

which they were built. The Government seems to have been remarkably successful in identifying itself with the people in such a way that it is regarded as a useful adviser on schemes which have been initiated and undertaken by the people themselves. This means that local people feel that they themselves are responsible for, and active in, the great work of nation building rather than that they are being forced to do this for the prestige or profit of an alien Government or business enterprise. Socialism, as Dr. Nyerere points out, is fundamentally an attitude of mind.

ONE COULD WRITE A GREAT DEAL more about Tanganyika: about trade unions; about the tremendous emphasis given to education; about the pros and cons of one-party democracy; or even about the proposed East African Federation, but all this would be beyond the scope of this article which has attempted, merely, to outline some of the more exciting economic ideas and developments in a country from which we in South Africa can learn a great deal. Although our economic problems are not the same, in that we are already an industrialised country, we can nevertheless take heart from the determination of the people of Tanganyika that everybody must have a fair share of the nation's wealth. The economic inequalities in South Africa are amongst the greatest anywhere in the world and there will have to be great changes in the distribution of wealth and economic power. Although Tanganyika cannot teach us much about the details of this change (and we must do a lot more thinking as to just what our goals are to be, and how they are to be achieved) she can teach us a great deal about the fundamental ideas on which the new, egalitarian, society must be built. ●

Rhoda Prager

"I am thinking of a gay and vital person who has died. I am thinking of her dancing before some children, laughing and singing. I am thinking of her, earnest in conversation about books and people. It was for people that she cared and for whom she worked. She resented with anger the oppression of those without privilege, and she was tender towards those close to her. In this way she gave of herself to others and by this we shall remember her."

These words were spoken at the funeral in Johannesburg of Rhoda Prager, who died suddenly on 31 July 1963. The story "End Street" which we published on 27 March 1963 was only one kind of contribution she made to *The New African*, which also profited by her enthusiasm and critical interest from the start. We offer sincerest sympathy to her husband, Mr. Fred Prager, her children and grandchildren and to the many who mourn her.

Africa Wants an Answer

Are the Communists trying to have it both ways?

PHILIP KGOSANA

IN THE OBSERVER (London) of 9 June 1963, Mr. Colin Legum, Commonwealth correspondent of the paper, reports that many Western countries, including the United States are progressively reducing their supply of arms and ammunition to the Government of Verwoerd. In his article, Mr. Legum explains how the United States, for instance, has worked out a formula by which "by means of export licences, it enforces a policy of forbidding the sale of 'any arms which could be used by the South African Government to enforce apartheid'."

It appears, however, according to Mr. Legum, that there are a number of Communist countries, notably East Germany and Czechoslovakia which are selling small arms to the Verwoerd regime. (Czechoslovakia's recent denials have been refuted). For this reason, a certain Cape Town importer, Mr. F. Seder is reported to have told the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* that "Czech arms were selling well in South Africa". Mr. Seder is further reported to have confirmed that "East Germany had approached ammunition dealers in recent weeks to increase its export of arms."

There is also a report in the same article that "South Africa's total imports from Hungary last year were just short of R800,000. Its exports to Poland amounted to R2,124,730 and East Germany R1,629,190."

Another journalist, Mr. Stanley Uys, reports from Cape Town that Communist China is buying "large quantities of maize grown by South Africa's predominantly Government-supporting farmers."

IF THESE REPORTS are true, it appears to me that the only legitimate thing is to openly tell those who support the Pretoria regime that they cannot at the same time be our friends.

PHILIP KGOSANA left South Africa while on trial for incitement after the 1960 Anti-Pass Campaign, having been Cape regional secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress from which he has since resigned. He is at present a student in Addis Ababa.

The whole continent of Africa is today engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the Pretoria regime of racist Verwoerd. Since the advent of independence in Africa in 1957, the strong forces of African nationalism have been building up slowly against Verwoerd and his regime.

Whether it is at the United Nations, or at the Commonwealth conferences; whether it is at the International Labour Organisation or at the ECA conferences, the African countries have made it clear that they will not rest until Verwoerd has been brought down to his knees.

Very recently, unprecedented strides have been taken to crush and frustrate South Africa's regime. African states now talk the language which, I believe, is the only one which Verwoerd can understand. African states are now resolved to throw South Africa out of the UN including all its agencies. It would therefore not be wrong to say that Africa is just fed up with the Verwoerd regime.

IN THE LIGHT of this dynamic spirit which now rages in Africa against the racists of South Africa, it sounds most fantastic that Communist countries should at this stage be fishing for new markets and friendship with Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd. The Communist countries constantly speak our language of "anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and neo-colonialism", and, if it is true that some of them supply South Africa with arms, we will be shirking our duty if we do not challenge them.

If these Communist countries think that they can talk our language today and tomorrow support Verwoerd, we do not hesitate to tell them that, "those who are not with us are against us". It is with this background that we see the USSR vetoing a motion which aims at the ultimate expulsion of South Africa from the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

IT IS AT THIS JUNCTURE that Africa wants an answer to the following questions from East Germany, Poland, Hungary, USSR, The People's Republic of China, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia:

- (i) What types of arms and ammunition (if any) do you supply to South Africa?
- (ii) What quantity of arms and ammunition (if any) have you already supplied to or you intend to supply to South Africa?
- (iii) What types of agricultural and or manufactured goods do you import from or export to South Africa?
- (iv) What volume of trade, in these goods etc; do you have with South Africa?
- (v) When do you propose to break off diplomatic and trade relations if any, with South Africa?

I wish to make it very clear that, on the question of South Africa, there can be no middle-of-the-road or two-ways about it: Africa is engaged in a life-and-death struggle against Verwoerd and "those who are not with us are against us". That's all there is to it. ●

Into a Dim World

The Compound is a Meerkat Burrow

CARL MAFOKO

SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL COMPOUNDS have a unique and quite unattractive architectural character.

From foundation to roof a compound building is one mass of a grotesque figure, cast in stark relief that defies the eye; stubbornly conveying to the outside world the unwelcoming mood of its inside. The ugliest compound will show an outline of brick and mortar for walls, and zinc or asbestos of a dull shade for roof. It will be about three hundred yards long, to be pouched into mass rooms. As it grows up, the wall bends into a shape as of a train, the impression of a train being pronounced more by the length. Here and there, a squat chimney stump pokes out from the solid monotony of roof. There may be several five-room, six-room structures in the middle, but the general hunched outline of the outer screen wall is the rule.

Thus finished, the compound is hardly noticed by the prosperous city dweller, always a passer-by here, always occupied with visions and ideas of cheerful home and society.

Only, as you hie past one, you need to have a curiosity and a hunger for facts that does not stop at generalisation, to have a sense of the reality of the seamy side of life to notice the compound. Its bleak, elephant appearance will sicken your eye, you will wish it was not there; you will wish that the Mrs van der V's could be down to earth enough to see this thing, thorn in their clay, cancer of an otherwise progressive State; to behold and be sickened also, so that they may cry for its replacement by something with the air of home; for their cries are always given a hearing.

The inmates of the compound prove to be of a mould different from that of their brothers in the townships, and it is easy to make them out when they descend into the streets of town. Lacking the city poise, extremely careful, discreet, drawn-in phenomenal beings out of some hole, eager to avoid the forward, fast city dwellers in mutual tenderness and sympathy for their simplicity. They halt, stagger, stutter. They have come from country places and never had a chance to adapt themselves to town and its people.

CARL MAFOKO is the pseudonym of a free-lance writer at Petersburg, Transvaal.