the most oppressed and exploited sections of the working class, in view of the fact that they are the object not only of capitalist, but also of pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, as slave agreements (passage), forced and contract labor, and other forms of masked slavery.

The oppressed conditions of the Negro workers become even more acute thanks to a whole number of specific race limitations, as, for example, the prohibition of Negroes to move into sections inhabited by whites, the prohibition of Negroes to visit public places together with the whites, the prohibition of Negroes to walk the streets after a certain hour, the introduction of special passport systems, not only limiting the right to go from place to place within one country, but even within the boundaries of one of some towns, the system of secluding the Negro workers in special barracks (compounds), specially guarded, and frequently encircled by barbed wire, special head and hat taxes, meant only for Negroes, and, as a whole, the complete system of race isolation, known as "Jim-Crowism", etc.

In a number of countries, where the Negro workers work together with the whites (USA, South Africa, Brazil, and elsewhere), the Negroes, in view of the color-bar, are not permitted to work on a whole number of jobs on which only whites can be occupied. As a rule, the Negroes are given the worst work, and receive less wages as compared to other workers.

White chauvinism, supported and developed by the bourgeoisie, as well as the rapidly increasing lynching and massacres of Negroes, all tend to worsen the already horrible living conditions of the Negro proletariat. The agents of the landowners and capitalists, the bourgeoisie is endeavouring to split the ranks of the workers, to intensify race differences, in order to disarm the workers and strengthen capitalism", (Lenin).

The agricultural and industrial crisis in the USA, in the African colonies and in the West Indies, Latin-America, etc., serves to intensify still more the exploitation of the Negro workers. The capitalists, in their effort to unload the difficulties of the crisis onto the backs of the working class have undertaken a particularly severe offensive against the Negro workers. The Negroes are the first to be thrown out onto the streets. In the USA, out of the industrial Negro proletariat of 2,000,000, there are to-day nearly 500,000 out of work. The number of unemployed Negroes in South Africa is also growing. The wages of the Negro workers are being cut, and their already long working day lengthened still more. The expropriation of land, which has been effected all along, is being intensified to ever greater degrees owing to the agrarian crisis which increases the reserve army of unemployed. In South Africa, the Hertzog Government, in order to provide farmers with cheap labor power, has introduced a law which actually means the legislation of serfdom for the native rural population in Natal and the Transvaal.

2. The offensive of the bourgeoisie and the severe labor and living conditions of the Negro workers has tended to raise significantly their class consciousness and the development of mass activity for waging the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors.

In the USA, South Africa, Gambia, the West Indies, etc., the Negro workers have waged a number of strikes, struggling to improve their conditions, for increased wages and for the right to organize. The strikes led to bloody collisions with the police and soldiers. In the USA, the Negro workers participated in strikes, under the leadership of the Red trade unions, especially under the leadership of the Miners' Union. In Indiana (USA) the white and black workers closed up their ranks for the struggle against race limitations and for unity in the struggle of the black and white workers. In Georgia (in the South of the USA), as well as Birmingham, New Orleans, etc., one of the central issues of the strikes and demonstrations of the textile and other workers was the struggle for the unity of the white and black workers. The fierce and stubborn strikes in Gambia (West Africa), and South Africa were a fine demonstration of the ferocity of resistance and determination of the Negro workers to struggle against capitalism.

3. The bourgeoisie and its Social-Fascist agencies, in order to check the further development of the revolutionary movement of the Negro toiling masses, make use of two methods. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie, by force of arms, suppresses all strikes, demonstrations, uprisings and other revolutionary mass manifestations of the workers. The butchery in Haiti by the USA Government, the mass murders in Nigeria, carried out by the British "Labor" Government, were fully supported both by the AF of L, as well as by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress and the Amsterdam International.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie and its lackeys from the AF of L, the General Council and other similar organisations, strain all efforts to further the spread of reformism and national-reformism among the negro working masses. Of all forms of ideological deceit, the most dangerous is "Garveyism" denying the class struggle, and the possibility of the revolutionary struggle of the negro masses for self-determination. Garveyism is carrying out the reactionary policy of the Negro bourgeoisie under the slogan of "Back to Africa". The "Back to Africa" movement has already led Garvey to form a union with the Ku-Klux Klan in the USA, to settling up close contacts with the French and British imperialists. Du-Bois, Randolph, Schyler and Pickens play a no less treacherous role, the latter coming out openly for the maintenance of the imperialist soldiers in the Negro colonies. The leaders of the different groups of the industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, the leaders of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters of the USA, in the same way betray the class interests of the negro workers and the rank-and-file members of their organisations to the capitalists. On the USA the leadership of the NAACP with its program of support of the capitalist and social-fascist parties must be fought relentlessly.

4. The revolutionary class movement of the Negro workers and the Negro workers' organisations in the revolutionary trade unions during the period which elapsed between the IV and V RILU Congresses have by far not reached that stage of development which was possible for them in view of the present favourable objective conditions. The weakness of our work in the USA can be proved by the still insignificant number of Negro workers in the trade unions, and the extremely insufficient promotion of Negro workers to leading trade union work. These weaknesses can particularly be felt in the South of the USA, where great numbers of negro workers are concentrated, and where in many places the Negroes form the overwhelming majority of the toiling population.

In South Africa, the native rederation has so far not become a real mass organisation and still remains a small-scale sectarian group. The rederation has not succeeded so far in penetrating the basic branches of the economy of South Africa --- the mining industry agriculture railroads, etc, in which vast masses of Negroes are occupied.

In the West-Indies and in the Latin - American countries the organisation of Negro workers into the class trade unions has practically not been started even.

The RILU affiliated Sections in the imperialist countries: France, England, Belgium), have maintained practically no connections with the labor movement of the Negro colonies of these countries. The recent conference of Negro workers in Hamburg brought to the fore --- and proved clearly not only the big weaknesses of the different RILU affiliated sections of this regard, but showed up also the complete underestimation and opportunist attitude towards the question of the political significance and organisation of the Negro workers for the world revolutionary labour movement.

It is essential, however, that the class-conscious Negro workers came to realise that the responsibility for the many weaknesses and shortcomings in the negro work falls to a great degree to them, owing to the fact that it is the direct result of their inertia and lack of initiative. The advanced section of the negro workers must understand that it is their duty to go seriously about organising the masses of Negro workers. The RILU supporters, among the negro workers, must start to carry out the most important task---of waging the struggle for winning over the majority of the masses of negro workers to the banner of the RILU, and for lining up the vast numbers of negro workers into the class trade unions.

5. The V RILU Congress calls on the RILU affiliated sections and on all RILU supporters in the USA, France, Belgium, Africa, Latin-America, and the West Indies, to start immediately an energetic campaign for mobilising and organising the negro workers. This should be carried out on the basis of a practical programme of action, which must include the following demands and tasks:

a) The seven-hour working day; equal pay for equal work; social insurance at the expense of the employers and the state in case of sickness,

incapacity, old-age, unemployment; the protection of female and child labour; the abolition of forced and contract labor and all vagrancy laws; the abolition of the compound system; the improvement of housing conditions, and the abolition of Jim-Crowism.

b) The mobilisation of the workers for the struggle against lynching, massacres, police and military terrorism; against all limitation of the abolition rights for Negro workers; against all race barriers; against all anti-native and anti-labour legislation; against reformism and class collaboration; for the immediate evacuation by the imperialists of all Negro colonies and for complete independence and the right to self-determination till the complete separation of these colonies, and for the right to self-determination of the Negro workers in the Southern States of the USA.

6. One of the basic tasks of the revolutionary trade unions in countries where there are great number of Negro workers, is the lining up of these workers into the revolutionary trade unions. Wherever there are separate trade unions of white and black workers it is essential prior to the complete merging of these parallel unions, to use all opportunities for setting up the united front from below for waging a joint struggle against the employers. For the organisation of this united front and for waging the campaign, for single united trade union it is necessary to set up unity Committees, which must carry on a most relentless struggle against all white chauvinism and for uniting the workers of one and same branch of industry into one union, regardless of race, color, etc.

7. Work among the wide masses of Negro workers must be carried on the shop basis. It is essential to carry on energetic activities for establishing factory committees and revolutionary shop delegates, elected by all the workers of the given enterprises, regardless of whether they are organised or unorganised. The setting up of factory committees and revolutionary shop delegates must be carried out on the basis of an energetic struggle against all reformists and reactionaries, against all theories of class collaboration, and for the revolutionary line of the class struggle. The factory committees should be turned into real militant organs, fighting against the offensive of Capital, for the improvement of the workers' conditions.

8. One of the primary tasks of the factory committees should be the organisation of self-defence corps, in order to guard against the attacks of Fascist and police gangs, and also for defending the Negro from lynchings and massacres, when organising the self-defence corps, it is essential to get the close collaboration of all workers, at the enterprise, regardless of race, color and religion. The self-defence corps have to defend the pickets during strikes and must carry on an active struggle against the strikebreakers. The factory committees are obliged to make reports of their activities regularly at general meetings of all workers of the given enterprise.

In these places where, owing to the small number of RILU supporters or owing to the Fascist-police terror and also owing to espionage, it is impossible to set up open factory committees, it is essential to establish initiatory groups of the RILU supporters, which must carry on organisational and agitational activities among the workers, mobilising the masses for election of Red factory committees.

9. In their strike struggles, the Negro workers, must take as their guide the decisions adopted by the Strassburg Conference on strike tactics and the decisions of the RILU. For preparing and waging a strike or other manifestations of the workers, special strike committees or fighting committees should be elected by the widest possible masses of workers. The task of the strike committees and fighting committees is to prepare and carry out the struggle, regardless of and despite the wishes of the reformist and reactionary TU bureaucracy.

10. The revolutionary trade unions must intensify their work for recruiting the Negro workers. These recruiting activities should be carried out particularly energetically during strikes and mass movements. Especially great attention should be paid to rallying the workers in those branches of industry where the basic masses of Negro workers are employed.

11. The Negro women workers and the working youth are subject to even

greater and more brutal and merciless exploitation than the Negro adult workers, and for this reason the question of drawing into the struggle and the class organisations of the Negro women workers and Negro youth should be one of the most important organisational and political tasks in the work of the RILU followers among the Negro toiling masses.

12. The intensified organisation of the Negro workers demands the rapid training of corresponding Negro cadres. Serious attention must be given to promoting workers and women workers from the point of production to leading work, not only in the rank-and-file organisations, but also to the central organs of the revolutionary trade unions. In order to train these workers it is essential to organise special schools, short-term courses, and also issue special literature.

13. The supporters of the RILU must intensify their activities within the reformist and reactionary trade unions, in which significant numbers of Negro workers are lined up, and carry on there a relentless struggle against the reformists of all shades and colors, as, for example: against the reformist bureaucracy of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, against the various groups of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, etc. It is essential to win over to the side of the revolutionary trade unions those masses of Negro workers, who still continue to follow in the footsteps of the reactionary leaderships.

14. The revolutionary press should play a great part in the work of organising the Negro workers. It is essential to strengthen the existing Negro revolutionary press and to begin immediately publishing revolutionary trade union papers in those Negro countries, where there are none so far. A number of popular pamphlets with regard to the building of revolutionary trade unions and the international labor movement, etc., should be issued.

15. Among the Negro workers, used by the imperialists for their black armies, it is essential to carry on systematic agitational-propaganda work for the purpose of drawing them into the general front of the struggle against imperialism and against the preparations of a fresh imperialist war and in defence of the USSR. Simultaneously, it is necessary to explain to the wide Negro working masses the treacherous role of the Negro bourgeoisie, and also of the Negro reformists, who went over to the camp of the imperialists and fulfill the role of agents of imperialism in the ranks of the Negro workers.

16. The RILU affiliated Sections in France, in the USA, England and Belgium should set up and maintain the closest possible connections with the revolutionary labor movement in the Negro colonies, of their countries for the purpose of rendering it permanent help and support.

17. The RILU supporters should intensify their activities within the reformist reactionary trade unions where there are great numbers of Negro workers and carry on a relentless struggle against the reformists of all forms, colors, etc.

The V RILU Congress calls on all RILU followers to pay uppermost attention to the work of organising the Negro workers, thus rallying the last remainders of the proletarian reserves to the international revolutionary movement. It must be borne in mind that the work of organising the Negro workers is the cause of the whole proletariat, and not only of the advanced sections of the Negro workers themselves. White RILU adherents must be in the forefront of this work.

The work among the Negroes must not be separated from the work among other foreign and other colonial toilers.

The V RILU Congress charges the Executive Bureau with making all efforts to intensify and develop the work of the Negro Workers' International TU Committee, in order that it carries out effectively the decisions adopted at this Congress.

## On the Activities of the International TU Committee of Negro Workers.

The problem of organising Negro workers and of strengthening the influence of the RILU among them was a burning problem even before the Fourth Congress and attracted considerable attention in the E.C. of the RILU. While discussing the activities of the U.S.A., African, British and French Sections affiliated to the RILU, the E.C. especially pointed out their tasks in regard to activities among Negroes. Any inactivity in this respect was severely criticised. But work among Negroes in spite of all the efforts of the E.C. is still one of the weakest spots in the activities of the RILU sections; this gave rise to the necessity of creating a special organisation for TU work among Negroes. This problem was practically discussed at the Fourth RILU Congress and it was resolved to convene a conference for working out plan for enlivening of the activities among Negro workers. The E.C. of the RILU, therefore, in July 1928 convened a conference of delegates from countries with a Negro population who arrived for the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. After carefully considering the problem it was resolved to create in the RILU an international TU committee of Negro workers charging it with the task of drawing Negro workers into the existing trade unions or furthering the creation of new unions and of uniting the wide masses of the Negro proletariat on the basis of the class-struggle. Special attention was paid by the TU committee to the United States of America and South Africa where it is connected with organisations directly affiliated to the R.I.L.U.

With respect to the USA the TU committee directed the Trade Union Unity League to strengthen TU work among Negroes, to draw them into new unions and to entrust a larger number of Negro workers with leading TU work. The TU Committee met with many obstacles in this line of its work while the right leaders of the Communist Party of America were still at their posts. The leaders simply ignored the TU committee. Only after the right elements had been expelled from the party, work among Negroes was started which immediately made itself felt by the increase of the influence of the TUUL among the masses of the Negro workers.

The TU Committee did a lot of work in South Africa in directing the Federation of Native TU organised in March 1928 and affiliated to the RILU since February 1929. The TU Committee kept up regular communication, sent out instructions and helped the young organisation to become a really militant unit of the Red International. (The reports of the corresponding organisations will bring more details about the work among Negroes in these countries).

Direct relations with other countries are one of the most important tasks with which the TU Committee is faced.

The TU Committee publishes a bulletin, "The Negro Worker", in French and English containing information and directives, printed also resolutions and programs concerning the work among the Negro proletariat. Five issues were published between 1928 and 1929. The bulletin became a monthly in 1930 and since March 1st, it has been published twice a month in connection with the preparation for the Fifth International RILU Congress and the Hamburg Conference.

### International Negro Workers' Conference.

Much work had to be done by the TU Committee in preparing the International Negro Workers' Conference in Hamburg on July 1, 1930. The necessity of convening the Conference was pointed out by the Chairman of the TU Committee at a meeting of delegates to the Second Anti-Imperialist League Congress in Frankfurt of Main. A temporary TU Committee of Negro workers was elected to take upon itself the organisation of the Conference. Comrade Ford was elected chairman of the provisional committee; he had been the chairman of the TU Committee of Negro workers in the RILU before that.

It is quite clear that the provisional committee could fulfil its tasks only with the help of the organisations, the delegates of which had been

present at the meeting. And the greatest amount of work fell to the share of the International TU Committee in the RILU which incessantly pointed out the tasks that had to be tackled by the affiliated organisations in order to guarantee the success of the Conference. The TU Committee also discussed the problems that were on the agenda of the Conference and prepared the corresponding resolutions.

### The Negro Movement.

The organisation of the TU Committee coincided with the beginning of fierce struggles of the Negro masses against imperialism. Very serious demonstrations of the working masses against capitalist exploitation in different parts of Africa, Haiti, and San Domingo have taken place during the period reported on. We notice a more active participation of Negro workers in the strikes and an increase of the number of Negro members in the revolutionary TU. In order to come to a clear understanding of the new tendencies in the development of the Negro revolutionary movement we shall review the more outstanding events:

French Equatorial Africa. This colony is especially exploited by the French militarists owing to its wealth in industrial raw materials (rubber and valuable woods and palm oil). The system of concessions made the native population practically the slaves of the French companies and the impossible conditions of living and of work led to the extinction of the natives. The population decreased by almost 75% during the French rule. The construction of a railway running from Brazzaville, the capital of the colony, to the seashore was an exceptionally heavy burden on the natives. The greed of the concessionaires who undertook the construction of the railway resulted in the death of about 20,000 natives during the eight years of construction (1921-1929). A revolt setting on fire almost the whole country broke out in November 1928 in connection with the low wages of workers for the construction of the railway. The revolt continued for more than three months and considerable military forces had to be sent out to suppress it. The result of this was that the construction was very small and that attempts were made to substitute coolies imported from Indo-China for the native workers.

Madagascar. A serious anti-imperialist movement of the natives exists also in the other colony --- Madagascar. The movement in May 1929 grew into a tremendous demonstration under the leadership of the Communist Party. Many demonstrators were arrested and brought before court which treated two of the Communist leaders especially harsh. One of them --- Black --- was sentenced to 5½ years, and the other one --- Victory --- to 2½ years.

Guadeloupe. The most important branch of the industry of Guadeloupe, one of the West Indian Islands, belonging to France, is the sugar industry. In connection with the fall of prices on the world sugar market the capitalists intensified the exploitation of the workers in order to shift onto their shoulders the whole burden of the crisis. The workers answered with a big strike in February 1930. The strikers and the gendarmes fought pitched battles. Several workers were killed and many wounded. The revolutionary movement gained new force after the death of these workers. The French administration was obliged to call for gendarmes from the neighbouring Island of Martinique in order to suppress the revolt.

Nigeria. Serious disturbances took place in Nigeria in December 1929 women workers playing a very important part in them. During the suppression of the disturbances by the soldiery 44 women were among the total number killed. The disturbances were a protest against the introduction of a head tax among the women. This new tax burden is a further step to confiscate the lands of the natives. Though the administration very quickly settled the affairs and even compelled the population to pay a very high contribution in compensation for (pretended) losses suffered by the Europeans. The situation is still dangerous and the tribal chiefs are obliged to eat for defence against their own tribesmen who understand quite well that their headmen had sold themselves to the enemy and were agents of imperialism.

**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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