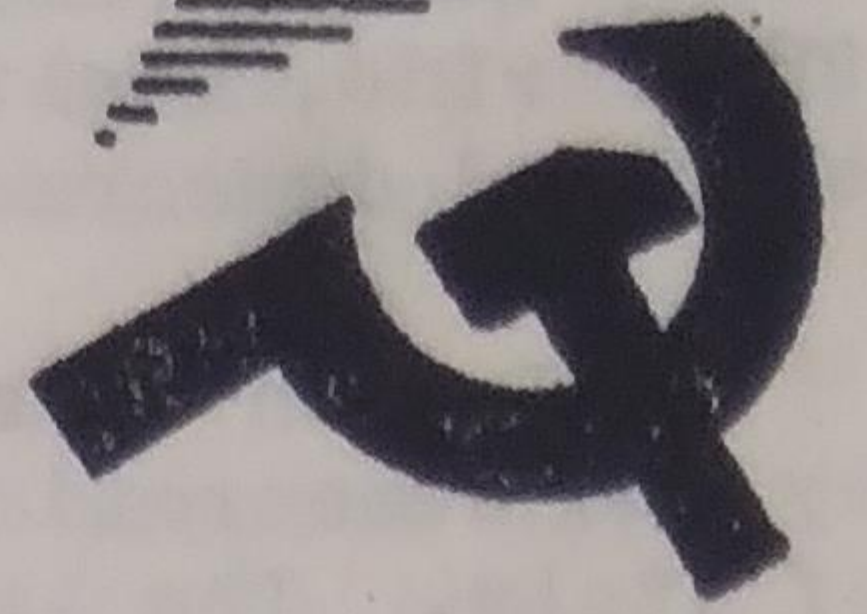


Workers
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UNITE!

THE SPARK



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THE DRIFT TO WAR

"Time marches on" is a favourite expression with our modern youth. Indeed the world changes before our very eyes. Yet even this motto is inadequate to express the tempo, of today. It is more like a hurricane. The world moves, not in tempo, but in tempest - to a catastrophe. Perhaps we should not call it a catastrophe; for if the old world perishes and out of it a new world is born then the present and future suffering will be worth while.

The world war, Versailles, Weimar, The Ruhr occupation, Locarno, the Kellogg Pact, the League of Nations, with all the struggles of Imperialism to preserve itself after the deadly blows inflicted by the war and revolution - these are events only of yesterday, yet they are already forgotten and buried. Even the most recent events: Abyssinia, Manchuria, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, even Irun, Bilbao, Malaga and Barcelona, they are tragedies of the past. Men have no time to meditate on events and digest them, because of the speed with which they succeed each other. Men have no time to be indignant over Munich; the unparalleled Jewish pogroms in Germany supersede it and they in turn give place to the defeat of Republican Spain, the fall of Barcelona, Britain's role in Minorca, the recognition of Franco by France and Great Britain and their shameful solicitation of the victor's favours. The democracies! The defenders of Liberty! One cannot stop to be indignant over a German trunk road running through Czechoslovakia from west to east or rage against Hitler's demand for 23% of the Czech gold reserve. Time is galloping on. Slovakia breaks away from the Czech state to become independent for - a day. The Czechs try to resist it - for a day. Next day they are "advised" to grant Slovakia "independence", and they send congratulations to the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, on the event of their slavery under a new master! Next day Czechia itself ceases to exist, without a shot, without the least resistance. The powerful, most mechanised army, the strong air fleet, the best armament industry, the military pacts with France and the U.S.S.R., all these were no use, no more than the guarantee of France and Britain for the new frontiers after Munich. In three days the map of Central Europe was completely changed. But the world is not given time to speculate what next, whose turn is to follow. With lightning speed the scene of action shifts north-east to little Lithuania. Afraid to inform the world of the ultimatum, she gives up the Memel province in the hope of retaining her independence. For how long? Surely not for years. Now it is a question of months or days. And especially when an agreement is signed guaranteeing her frontiers, it is the best proof that we have not long to wait before this country also disappears from the map of Europe. While the bewildered public was speculating again as to whose turn it was next, while the so-called democracies, especially "peace-loving" Britain, were trying to form a League of peace-loving nations to resist further aggression, and "save" Roumania, this country passed out of reach and is already beyond "saving for democracy". Roumania also refrained from informing Britain and France about the ultimatum and signed her economic and political dependence on Germany, because she was aware of the value of French pacts and British guarantees and had seen the fate of Czechoslovakia and Lithuania. This at

least saves her the trouble of Lord Runciman's missions. If it is childish to speak about the economic independence of Roumania in this age of Imperialism, (as if the Skoda works belonged to Czechoslovakia and the oil-fields to Roumania) it is simply ridiculous to talk about another democratic country having passed to the Fascist block. Roumania under the autocratic regime of King Carol - also a democracy! Of course British and French democracy (read Imperialism) did not have scruples about allying themselves with the bloody Czarist autocracy in 1914, in the fight for "democracy". Why should they have scruples today about roumania, Poland and Hungary? If it were only possible to win over Italy to their side, Italian Fascism would also be no obstacle in their common fight to save "liberty and democracy".

In ten days Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Ruthenia, Lithuania and Roumania were lost by the democratic block. Hungary is long ago a vassal of Germany. So is Spain a vassal of Italy. The little entente is finished, the Baltic crumbling up, Latvia and Estonia to follow Lithuania. So what is left? Whose turn is it next? Danzig, the Corridor? Poland is mobilising, but will Poland fight or will it follow the example of the others? The balance of power has definitely shifted, so much so that little Spain (or is it Germany-Italy?) can defy the British lion and close the Canary Islands to British shipping. Perhaps something is happening at the very time of writing. Who can say what will happen before this article appears in print. For time is not marching on; it is galloping on.

When the Imperialist British Press sheds crocodile tears over the rape of Czechoslovakia, it is certainly not because they are concerned over the fate of her people, but because they have lost profits, markets for goods and investments, and the possibility of themselves exploiting the Czech people. We shall see more of this hypocritical sympathy when war comes and the British worker is called upon to fight for his "democracy" and the "liberation" of the raped Czechoslovakia, etc., etc. These vultures of Imperialism speak about treaties, solemn pledges and promises being shamelessly broken. What about themselves? What about their rape of the colonial peoples? What about their breaking of treaties and guarantees? The hypocritical complaint of gangsters, of the cynical disregard of morality in international relations, can produce only a smile. It should not deceive anybody, because the laws of Imperialism have been, are and will always be those of the jungle.

Six months ago we were told that Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini and Daladier saved at Munich the peace of Europe. Later our own Prime Minister stated that peace was assured for fifty years. Isn't it logical that those who accepted such statements will also now believe that Hitler has again saved the peace of Europe and that this time the laurels should go solely to him? If Munich was the first act in the saving of peace, Prague and Memel are the next.

Why then is Chamberlain suddenly indignant about it? Hasn't he known all the time that Prague would follow Munich as inevitably as B follows A? But he had to pretend that he believed in Hitler's promises and the scrap of paper he brought from Munich. If he had really believed in it he would not have speeded up the gigantic rearmament of his country. He had to pretend to be a simpleton and yet he could not completely hide the fact that he knew. This is clear from his reply to criticism of the Munich policy - that the critics did not know all the facts. That means they did not know how far Britain was unprepared. More than that, he knows that she is still unprepared for mortal combat. In fact he was not indignant over Prague on Wednesday and Thursday. It seems that he intended to continue his game of pretence. But the outburst of the whole bourgeois Press of Britain and the revolt in his own Conservative party forced him to modify it. Only since Friday did he become indignant. And even then he did not discard the mask of pretending to believe in Hitler's words; he only laid it aside. Was Munich a mistake? Was the appeasement policy a failure? Not at all. British Imperialism had to pursue this policy. Nobody has attacked Chamberlain for his would-be simplicity and misjudgment; the bourgeoisie is satisfied with the part he plays so well. The pretence is in order to gain time. Even the deliberate misinforming of the public up to the very outbreak of the present crisis, or what a conservative newspaper called "the peaceful gale that was blowing from Downing Street", has been forgiven. And if and when Chamberlain is replaced, it will not be because of his mistaken policy of appeasement, but because someone more suitable will be needed for the tasks of war. British Imperialism knew even before Munich that war is unavoidable; a war, not for the sake of Czechoslovakia or Roumania, Poland or Jugoslavia, but for world-domination and the colonial possessions. Our estimation of Munich given at the time of negotiations was correct in every respect.

What is the moral of all this for us, for the workers and the oppressed colonial peoples? We cannot be disinterested in these events; not because the markets, investments and profits of one group of Imperialist robbers have been taken away by another, but because we are concerned with the fate of the toiling people in these countries,

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and because these rivalries among the Imperialist groups of powers are reaching a climax leading inevitably to open World war.

Twenty five years ago the workers and colonial peoples made the mistake of allowing themselves to be bluffed by the Imperialists and by their Social-democratic leaders. They must not repeat that mistake. We shall be told by our Imperialists again that we must fight for king and country, for democracy and liberty, for the liberation of Czechoslovakia or Belgium from the yoke of brutal Fascism. We shall be told by our labour-misleaders, who are the tools of Imperialism, that Fascism is more brutal than Imperialism, and therefore we must defend Imperialism in the coming war. And if the Soviet Union is on the same side as Britain, we shall be told that by defending British Imperialism we defend the Soviet Union.

These are all lies. Neither the workers nor the oppressed colonial peoples have a fatherland; under Imperialism they are outcasts in their own country. Just as the enemy of the German workers is German Imperialism, so is British Imperialism the enemy of the British worker and the colonial peoples. Both will send millions of their workers to die in the conflict for world-power and the possession of colonies. Fascism is only another form of Imperialism, therefore we must smash both. British Imperialism is not fighting to free the oppressed peoples in Europe, (Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Switzerland or Holland) but for her Empire and the exploitation of all workers and colonial peoples. The best defence of the Soviet Union is by kindling the Revolutionary movement in every country, by smashing Imperialism-capitalism and liberating ourselves. It is by extending the Revolution which began in Russia in October, 1917, over the entire globe.

Time is galloping. We do not know what will happen in the nearest future. We may not have many more opportunities to express openly our opinions. The bourgeoisie in this country is preparing a blow against the revolutionary press. Therefore we issue this warning to the workers and oppressed peoples to remember the words of Liebknecht and Lenin; Your enemy is in your own country!

25th March, 1939.

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GERMAN COLONIAL POLICY

The imminence of a new war for world domination has once more revived the ancient and nauseating arguments as to which race is best fitted to govern colonial peoples. In 1914 these arguments were freely used to justify both sides in the conflict. German apologists claimed that as they were a superior race they had a right to rule "inferior" races, while British and French spokesmen were no less insistent that the Germans were bad colonists, because they treated the Natives as beasts, whereas the kind-hearted British and French colonists treated them, if not as brothers, at least as little children who need their help and protection until they should be fit to look after themselves.

Today British statesmen and bishops (who claim to be the interpreters of god to man, but in reality are the misinterpreters of the state to its victims) are reviving these impudent lies in order to gain the support of the masses in the coming war. They are claiming that if the Germans get their colonies back the beneficent policy of British imperialism will be reversed, and the Natives will never be able to reach the status of self governing peoples. At the same time German colonial experts are drawing up detailed plans for the treatment of Natives when Germany once more has a colonial empire. If these plans are compared with statements of British and French colonial policy, and if no attempt is made to check the statements against facts, it would appear that judgment must be given against the Germans and in favour of the British and French. For the Germans openly avow their intention of keeping the Natives in permanent subjection to their rule, whereas the British claim that they are gradually educating the Natives towards the responsibilities of independence. However, only a child would dream of accepting the statements of bishops and politicians as evidence. We must look at the facts. And when we do that we shall find that there is no difference between British and German colonial policy.

In a pamphlet entitled "The Colonial question and Racial Philosophy", by Dr. Gunther Hecht, issued by the "Race policy branch of the National Socialist Party", of which we have received a summary, the aims of German imperialism towards the colonial peoples are clearly set forth, and an examination of this pamphlet will show that between what the Germans propose to do and what the British are actually doing there is nothing to choose.

"There can be no doubt whatsoever," the summary begins, "that many European nations are nations of born rulers. They have the right as well as the duty to make use of their genetic superiority. If for the sake of humanitarian, pacifist and religious ideologies they neglect their obligation they are bound to perish."

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British imperialists do not as a rule express this belief so openly; they leave it to their local representatives in the colonies and dominions, and strive to keep up appearances by an occasional empty show of disapproval when the actions of their local representatives become a little too brutal to escape the notice of the British public. That is to say, they hide their real aims and opinions by granting "independence" to the dominions and then putting the blame on the colonial governments when things do not go according to "plan". However, the British colonial possessions are not all self-governing dominions. There are still a great many colonies that are under the direct control of the Colonial Office, whose present head is the "socialist" Malcolm MacDonald, and it is therefore an easy matter to test the sincerity of the imperialists. Thus the British government has recently issued an Order in Council which prohibits Kenya Natives from buying and leasing land in the "White Highlands", and from living there except as the owners' servants, tied to the land.

In a letter to the Manchester Guardian (15/2/39) Mr. Norman Leys discusses this Order in Council and exposes the lies of the Colonial Office. In answer to a question in the House of Commons, MacDonald explained that "the removal of Natives from the Highlands of Kenya under an Order in Council is being delayed because of the difficulty of finding suitable land elsewhere for those who are to be removed." Actually, Mr. Leys points out, very few will be removed - only those who are unfit for work - for the real object of the Order is to prevent Natives from owning land, and thereby compel them to work for the white farmers at starvation wages. "The last report of the Native Affairs Department gives their (the landless Natives') wages as 4s. to 8s. per 30 working days, as compared with 8s. to 10s. in the case of men with homes in the reserves to go to."

It is clear from this that the imperialists in London are behaving the same way as the German imperialists propose to behave. They are making use of their superiority (which of course is not genetic but military) in order to avoid their own "extinction", that is to say, in order to swell their profits.

"Unfortunately the chief colonial powers of today," Hecht goes on to say, "have not always acted according to the law of self-preservation, though there is a marked difference between England and France. Whereas the attitude of the English towards inferior races has always been one of splendid isolation, the French, steeped in the humanitarian liberalism of the 18th century, have committed the sin of miscegenation. Racial mixing is clearly detrimental to either of the two partners, because the offspring shows a tendency towards a social behaviour, which explains why certain crimes are almost invariably committed by half-castes."

This might easily have been written by a South African. The condemnation of French colonial policy, the fear of miscegenation, and the belief that the coloured man is a born criminal are all familiar notions in this country. And we know exactly how much weight to give to them. For example, the difference between French and British colonial policy is not a difference in attitude towards the colonial peoples, but merely a difference in methods of exploitation, determined mainly by geographic and climatic factors. Britain defeated France in the race for colonies, with the result that the French empire is mainly confined to tropical regions that are unsuited for permanent white settlement; and so the French imperialists adopted the plan of encouraging the growth of a half-caste population which would be permanently resident in the colonies and would act as a buffer between the bourgeoisie and the colonial masses. In South Africa, on the other hand, the white population grew to such dimensions that ultimately there was no need for a relatively privileged coloured population to keep the Natives in check. The dirty work of slave-driving could be undertaken by the whites themselves.

Again, Dr. Hecht's complaint about the "criminal tendencies" of the half-caste has an all too familiar ring in South Africa. The policy of grinding the face of the coloured man in the dust and then branding him as a criminal when he kicks will be carried on without a break if and when Germany secures a colonial empire, and the oppressed masses will scarcely notice that any change has taken place.

It is not surprising to find Hecht paying a warm tribute to the Native policy of South Africa. In spite of certain "faults" (the failure of the Mixed Marriages Bill), attributed to Jewish influence, "the Union is today clearly evolving a Native policy which is based upon the full recognition of the natural differences between White and Black." So when the Government seeks to rally the non-Europeans in support of a war against Germany, and warns them of the terrible things that will happen to them if South Africa falls into German hands, they will know what to answer. They will be able to say that they are here and now suffering from those terrible things with which they are threatened. The pamphlet goes on to explain in detail what is in store for any colonial people who may come under German rule.

"(a) General: It is imperative to recognise and stress the fact that our

"modern civilisation is almost exclusively the creation of the Nordic genius and of nobody else. From this it follows that the Native must be kept within his own home and sphere. Under no circumstances must he be brought to Europe, be it as a servant, a labourer or as a student. The age-old frontier between Europe and Africa lies in the Sahara."

Here we have a perfect statement of South African Native policy. The terminology is slightly different, that is all. Here, as in Germany, it is argued that only the Europeans are "civilised", while the Natives (or Jews) are naturally "barbarians" who must be excluded from the privileges enjoyed by their "superiors," that is, that they must be "segregated", "allowed to develop along their own lines", etc. As for the restriction of emigration, surely no Native is going to be tricked into believing that this will be something new. It is true that at present a handful of Jabavus are allowed to take degrees at the University of London and elsewhere. But such privileges merely serve to emphasise the restrictions that weigh on all the others. The obstacles that are put in the way of a Native obtaining a passport at the price of a return passage to Europe are just as effective as a law prohibiting Native emigration.

"(b) Political : The Native can never become a citizen of the German Empire."

Substitute Union of South Africa for German Empire, and this becomes a statement not of future policy but of present fact. The Native Representative Council and the Native representatives in parliament do not alter the hard fact that the Bantu are citizens of no country, not even the country in which they were born. It is possible that the German imperialists would not allow the Natives to have even a Representative Council, but they would not for that reason be any worse off than they are now. For the Council not only confers no political rights on the Natives; it swindles them into believing that they have got something worth while, and thereby prevents them from fighting for real political rights.

"(c) Racial : Marriage and intercourse between Europeans on the one hand, and Natives and people of mixed breed on the other, must be prohibited."

Here the parallel between German and South African policy is too obvious to require comment.

"(d) Educational : On the whole it is not desirable to introduce our European subject-matter into the schools for Natives. Unusually gifted Natives, however, may be provided with an understanding of the simple forms of European civilisation. They may also be taught one or more of the European languages so that they can be used in the lower ranks of the administration. The Natives will be barred from the higher schools and the universities."

"(e) Administrative : Talented Natives may hold positions of confidence.

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article dealing with Native education in this country, from which it will be seen that the South African imperialists do not lag behind their German rivals in this respect. It is interesting to note, however, that the two sets of robbers are in complete agreement on the point that when "higher" education is given to a Native, its purpose is to train him for a lower administrative post, or even for a position of "confidence". Which, in plain language, means that the "educated" Native is to be used for the nefarious purposes of the imperialists, to take a hand in the robbery and oppression of his own people.

"(f) Judicial : It is imperative that the administration of the law by the white judge should be speedy. Certain offences may be dealt with by the "palaver" of the Native chiefs."

"(g) Economic : The economic life, as everything else, should be based upon the principle of justice. It is possible to use the Native in industry and on the plantation without estranging him from his home and tribe. He will not be allowed to strike or to form organisations."

"(h) Cultural : The religious life of the Native must not be interfered with, even when we shake our heads and smile."

"(i) Social : The Native must be allowed access to the social life of the white man only in so far as it does not lead to his uprooting. For this reason he must be barred from the theatres, picture-houses and health resorts of the white population. But he will have his full share in all those benefits which will be bestowed upon the protectorates: improved communications, breeding of animals, cultivation of domestic plants, fighting of insect pests, hygiene, etc."

The last three sections, as also the section on education, are all aimed at keeping the Native in permanent ignorance of the essential rottenness of capitalist civilisation. The Native must not be allowed to lose his age-old superstitions, even if they should make us "shake our heads and smile", because the longer he clings to them the longer will his oppressors be able to enjoy the surplus profits derived from his exploitation. And as these superstitions are closely linked with the ancient tribal organisations, the Native

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is to be encouraged to maintain his contact with the tribe. But, as South African capitalists have discovered, the demands of modern capitalism are incompatible with the maintenance of tribal life, and therefore other means are required to prevent the Native from learning the truth and becoming a socialist. So he must be prevented from organising, and his contacts with Europeans must be restricted to those that are absolutely necessary. In all this there is nothing new. South Africa has for years been practising what the German colonial experts are now preaching. South African capitalists have nothing to learn from Dr. Hecht. On the contrary, it seems that he has learned a great deal from them.

So what are the African Natives to do when they are asked to contribute to the defence of South Africa against German aggression? They must first of all realise that they have nothing to lose by becoming German rather than British subjects, and that there is therefore no reason why they should risk their lives for something that is of no value to them. And secondly, they must realise that in any case they have nothing to lose but their chains, and that the coming war will provide them with an opportunity for losing some of those chains, if not all of them.

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THE REPORT OF THE CIRCUIT INSPECTORS
FOR THE TRANSKEI 1937

The reports of the Circuit inspectors for the Transkei threw a great deal of light on the grave state of Native education in one of the largest of the Native reserves.

From the outset, it must be clearly understood that the majority of inspectors accept the principle of segregation in education, some tacitly, others openly. They agree that there should be a great deal of difference between the education of the European child and the Native child but the difference is so marked that they, in spite of their officialdom, cannot help but feel concern and alarm and give voice to criticism and dissatisfaction.

Let us glance at the Inspector's report for the area Elliot, Idutywa, Umtata. The inspector thanks the Superintendent General of Education, Dr. Vos.Malan, for paying a visit to the European schools in his circuit. In regard to the Native schools, he notes the urgent need for educational facilities and ends his somewhat short report by saying, "An appreciable increase in enrolment has taken place owing to a good harvesting season."

In the very first line we see the line of demarcation being drawn, not by the inspector, who is merely a servant of the Department, but by the head of the Department, who pays a visit to the European schools in a Native reserve. Nero plays the fiddle while Rome burns. Dr. Vos.Malan makes speeches at European schools where apparently nothing is lacking of the best, while the Natives cry out for elementary educational facilities. The last remark of the inspector makes us arrive at the conclusion that Native education runs in the following sequence, thus: good crops - new buildings - children receive the elements of education. Bad crops - teachers cannot be paid - no education.

However, let us turn to the area Flagstaff, Mt. Frere, where the inspector again thanks the department for allowing an additional teacher in a European school and adds appreciatively: "Since it seems particularly desirable that the best possible provision be made for the education of European children who are resident in a large Native reserve." Here the inspector makes no bones about his sympathies. At all costs, the European child in a Native area is entitled to the best possible education in order to uphold the prestige of the white race. That the prestige of the white race depends on the best possible education is a most reasonable theory, far more acceptable than innate Aryan superiority for example. At the same time the inspector implies by this most mischievous remark that in order to make the Native child accept the superiority of the White child, he must, ipso facto, receive a very limited and narrow education.

In his paragraph on Native education, he says "The people are only now beginning to realise the benefits of education. The increased numbers in attendance at many schools have been the cause both of pressure on the available education and of understaffing. It was gratifying to not that in some locations the readiness with which headmen and people shouldered their responsibilities in the matter of additional accomodation! Here we see the urge of the Native people to give their children the elements of education being frustrated and denied.

In the circuit, Mount Ayliff and Umzimkulu, the inspector notes that great progress is being made in Native education, especially in the Bizana District, where the demand outran the supplies. To quote his own words: "The huge increase in enrolment makes adequate staffing impossible, and many schools are carrying on with unaided teachers. Schools are badly equipped. It would be preferable to staff adequately these schools rather than to increase the number of schools in this area." In conclusion he raises a problem. He says: "The problem still exists of what will eventually happen to the pupils, who continue to leave the higher mission schools in such large numbers after the completion of the primary course." Is the inspector asking the Government to solve a problem that itself creates? The Government has passed laws to debar the Native youth from the

skilled trades, from the towns, from anything that might give scope to his education and his talents, and the inspector warns the Government. What naive!

In the inspector's report for Kentani, Butterworth, and Willowvale, the visit of the Superintendent of Education to the European schools was, of course, much appreciated, and still more his sympathetic understanding of the difficulties and problems of European education peculiar to the Transkei. The inspector dares to hope that Dr. Vos.Malan will come again and visit the Native schools. In regard to Native education the inspector is a little more open and refers to the irregularity and unpunctuality of attendance. He adds: "New grants did little towards alleviating the situation in respect of extra teachers required. In a considerable number of schools teachers continue to be paid locally despite the adverse conditions.....Teachers do little or no serious reading. They have much to discourage them. In the higher mission school there is a serious lack of equipment."

In the area Matatiele, Mt. Fletcher, Jumbu, we read that 85 per cent of the European children have proceeded to secondary schools. The inspector gives us a very pretty picture of one of the school libraries - comfortably furnished, arm chairs, rugs on floor - walls decorated with pictures - shelves full of books. Yes, a very pretty picture indeed, until we see that this takes place against a background where the inspector has to state: "The extraordinary increase in enrolment in most mission schools makes the shortage in buildings, equipment and staffing very acute. The demand for additional accomodation was met with in isolated cases but the persistent failure of the mealie crop has prevented the Native people from giving the desired assistance. Owing to the limited funds available.....comparatively few desks and forms were distributed to schools who need them very urgently." Then the inspector delivers an ultimatum: "If the missionary bodies and the people cannot erect the necessary buildings and the Government cannot increase its grant to meet the increased demand for staffing and equipment, then the enrolment of nearly every school in this area will have to be restricted."

So ends the inspectors' reports for the year 1937, tirelessly reiterating the lack of equipment, lack of buildings, lack of staff. It is a refrain that runs through all these reports. The people are doing what they can, as much as they can, even when times are bad. Yet what is the department doing for them? That is a question which demands a proper answer. Naturally the question of education varies according to what we mean by the scope and aim of education. In the August issue of the Spark (1937) we analysed the aim and scope of education as understood in the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education. We said then: "It (the Committee) accepted the inhuman outlook of the Colour-Bar Act and measures of a similar trend, as though these were the fixed unalterable condition of South African working-class life; and therefore it adopted the outrageous position that the education of the white child is to prepare him for the dominant society, while the education of the Black child is to prepare him for life in a subordinate position...."

Now that the Government has decided to transfer Native education to the Native Affairs Department in spite of protestations from all over the country, thereby accepting Heaton Nicholls arguments for complete segregation of the Bantu, it would serve a useful purpose to quote extracts from the leading article in the December issue of the Spark (1937). According to Nicholls "Education is a vital issue in the link in the structure of segregation.....The failure of Native education is not due to the lack of funds, of school buildings, and of lack of teachers and of equipment etc., but to the solid natural conservatism of the Natives." This is, of course, a lying statement, as the Inspectors' reports sufficiently prove. The aim and scope of Native Education, according to Nicholls must be to enable the Native a) to interpret his environment, b) to control his environment, c) to enrich his environment. Our answer to Nicholls was: "Yes,.....Native education must be different. It must aim at enabling the Native to understand his environment. In other words he must understand that he is a slave, born for slavery, that he must be educated for slavery and nothing else because anything else would be useless to him as a slave, would be a hindrance to him in his natural environment."

Such are the opinions of the oppressors in regard to Native education. Now, more than ever, under the Native Affairs Department will Native education be at the mercy of every political party which takes power. It is only when the Bantu oppressed will rise to fight for political, social and economic equality that the aim and scope of Native education will be to develop all that is best for society and himself.

BARCELONA AND FRANCE'S FUTURE

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The siege of Barcelona did not last a day. Premier Negrin had of course plastered the city with "No pasaran" signs, had issued a proclamation swearing to the people that the government would not desert the city, and had imposed martial law ostensibly to facilitate military defence. But simultaneously, it develops, Negrin had been renting a little villa in Le Perthus which, quite conveniently, has its front door in Spain and its back door in France.

Workers everywhere in the city were still busily engaged in rearing barricades for street-to-street defence when.....they lifted their heads to find the fascist advance guards rolling unresisted down the principal avenues. The workers themselves had no arms with which to resist: the arms which they had torn from the fascists on July 19, 1936 had been wrested from them, first by the Caballero government and then by the Hegrin cabinet, under the slogan, "All arms to the front".

In concealing its plan to abandon the city without a fight the Loyalist government naturally could not give warning in time to thousands of worker-militants who are marked down in Franco's files for execution. Ominous too is the fate of thousands of imprisoned rank-and-file socialists and anarchists, Proudhonists and Trotskyists; it is all too likely that they were left in Loyalist dungeons, to come out only to face Franco's firing squads.

The Popular Front ends, "not with a bang but a whimper". This, we were told, was the way to fight fascism. We were told this by the socialists after the revolution of April 14, 1931, when they entered a Popular Front government -- the name had not yet been invented then by the Stalinists, it was still called by the old-fashioned name of "coalition cabinet". When "the left-wing bourgeoisie" in that government shot down peasants and broke strikes by force, we were told that it was the fault of communist provocation. Two years of that coalition paved the way for two years of black reaction under Gil Robles. When reaction had to retreat, it was given time, opportunity and resources to prepare anew, by its successor, the Popular Front government, which took office February, 1936. No one could now talk of communist provocation, for the Stalinists were in the Popular Front; nor could the anarchists provide an alibi, for they had shamefacedly sent their forces to the polls for the Popular Front. But the new coalition repeated the crimes of that of 1931-1933. It could not do otherwise.

THE PLOT OF REACTION

It was known that the monarchists, landowners and capitalists were preparing for a return to power by force. The general staff, the whole officer corps of the army was of course with them. In April 1936, Colonel Julio Mangada published a documented pamphlet which not only exposed the fascist plot but proved conclusively that President Azana was fully informed of the plot when, on March 18, 1936, upon the demand of the general staff, his government had indignantly repudiated "unjust attacks to which the officers of the army have been subjected". A fawning description of the generals as "remote from all political struggle, faithful servitors of the constituted power and guarantors of obedience to the popular will" was coupled with a threat to imprison any who continued attacks on the officers corps.

Supporting the government, the socialists, communists and anarchists could not, by that very fact, conduct a systematic campaign for the disintegration of discipline in the army. The government had forbidden it and they supported the government. That meant that the officer corps was enabled, when the uprising came, to carry with them the peasants' sons who constituted the army and who had never been taught to question the authority of the officer corps.

Under capitalism democracy is a luxury permissible, if at all, only in the mother country. One cannot rule colonial slaves by democratic methods. Being worldly-wise men who understood this, the socialist, communist and trade-union leaders supporting the Popular Front government put no obstacles in its way of continuing rule over Spanish Morocco by the Foreign Legion. The Spanish labour press was forbidden distribution in the Moroccan barracks and cities. The labour leadership did not reply by raising the slogan of "Freedom for Morocco". That was not in the Popular Front programme and one must not go beyond the agreement with "the left wing of the bourgeoisie". In the discreet atmosphere surrounding the military dictatorship in Morocco, Generals Goded and Franco prepared the uprising at leisure; the Moorish peasants who had not been called brothers by the Spanish working-class movement were glad to wreak vengeance on the Spanish mainland for all past humiliation and suffering.

The ways in which the Popular Front government paved the road for the fascist uprising and for its success could be elaborated at great length. Elsewhere I have sought to do so. What is necessary now, however, is to indicate the meaning for the French working class of the events in Spain during the last seven years.

Since 1935 the socialists and Stalinists have joined in chorus to tell the French workers that their salvation is to be sought in joining with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in a Popular Front which would crush reaction within and without -- above all without: Hitler and Mussolini. The fact that the fourth cabinet of the Popular Front, that of Premier Daladier -- and Daladier was the Radical leader who was mainly responsible for bringing the bourgeoisie into the Popular Front at its inception -- had ended by coming to terms with Hitler at Munich and breaking the general strike at home, has not changed the chorus of socialists and Stalinists. Daladier's "betrayal" is imputed to him personally, to Chamberlain, etc. -- to anyone and anything except the class interests of the "progressive bourgeoisie". Tomorrow, if it serves the purpose of the French bourgeoisie, another Radical leader, probably Herriot (who wickedly rejected the Popular Front in 1935) will reach out to the Stalinists and socialists, and they will fawningly greet him as they did Daladier: "The man of the hour." The Blums and Thorezes learn nothing and cannot learn anything.

Not only must the French workers link arms with the "liberal bourgeoisie, but they are also told that to complete their salvation they must then link arms with the governments of the "great democracies", England and America.

To push the French workers in this direction, they are being told - as are the American workers being told by the Browders and Abe Cahans and James Oneals - that Loyalist Spain is being defeated because no arms were forthcoming from the "great democracies" and that, if only real Popular Front governments reigned in these countries, anti-fascist Spain would be victorious. Even Blum has the effrontery to demand that Daladier do what Blum would not do.

To push the French workers further in this direction, they are being told that the war in Spain is a war for national independence, waged by the fascist powers on the one hand against "the people" on the other hand, and that after Spain it will be the plight of the French people to wage a similar war for independence.

A little truth and a great deal of falsity are so cleverly mixed in this socialist-Stalinist propaganda, that it is no wonder that, backed by enormous funds and armies of functionaries, they are able even today, after seven years of the Spanish events, after five years of the French crisis to delude the majority of the French workers. Yet the French workers are doomed, unless they free themselves from these illusions.

LESSONS OF SPAIN MUST BE LEARNED

The stark lessons of Spain must become a manual for the French workers - and for the American workers. The tragedy of Barcelona is an epic which the class-conscious workers must read and re-read tirelessly. As officers are trained in military schools, going over in the minutest detail the story of past military campaigns, so the proletarian cadres must go to school to the Spanish civil war. Let them but listen, and the martyred spirit of five hundred thousand Spanish workers and peasants will teach them how to fight the coming civil war in France!

That the fascists are preparing for war against the French masses is an indisputable fact. But when the Stalinists and socialists interpret this fact to mean only that it is Mussolini and Hitler and their French agents who will be launching a war against the French "people", they spread a lie which, if believed, can prevent the masses from adequately preparing for the struggle.

The fascists who are preparing for war against the French masses are the French fascists and those they serve, the capitalist class of France. The main enemy is within the gate. Faced by ever-increasing demands from Hitler and Mussolini, the French imperialists prepare for the moment when they will try to cease further concessions and take back previous concessions and more. As an integral part of its preparations for imperialist war for the re-division of the world, the French capitalist class wants class peace at home. To the eternal glory of the French proletariat, the socialist and Stalinist lackeys have proved impotent to provide their capitalist masters with that peace; the workers will not and cannot submit to the wiping out of their past social gains. Driven by the needs of the situation, the French capitalists are moving towards a fascist dictatorship. Daladier's turn to the right is only part of this process. His smashing of the general strike, ending of the forty-hour week, jailing of trade union militants,

are not enough. The French capitalist class must be on equal terms of competition with Hitler and Mussolini; i.e., it must have no trade unions, labor political parties, free press, mass meetings, or any other democratic rights, to act as obstacles in its preparations for war and prosecution of war against its rival imperialists. It must have fascism in order the better to fight the fascist powers of Hitler and Mussolini.

If the French fascist coup d'etat proves ineffective, and instead of crushing the masses with swift blows, the workers successfully resist and seize control of the chief cities, there will of course be found "liberal" bourgeois elements who will offer to control the workers in their war against the fascists. They will say, as Azana, Martinez Barrio, Companys said in July, 1936: "This is not a war of class against class but a war of the whole people against a small clique backed by outside powers." And if the French workers subordinate themselves to such control, these bourgeois "anti-fascists" will play the same treacherous role as in Spain.

Not merely did these "liberals" pave the way for the fascists by the various means we have already indicated. When the fascist coup d'etat actually began, these democrats tried to surrender the power to Franco's forces. Enough to recall here that the Popular Front governments in Madrid and Barcelona, when the fascists marched, refused to arm the workers. The governments took no steps of their own to organize resistance. On the contrary, Azana opened negotiations with Franco to come to terms.

And, indeed, could it be otherwise? The camp of Franco was saying: We, the serious masters of capital, the real spokesmen of bourgeois society, tell you that democracy must be finished if capitalism is to live. Choose, Azana, between democracy and capitalism. Which was deeper in Azana and the liberal bourgeoisie? Their democracy or their capitalism? They gave their answer by bowing their heads before the onward-marching ranks of fascism.

In spite of the Azanas, the workers of Barcelona stopped the fascists. Almost bare-handed, with only the arms they could seize by raids on sporting-goods stores, with dynamite from construction jobs and some guns found in fascist homes, the workers conquered the revolting garrisons. Only when the workers were masters of Catalonia, the decisive industrial sector of Spain, only then did the government at Madrid declare it would arm the people - only, that is, when it was no longer master of the decision.

As part of the deliberate propaganda to delude the French workers into linking their fate to an alliance with their "own" bourgeoisie, the Stalinists and socialists have connived with the Spanish bourgeoisie in concealing the fact that it refused to arm the workers. A particularly foul example of this propaganda is at hand: Andre Malraux's "novel", *Man's Hope*. The third sentence of the book reads: "At one o'clock in the morning the Government had decided to arm the people, and from three o'clock the production of a union-card gave every member the right to bear arms." That first page is about Madrid. The "liberties" of the novelist here cover up a political falsification. The first fight with the fascists took place in Barcelona on July 19, and was decisively won by the workers before the following day when the Madrid government "agreed" to arm the workers "at one o'clock in the morning."

No coalition with the bourgeoisie, left or right! No political support to a Popular Front government! Arming of the workers before the outbreak of civil war; arming of the workers independently of the government and in spite of the government! These are the elementary lessons of the outbreak of the Spanish civil war.

But these lessons alone are not sufficient for victory.

FRANCE AND ITS COLONIES

As Morocco was the military base for the Spanish civil war, so North Africa generally will in all likelihood act as a military reservoir for French fascism. The native masses have today no feeling of brotherhood for the French workers. That is precluded by the conduct of the Popular Front government since June 1936, which has naturally been identified, in the minds of the native masses, with the French workers whose organizations backed the government.

The natives have not been able to appreciate the blessings of Popular Frontism, as conveyed to them by Albert Sarraut, "Coordinator" for the colonies. The bombing planes and motorized infantry which suppressed the Kurds in Syria (August 1937), the innumerable native meetings routed by the sabres of Mobile Guards, the mass arrests and imprisonments, the displays of force designed to overawe the natives (such as the flight of eighty first-line planes over North Africa in October 1937), the forcible suppressions of nationalist movements in Meknes, Fez, Casablanca, Khemisset, Rabat, Port Lyautey,

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etc., etc. - this is what the Popular Front has meant to the colonies. The very suppressions have paved the way for fascism, for while the Socialists and Stalinists would not support freedom for the colonies, the fascists demagogically promise the natives anything. Their anti-Semitic agitation has caught fire, and as early as 1935, de la Rocque was able to hold an impressive military review near Algiers. The analogy with Spanish Morocco is complete to the last detail: in the honeymoon of the Popular Front government (November 1937), the Stalinists were constrained to complain that their press was banned from Morocco, while the fascist Action Francaise came out in a Moroccan edition, calling for the assassination of the government members.

If the natives of North Africa are not to play in France the role of Franco's Moors, the French working class must, now, make clear to the natives that it identifies its cause with theirs. That can only be done by unconditional support of freedom of the colonies from French domination.

In the name of the fight against fascism, the Spanish workers and peasants acceded to the Popular Front government's advice: we must not free Morocco, because that would be bitterly opposed by France and England, whose colonies would be inflamed by the example of Morocco. The result was that the Moors wreaked vengeance on the Spanish mainland under Franco's officers.

Having thwarted the fascist coup in Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia and, indeed, in the major part of the country, the workers prepared to fight fascism by the most efficacious means possible: by their own strength, by their own organization of military and economic means and by distributing land to the land-hungry peasantry, in order to rouse the countryside against Franco. The workers seized and ran the factories and transportation, the peasants took the land. Overnight a network of workers' and peasants' committees sprang up everywhere to organize the civil war and carry on production. The Catalan and Madrid Popular Front governments had no power: the basis of their power, the army, had gone over to Franco, and now the armed masses were the only other power. There remained only to centralize these committees into a national council which would create a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

At this point, however, the Spanish Blums and Thorezes came forward and said, as they are now saying in France: "We need help and we can get it from the great democracies, and to get it we must do nothing to frighten them. Besides, the left bourgeoisie is also fighting with us against the fascists. We must therefore coalesce with the bourgeoisie in a government of all the people against the fascists. This is not a civil war but a war for national independence against Hitler and Mussolini."

Unfortunately the Spanish workers and peasants listened to them. It is not to be wondered at, when one reflects that not only the socialists and Stalinists talked this way, but also the anarchists and the left wing P.O.U.M. The tiny handful of revolutionists was scarcely to be heard. The Azanas, Companys & Co. were permitted to remain at the helm.

PREPARING THE CAPITULATION

Slowly at first, then more and more quickly, the "liberal" bourgeoisie, immeasurably aided by the workers' leaders, rebuilt the shattered bourgeois state. Rebuilt, to take the place of the army which Franco now had, a "unified, disciplined" army subordinated to an officers corps recruited from the bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, primarily. And with this coercive apparatus, they took back the factories and the land, reestablished private property and all that it implies. To what end, we have seen: capitulation to Franco. Blows to the left, conciliation to the right, meant that while revolutionary workers were executed and imprisoned, pro-fascist officers were able to betray city after city, front after front: Malaga (where the Stalinist commandant, Bolivar, went over to the fascists), Bilbao, Gijon, Santander (thanks to the suppression of the C.N.T. and the hegemony of the Basque bourgeoisie); the Aragon front of January 1938 - thanks to General (comrade to the Stalinists) Sebastian Pozas; one could go on for pages.

Not to complete the revolution - this the workers acceded to originally because it would bring arms from the "great democracies". But neither "comrade" Blum (Premier from June 5, 1936 to June 21, 1937), nor the succeeding Popular Front governments, nor President Roosevelt, nor Anthony Eden, was moved by this renunciation sufficiently to provide effective arms against Franco. The capitalist democracies - i.e., their governing classes, and their lackeys - understood quite well that the day that Franco was driven into the sea would be the last day of Spanish capitalism. Why should the peasants and workers at that point permit Azana and Companys to rule them? Precisely for this reason, the capitalists of the world, no matter how democratic, preferred a Franco victory to an anti-fascist victory inevitably followed by a workers' and peasants' government.

To help keep the Azanas in power long enough to prevent too speedy a victory, which would have aided their rivals, Italy and Germany, an occasional dribble of arms was permitted by the democratic imperialists. They graciously permitted Stalin to send some. He, for his part, determined to prove his usefulness to the great imperialist powers, did for them what they could not do as well for themselves: his agents strangled the revolutionary forces in Spain by every method which the G.P.U. has developed. In the end, of course, neither the Spanish labour leaders nor Stalin got the alliance from the "great democracies" for which they had been willing to betray the Spanish revolution.

To repeat this false road in France would be absolutely fatal for the French workers. Accept the help of the "middle classes"? Of course! Fraternity with all who will take arms in hand against the fascists. Give the French peasantry a real stake in the struggle by wiping out their indebtedness to the banks, the corporations and the usurers, and by dividing among them the great estates - it is a myth that all French soil is tilled by small owners. Give the small storekeeper and the white collar worker in the cities a vision of a future in a socialist world, in stirring contrast to the capitalist world of hunger, penury and humiliation in which he now lives. These are the ways to the "middle classes".

And take the power! Above all, take the power, and do not surrender it to the "liberal" traitors, the French Azanas. Put the power in the firm hands of workers who will remain loyal to their own flesh and blood. Keep the power in the hands of those who stand to lose everything by fascism.

That, above all, is the lesson of Spain. Had the workers and peasants taken the power into their own hands, there would have been no Bilbaos and no Barcelonas surrendered intact to the fascists. There would have been no crawling pleas to the Blums and Chamberlains for arms, but instead a clarion call to the masses everywhere to organize the shipment of arms and in the process to take the power in their own countries into their own hands, in France first of all. The wave of revolutions inspired by the Russian Revolution of October, 1917 would have risen again, enriched by all the intervening lessons.

Fight or die! - these are the only alternatives. Nothing is impossible for the working class when it follows a revolutionary course! Boycotted by the whole world, fighting the whole world, the Russian workers and peasants threw back the white armies and the Allied armies on twenty-two fronts. The Barcelona of July 19, 1936 is the Barcelona that we shall remember - and also the Barcelona of January 25, 1939. Had the Barcelona proletariat continued to follow in the footsteps of the Petrograd proletariat of October 1917, it would not now be under the heel of Franco.

We have spoken of the lessons for the French working class. Those lessons are also for us, here in America. Soon enough, the same issues will face us. The tragedy of Barcelona will not be fruitless, if we learn from it that it is the only alternative to the road of the Petrograd workers in October 1917.

Felix Morrow.

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BANTU PROBLEMS THROUGH THE EYES OF
A BOURGEOIS ECONOMIST

A pamphlet has been recently published by the Institute of Race Relations under the title: "Some Economic Problems of the Bantu in South Africa." The author is D. Hobart Houghton, M.A., senior lecturer in Economics, Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. This pamphlet (printed by the Lovedale Press) is actually a course of lectures delivered at the vacation course in African Studies held in July, 1938, at the South African Native College, Fort Hare.

Except for the malevolent contributions of Mr. Heaton Nicholls there has lately been nothing, to our knowledge, dealing with Bantu problems. If only for that reason, it would be worth while to examine any publication that raises a discussion on this question. But the fact that this pamphlet was addressed originally to Bantu students at Fort Hare, makes it all the more imperative to deal with it. On the other hand, its publication by the Institute of Race Relations puts on it at the outset a political imprimatur, and not a pleasing one either. It is well known, and it has been publicly proclaimed by the leaders of this organisation, how vitally they are interested in the indefinite maintenance of leadership and control of white rulers over South Africa. (c.f.

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spark, March, 1939.P.4.) It must be borne in mind also that the lecturer himself is employed by an institution over which the Government and the ruling classes exercise control. Thus we know beforehand that the views expressed in these lectures can only be the views of the ruling class and in its interest. No lecturer would keep his position for another day in any university in South Africa, if he expressed doctrines about freedom, equality and liberation from oppression for the Bantu people. Still less can we expect revolutionary doctrines, or the whole truth, to be published by the Institute of Race Relations.

The lecturer is an economist. To be sure, a bourgeois economist. For him economics is just one out of many aspects of social organisation and nothing more. The economic interpretation of history is for him therefore one-sided, unbalanced, and can serve only as a useful corrective to other commonly-accepted political or racial interpretations. He does not see that economics is the main, fundamental aspect of social organisation from which spring out all the other aspects, constituting the superstructure of social life. Of course we cannot blame him for this, nor for failing to see the close connection between politics and economics. For him they seem to be two separate things. He is very careful to emphasise that he speaks only as an economist.

"The aim of these lectures is to put before you the main economic causes and effects of the close propinquity of the two races in this country." (P.3.)

"In these lectures an attempt has been made to survey the economic conditions of the Bantu in many aspects."

"But the task of the economist is not to pass judgement on the aims and direction of public policy." (P.53.)

Thus he pretends to be strictly impartial by not interfering in the political sphere, by not passing judgement. But the fact is he cannot escape from the political sphere, and besides that he passes judgment in every one of his five lectures.

When in the first lecture he calls the location system a compromise, isn't this a political judgment? Or when he praises the Government for taking "vigorous action" in the development of the Reserves. Or when he justifies the low wages paid to farm-labourers on the excuse of low productivity of the soil and high costs. Or when he maintains that many farmers pay a "reasonable wage", and justifies the compound system as something that mitigates the evils of the situation. What are all these if they are not political judgments? Again and again he repeats "Conditions being what they are." It means taking sides, because for him there is no other system but the capitalist system. The very fact that he avoids referring to the burdens of the poll tax, shows which side he is on. But let us analyse each lecture separately.

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We need not spend much space on the introductory lecture, dealing with the historical background. In the usual liberal-bourgeois way he describes the Bantu economic system before they came into contact with the Europeans; he deals with the military clash between the two peoples and its effects on both economic systems; then the later development of relations, or what he calls the competitive stage and the co-operative stage. There is no need to argue about the Bantu tribal economic system. We know it and nobody intends to glorify it. But the lecturer proceeds to make an unjustified deduction from it which he elevates into a general principle.

"This (tribal system) had important consequences in that the Bantu never acquired the habit of regular disciplined work. The European artisan has been trained to regular daily work in the factory, but the Bantu as peasant farmers, and their own masters, were only accustomed to work when there was work to be done, as, for example, at harvest time or sowing time. This difference in the tradition of work has made it difficult for them to adjust themselves to the European system.(P.4-5.)

A lecturer in economics should not make such a stupid statement. Thousands and tens of thousands of Bantu have acquired the habit of regular disciplined work in factories, just as the Europeans themselves have done, those workers who have had to sell their labour power as wage-slaves under a capitalist system. The tradition of work is not the special privilege of the European, but the result of a whole chain of economic conditions. The "poor white" problem in South Africa gives the lie to such a stupid generalisation. The trouble is that the Bantu is prevented from becoming an artisan, and is forced to remain an unskilled labourer. The ruling classes never wanted him to become an artisan. A University lecturer should be aware of the fact, also, that the word "trained" excludes privileges and birthright and implies application and education.

After describing the clash between Bantu and European and the consequences of defeat, the lecturer goes on:

"The general policy was to regard the conquered as existing solely for the benefit of the conquerors. As the native was needed so was he allowed to remain;

"otherwise he was pushed further and further back into smaller areas of his own".
(P.6.)

He goes on to discuss what he calls the competitive aspect of the contact between Black and White, to which he devotes a few lines; to the co-operative aspect he devotes five pages. What are they?

"Contact between the races led at first to competition for land; this gave place later to co-operation in the economic system which assumed large proportions with the industrialisation of the country and the development of mining." (P.13.)

We must congratulate Mr. Houghton on his great diplomatic ability in expressing in such an innocuous way the terrific process of subjugating the bantu, of dispossessing them and transforming them into the slaves of Imperialism. What hypocrisy is required in order to call the brutal robbery of land from the Bantu - competition for land! And it is not less of a humbug to call the cunning methods employed by the white rulers to hound out the Bantu to work for them as slaves or serfs - "co-operation." In an ingenious way the two component parts of the same scheme of subjugation are divided under the words "competition" and "co-operation", in order to hide from the Bantu listeners the integral connection between the two.

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In the second lecture the subject is the Reserves. Taking as his guide and bible the Native Economic Commission Report of 1932, he proceeds with well-known and well-worn fallacies. The main argument is - overstocking, which he maintains is the principal cause of Bantu poverty. Another fallacy taken over from the Report is that the Reserves comprise the best farming land in the country. Yet here and there he cannot avoid mentioning the factors which we consider as the major causes of the terrible state of affairs in the Reserves.

He agrees (in the first lecture) that the whole Bantu economic system was based on land. He also agrees (although using the soft liberal phraseology) that the European dispossessed the Bantu of their land and pushed them into small reserves where they could not exist, because the white man wanted not only their land but also their cheap labour on that land. He accepts the fact that half-a-million of the best, most able-bodied men are always absent from their homes in the Reserves. Surely it is not difficult to draw the conclusion that the present state of affairs is due primarily to land-hunger, the absence of the most industrious section of the population and the lack of support, credits implements, irrigation, fencing, etc., as well as the heavy burden of direct and indirect taxation. To every honest student of the Bantu problem it must become obvious that this is all part of the deliberate policy of the ruling classes, who do not want to improve the economic position of the Bantu. If the Reserves became self-supporting, the white farmer would have great difficulty in getting his labourers for £5 to £6 a year.

But our lecturer never even mentions the word land-hunger. He talks instead about over-population, overstocking and wasteful farming methods. He almost seems to regret the absence of the "powerful forces checking the natural increase in the population" as well as the live-stock - the absence of tribal warfare, for instance, the reduction of famine through improved means of communication and modern veterinary science and compulsory dipping.

What is the remedy for the Reserves, for the great majority of the six and a half million Bantu still mainly engaged on the land? The answer is so obvious - Land, Land, Land. Can anybody dispute it, besides of course the slave-owners? Yes. Our learned economist comes out most emphatically and openly against more land for the Bantu. It may sound astonishing, unbelievable, but it is a fact.

"Three important reasons can be advanced against seeking to solve the congestion in the Reserves by granting more land. (1) There is no more land to be given without dispossessing Europeans, and the political system of South Africa being what it is, there is no chance of this being done. (2) From the point of view of the country as a whole, it would be a retrogressive step to give more land to natives, whose methods of cultivation are for the most part still primitive; because any extension of wasteful methods of farming would reduce the total productivity of the country. It may be retorted that some European farmers are little better than the Bantu masses, but on the average, surely, white farming is considerably above native. This is due in part to greater knowledge and efficiency, and in part, it must not be forgotten, to greater capital resources, supplemented by assistance from the Government.... (3) Thirdly there is the "labour" argument. One of the reasons why economic pressure was put upon the reserves was to induce labourers to go out to work on the mines, in towns and on European-owned farms. In spite of some aspects of recent legislation governing the entry of natives into urban areas, this demand for native labour still persists, and the European capitalists, both industrial and agricultural, have no intention of allowing their supply of labour to be cut off by giving the Natives in the Reserves so much land as to make them

"economically independent of employment outside." (P.18,19.)

And if these three important reasons are not sufficiently convincing for the Bantu, the lecturer adds another:

"Even if more land could be obtained, it is doubtful whether this would be in the best interests of the Bantu people themselves."

It seems that we were all mistaken! The Bantu did not know up to now that when they ask for more land they are going against their own interests! Then they had better give up what they have left and go to the mines where life is so "safe and cheerful", or to the towns where they are not admitted, or to European-owned farms where, according to the learned lecturer, "there are many farmers who pay a reasonable wage and give generous rations of mealies and occasionally meat; stock farms usually give skimmed milk which adds greatly to the general health and happiness." (P.30) The most reactionary slave-driver in this country could not have advanced better arguments than have here been given in favour of keeping the Native in his place. Yet the author pretends to be a liberal and the lectures are published by the Institute of Race Relations. What then is his solution for the Natives in the Reserves?

First of all he advocates a great reduction of the existing cattle, as was suggested by the Native Economic Commission. Secondly he advocates improvement of the method of arable farming. He admits that these improvements will require an increased supply of capital. This can be provided by individuals investing their savings, and by agricultural co-operative societies! (He is stealing Ballinger's thunder.) If these will not suffice, a "strong case" can be made for a development loan, which is "in accord with the best principles of sound public finance." Thirdly he advocates the adoption of individual ownership or some system of communal farming on progressive lines. The system of common grazing land and open field cultivation will have to disappear.

However much we may "agree" with his three remedies, it is obvious to us that they are just as futile as putting a cold compress on a dying man. All these suggestions may be good with land. Without it, they are useless. A people who have to go out for the greater part of the year to earn money to pay taxes, a people stricken with poverty, "bowed down with poverty", as the lecturer admits, cannot improve methods of arable farming. The government of the ruling classes will never give either land or capital to make the Reserves self-sufficient. They must have cheap Native labour. The irony of the matter is that Mr. Houghton is aware of this as well as we are. After saying:

"One is even led to wonder whether the backwardness of the reserves is not due to deliberate policy inspired by the desire for cheap labour," (P.22.) he comes to the conclusion that:

"For this reason it is idle to expect that the reserves will ever be developed to the extent of robbing the capitalists of their principal workers by providing adequate subsistence for the whole native population." (P.24.)

The joke becomes even greater when he makes this conclusion in his final lecture:

"The prospect before those in the reserves is relatively bright." (P.54.)

Indeed after these many contradictions in the course of the lectures it is difficult to decide if they are due to intentional misleading or just stupidity of super-scientific brains.

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The third lecture is devoted to the Farm Native. Here also he has not said anything new; the facts and statistical figures are all taken from the Native Economic Commission Report, 1932, and more often than not, the text of the lecture as well. Only in so far as the problem touches the Land Act of 1936, does the lecturer commit himself. And all he does say is this:

"The general character of legislative policy has been towards tightening up the regulations and eliminating waste of labour in response to the farmers' complaints of shortage." (P.29.)

Raising the servitude of labour tenants from 90 to 180 days (ch.4. of the Report) he calls "eliminating waste of labour". He criticises the labour tenant system as wasteful for the farmers and (still following the line of the Report) shows the advantage of replacing it by full time servants. He notices with approval that the Land Act of 1936 is doing away with the share-croppers and the squatters and imposes severe restrictions on the labour tenants. And there seems to be positive approbation in his remark about the proclamation for the Lydenburg district, (raising the servitude from 90 to 180 days.)

"The natives will have to accept the new conditions as there is no alternative, unless the promise to provide land elsewhere for those displaced, is made effective."

The last qualifying remark does him credit in so far as he does not believe in that promise to provide land.

Whenever he comes to the vexed question of low wages and the low standard of living of farm labourers, he raises the old fallacies. (The average wage is between 4d and 6d a day, according to the statistics.)

"The Commission (Transvaal Labour Commission of 1904. Ed.) did not recommend higher wages because it was argued a) that the farmers could not afford to pay more. b) owing to the simple nature of native wants, higher wages would reduce, not increase the supply, for they would enable the native to live longer at his home without going out to work again. This latter argument is of considerable importance and has been advanced time and again as a powerful argument against raising native wages. The Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 came to the conclusion that it carried considerable weight....."(P.12.)

He takes up argument a) more fully:

"From the workers' point of view their wage is their income and they measure its value by what it will buy. From the farmers' side it is, however, regarded as a cost which is measured in relation to the value of the work performed by the labourer. Thus, if efficiency is low, what may appear as a low wage to the worker will represent a high cost to the employer....The efficiency is so low that for what is produced even these scanty wages represent a comparatively high cost." (P.32.)

Thus he can see the only solution in raising the productivity of the Native farm labourer. Considering the future of these half-a-million regular workers on the farms owned by Europeans, (together with their dependents something like two million) he says:

"If by training, good feeding and the offer of some hope for the future, their productivity could be raised so that they could earn higher wages, they would become an important internal market for agricultural produce. But the general level of managerial ability among white farmers being what it is, there is little hope of a more enlightened labour policy in the near future." (P.33.)

In other words he has no hope for the future of the farm Natives. It is not difficult to understand the reason for this pessimism. In this very passage he supplies it unambiguously and unmistakably - "the managerial ability among white farmers being what it is." He cannot see any other South Africa but that under the rule of the slave owners!

Naturally we do not agree with Mr.Houghton. Although he separates the farm Native from the reserve Native, giving them a different future and fate, their problem is one and the same and their future is inter-related. That is our opinion. It is the future of a poor and landless peasantry in a country where there is plenty of land. For the three million people in the Reserves and nearly two million people on the white man's farms the problem is the agrarian problem of South Africa. For they have always lived on the land and will continue to be occupied with agriculture. Even if some have to look for employment in the mines or in the towns to supplement the family income, which is below subsistence level, they are vitally interested in the solution of the agrarian question. Even the urbanised Bantu who are no longer connected with the Reserves but form the industrial proletariat of South Africa, even they are interested, because the forced migration to the town is continually depressing their low wage level. We have said and we maintain: the Bantu problem is the agrarian problem.

Now there are two ways of looking at this question. One is from the viewpoint of the rich white landowners; the other is from the viewpoint of the poor and landless peasant. In other words, of the feudal lord or the slave-owner on the one hand and the serf or slave on the other. For the former, the Bantu both in the Reserves and on the farms are only objects of cheap labour, for exploitation and profit. Like the French feudal nobility, like the Russian pomieshtshiki before the Revolutions, our white landowners consider the Bantu as lower beings created for the specific purpose of administering to their bodily needs. This is the viewpoint of our lecturer as well. Not for a moment can he see the Bantu as subjects (not objects) who have a right to the land, not only because it is their land, which was taken away from them, but because they work it. For Mr.Houghton the Native farm problem is only a question of raising the productivity of the serfs so that the "country" - the white ruling class - may make still more profits.

Our viewpoint is that of the Bantu peasantry, the serfs of to-day, who are entitled to land and liberty. The French and Russian Revolutions solved the agrarian problem. The agrarian revolution gave the land to the French and Russian peasantry and the "nobility" has gone with the wind. In the same way will the agrarian question be solved in South Africa. There is no other way !

(To be continued.)

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