SOUTH AFRICA ENDED 1963 with a greater amount of speculation about 1964 than a new year usually brings. Understandably, for it was a terrible year to look back on: the Pogo trials, Rivonia, “90 days”, Sobukwe and Robben Island. The forward-looks predicted no advance by the forces of freedom in South Africa; for never have they been so seemingly weak and failing, after a year of Mr. Vorster.

What Mr. Vorster does not understand, however, is that the harder he attacks the opposition (in which we obviously do not include the ‘official opposition’ in Parliament), the weaker his own position becomes. “We are on top of the situation” he has told the press, explaining why he must retain the ‘90-day’ clause of the General Laws Amendment Act. What he has done is to gaol, exile and ban the great body of the country’s intellectual leadership, and to force the growth of a new crop, of a leadership of men and women who expect no quarter from him and will give none. He has given cause for unity in the opposition such as has never existed before, and a great hope for 1964 is that solid work will be accomplished to bring together all opposition groups against the common enemy. By showing that he will resort to any bestial and unjust course to defeat his political enemies he has ended any thought in the minds of the anti-apartheid camp that he and his kind may be dealt with as worthy political opponents.

Above all, he has introduced a new barbarism to South African public affairs, thus establishing the moral superiority of his enemies’ position beyond any question, even in looking-glass South Africa. And it is this that will destroy him.

SOMEONE ONCE SAID that the tragedy of the White South Africans is not that they are such bad people, but that they are such good people, who yet behave as they do. As has been pointed out in these pages, the Whites’ morality of survival allows extremes of action that repel adherents to the Black morality of fulfilment. If White South Africans are good people let them stop at this new extreme of action, called Vorsterism. Only the withdrawal of White support for Vorsterism can destroy the new barbarism quickly and peacefully. If they do not, it will be destroyed by means that may prove more destructive than our social fabric can withstand.

The year 1964 will bring change, or the beginnings of change to South West Africa, will see a Transkei which may move from its present comic-opera political setting to starkest tragedy, and may show that a boycott of South Africa can be effective, perhaps even in a single commodity. But the inner core of our peoples’ thinking will not be moved marked by these events. The Whites’ awareness of what Vorsterism is and what it is doing to our country can have a greater, more lasting effect than all these great events.

It is too much to hope that White South Africa will yet conquer its fears of Black domination and revenge sufficiently to allow a real turning away from apartheid, Nat or UP-style. Vorsterism is a different matter. In opposing Vorsterism White South Africa could begin its trek from survival to fulfilment.
SOCIALIST SURVEY

What Kind of Socialism for South Africa?

MARGARET ROBERTS

Socialism is fundamentally about equality. Freedom, in the sense of the absence of arbitrary restraint, is not considered enough for the socialist. His distinguishing belief is that the individual is fulfilled and enriched as a human being to the extent that he shares and co-operates with his fellow; and that society is by the same token impoverished by barriers set up between men, whether they are economic, racial, social or bureaucratic. Cooperation is not feasible if society is permeated by inequalities: class, income or racial inequalities create barriers which undermine the humanity of society. It is this emphasis upon equality which distinguishes the socialist from the liberal, whose belief in liberty is paramount. This is not to say that liberty is not fundamental to the socialist belief: it is; but socialism goes on from there to argue the importance of equality.

So much for the ideals. How is equality to be achieved? Marx, and orthodox Marxists today, put the emphasis on the ownership of property. Inequalities, they say, are created by inequalities in the ownership of property, which confers unearned income and inherited wealth in the form of rent. The ownership of property allows the rentier to accumulate capital, which properly belongs to the workers who created it by their labour. Therefore all property, defined as the means of production, distribution and exchange, ought to belong to the people as a whole through the State; and the highest form of ownership is State or national ownership. This automatically removes the basis of inequality.

It is not difficult to see why this emphasis upon property ownership was given to the concept of equality by Marx in the mid-nineteenth century. Then, the correlation between political and economic power and property ownership was manifest, and the cause of mass poverty could be traced to this concentration of this power in the hands of a very few. But today we know that State ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange does not automatically remove inequalities nor establish a co-operative relationship between people. We know that other techniques—fiscal, monetary physical controls—can be more effective in redistributing the fruits of economic activity than nationalisation of property. We know, for example, that a vote may mean more to a man in terms of equality than a share in the ownership of property. We know that a strong trade union may do more for the cause of equality than state-owned industry. We are, in fact, in the sad position of realising that there is no panacea for reaching the classless, or barrierless, society. We are thrown back, alas, on the difficult road of pragmatism.

Marxists, in fact, should be the last to be disconcerted by this discovery. For what it means is that we must experiment, we must learn by experience, we must not be hamstrung by dogma and doctrine and theory. We must return to Marx's fundamental thesis: the introduction of science into economics and politics. It is this scientific element which has been lacking in the thinking of orthodox Marxists, despite the primacy in Marx's own thinking of the concept of scientific socialism. Socialists today reject the orthodox Marxists' programme precisely because it has become both dogmatic and inhumane, because it subjects the individual to dogma and an inflexible State capitalism. It justifies inhumanities by invoking dogma. Marxists, to use their own terminology, have set up a new antithesis to the capitalist thesis: and what is needed is the new synthesis of scientific (non-dogmatic) socialism.

I am afraid it is necessary thus to define one's concept of socialism before setting out a socialist programme of action, because there are so many misconceptions about: it is too readily assumed, because of the work of the orthodox Marxists, that an 'objective' or proper socialist programme is obvious. What is obvious in South Africa is that the two clear barriers to equality—racial and economic—the racial is the most deep-seated and largely responsible for the economic. The economic disabilities of the non-white peoples and the economic privileges of the white can be traced primarily to restriction of the vote to the former. This is a fact. It is not to say that the extension of the vote to the non-whites will automatically remove economic or racial inequalities, but it is an essential and a far-reaching pre-requisite. For the positive steps which need to be taken to eradicate inequalities are essentially State functions, and they will not be undertaken unless ordered by the electorate. That is the basic reason why a qualified franchise must perpetuate inequalities: the disqualified have no effective means of mobilising State action in their interests, and are therefore inevitably underprivileged.

Assuming, then, that everyone has the vote, where would a socialist government start? (For only the starting points can be envisaged at this point in time). Two major operations stand out: improving the status and living standards of the industrial workers, and redistributing land. The first...
implies an immediate rise in the wages of unskilled workers through the declaration of a national minimum wage. For the majority of industry the additional costs could be quickly absorbed by the increase in capacity and turnover which would result from increased purchasing power. The exceptional minority would have to be dealt with on its merits. It is true that the present bottleneck in skills would be temporarily exacerbated. The whole operation must be accompanied by a priority programme of training. But this is not as serious a problem as it looks: there is an army of non-white workers, at least semi-skilled who await only the removal of colour-bar barriers to advancement and the mobilisation of their abilities. Job fragmentation is also a useful and necessary device, and is perfectly consistent with the principle of 'the rate for the job.' The immediate effect of all this would be to reduce the gap between skilled and unskilled wage rates, and to create a far more efficient and equitable rationalisation of the process and product of industry.

Redistribution of land would involve the principle of compulsory government purchase of unused or under-used land. This has already been adopted with success in Kenya, where, in fact, the problem has been to find the land but to choose between eager sellers. A socialist government would be unafraid of the principle of land nationalisation: this is in fact one sphere of nationalisation whose social effects can be justified on almost every ground. Individual long-term leasehold provides security of tenure, while increments in the value of land, which is socially created, accrue to the community rather than to the speculators. Redistribution of land to the landless will need careful government planning, help with loans and technical knowledge, and a sensitive appreciation of how a community spirit can lift the level of the peasants' co-operation and understanding. This last point has been amply borne out elsewhere in Africa, and fatally traduced in South Africa by European agricultural officers in the African farming areas.

The third obvious leg of the first stage of a socialists' programme in South Africa is the systematic provision of national health, welfare and education services. Fortunately there is no question that the country could not afford to pay for such services. To the natural and human resources of the country would be added a vast increase in productivity when the energies and potential skills of all the people are released. All these are already incomparably greater than those anywhere else in Africa, and they could be multiplied. Of course all this assumes that the process of passing political power from the white minority to the peasants as a whole has not wrecked the economy and left a shattered and diminished nation ruled by embittered and vengeful men. But if that happens, the whole problem takes on the complexion of a post-war operation of rehabilitation, physically, economically and psychologically.

Theorthodox Marxists will object that I have omitted the first principle in any socialist programme of action: nationalisation of the mines. I have already explained that nationalisation is no longer regarded as an automatic first principle of socialism. It may well be that state ownership of the mines would make them more productive, the State richer and the workers happier. But not necessarily so. Socialist governments like that of Guinea have found that mining is best left for the time being in the hands of private enterprise, and the Ghana government has taken over only those mines which private enterprise was not prepared to operate. "Nationalisation" says Ghana's latest 7-Year Development Plan, "only changes ownership, without adding to productive capacity." Therefore it may well be that a socialist government of South Africa would decide to leave the mines in private hands, while of course insisting upon a radical revision of the labour and wage structures, the trade union position and the revenues which accrue to the State. All this could be done without nationalising the mines. Of course if private mining interests used their economic power to hold the State to ransom, politically or economically, it would be obviously right to nationalise them.

Much has been left out. All one can do is indicate the principles and ideals which a socialist government would apply to South Africa's economy. In summing up, one point should be emphasised. The socialist does not stop at the point at which equality of opportunity has been established. He is concerned actively to help the weaker and historically less privileged sections of the community to find a fulfilled place in society. That is why it would not be enough in South Africa to establish a theoretical racial equality: the State would be used actively to encourage and rehabilitate those who have been crippled by generations of discrimination, deprivation and humiliation. Perhaps this would be the crucial difference between a liberal and a Socialist government.

A reply to D. H. Craighead's SOCIALIST SURVEY 2 appears on pages 9 and 10. Criticism and commentary on this series will be welcomed.
Somali Poetry

This article is based on a talk recorded at the Transcription Centre, London by MUSA HAJI ISMAIL GALAAL and MARGARET LAURANCE. Examples have been added from Somali Poetry: An Introduction by B. W. ANDREJIEWSKI and I. M. LEWIS. This is one of the first volumes in the new Oxford Library of African Literature. It is published this month by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Its sober garb belies a witty and entertaining book.

'ABDI DEEQSI, nicknamed 'Cinema', beat out the rhythm of the first heelo on an empty petrol tin one day in 1945. His lorry had broken down in a desolate place near Zella. He called this type of poem balwo which means in Somali 'evil' or 'misfortune'. It soon became popular on the radio. Its name originally deterred the superstitious but around 1950 it gradually came to be called heelo. Lorry drivers are particularly given to this form of verse; in Somalia a certain romance attaches to the lorry drivers since their decrepit trucks have replaced the camel caravan. Medical dispensers and dressers like the heelo too:

Oh doctor, I have a pain in my heart,
Give me treatment, but don't put me in hospital!

Its 'hedonistic and ecstatic treatment of love', say Andrejewski and Lewis, has brought it into disrepute with the more elderly and pious. Mahammad Hassan, a Somali writer of Arabic verse, lived above a room where young men gathered to sing these love songs. His daily devotions and his nightly sleep were disturbed so he started a poem:

Oh my God, my God, have mercy on us and save us from the balwo.

WHETHER IN LEAN TIMES or in times of plenty, Somalia is always a land where songs are made and sung. For poetry is a living art among Somalis, and their poems are an intense expression of both the sorrow and the rejoicing, the pa' in and the triumh, which the will of Allah allots to the life of every man.

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The faith of Islam is strong among Somalis, and this provides a unifying force among people who are divided into many tribes and sub-tribes. Another force also binds Somalis together, whether they live in the Somali Republic itself, or in French Somaliland, or Northern Kenya, or parts of Ethiopia. All Somalis, of whom there are an estimated seven million, speak the same language. The Somali language is considered by linguists to belong to the Cushitic group of the Hamitic languages. It is a somewhat difficult language, but one which possesses an extremely large vocabulary and a huge folk-literature. As Somali is not written, but only spoken, most of this literature has not yet been recorded. Attempts are now being made to render Somali into a written language, and it may not be long before the literature and traditions of the Somali people will be set down and preserved.

THERE IS NO SPECIAL CLASS of professional poets in Somaliland. But, since poetry has great social importance, skill at versification can have greater prestige than arms or wealth. Sheik Mahammed 'Abdille Hasan, who used to be known in England as the 'Mad Mullah', fought against the colonial regime from 1900 to 1920. He is accepted as being one of the greatest Somali poets.

Poetry passes from mouth to mouth. Naturally this can lead to distortion. But Andrejewski and Lewis have compared different versions of the same poem and found a great deal of faithfulness to the original. This is to a great extent due to formal rules; if a word is changed it has to conform to rules of alliteration. It is also due to the phenomenal memories of a people who have grown up in an oral tradition; sometimes they are word-perfect after a single recitation of a poem.

All the various forms of Somali poetry share this common feature of alliteration, which in Somali poetry is different from that in most other languages. A Somali poem, no matter how long it is, should be alliterated by a single consonantal sound, which should occur in one or two prominent syllables, according to the type of poem. In the gahay, alliteration must occur in two syllables in each breath-group, one somewhere in the first portion and the other in the last portion. Andrejewski and Lewis further explain: "The same alliteration is maintained throughout the whole poem. If, for example, the alliterative sound of a poem is the consonant g, in every hemistich there is one word beginning with g. A poem of one hundred lines (two hundred hemistichs) will therefore contain two hundred words beginning with g. Similarly, if the alliterative sound is a vowel, in every hemistich there is one word beginning with a vowel."
The passage below illustrates these principles; it alliterates in g.

1. Dhaachaan ka yahangaabsaday e
2. Goodliga Ban Cawl buu fakhrigu
3. Gaajada ruggeeddi miyay

1. I lately sought this plight for myself and you put me into it.
2. On the edge of the 'Awl Pain, poverty has a tree (to sit under).
3. Have the garments of hunger been put on me this evening?

Both poet and audience are very much alive to the standards of correctness required for all the types of poem. Andrzejewski and Lewis say that they have 'not met even one Somali who could state them explicitly. Yet these standards are universally accepted and there is seldom any difference of opinion as to whether a particular passage is correct or not'. The classification of Somali poetry is mainly based on two prosodic factors: the type of tune to which the poem is chanted or sung, and the rhythmic pattern of the words.

The Gabay is a long narrative poem backed by a simple melody which is chanted at a majestic tempo. The reciter does not modulate his voice and this gives an impression of restraint. It is usually composed on a philosophical theme; any lightheartedness is satirical. It has recently become an important weapon of political propaganda. A good gabay composer is an asset to a party; the public will enjoy listening to him even if they disagree with his views. Here are two extracts from The Death of Richard Corfield which reappeared in 1959 on a political broadsheet distributed in Mosadishu. It was composed by the 'Mad Mullah' after hearing of Corfield's death at Dul Madoba in 1913. Many of the lines start with the injunction 'say' in the manner of the Koran:

1. You have died, Corfield, and are no longer in this world.
2. A merciless journey was your portion
3. When, Hell-deserted, you set out for the Other World
4. Those who have gone to Heaven will question you, if God is willing:
5. When you see the companions of the faithful and the jewels of Heaven,
6. Answer them how God tried you.

27 Say: 'Great shouts acclaimed the departing of my soul.'

THE GABAY is almost the same length as the gabay. It has always been less popular than the gabay and the geraa. It reached its peak in the poetry of Sayyid Mahamed 'Abdille Hasan but is now apparently going out of fashion. Its mood is usually melancholy and reflective. The wigo is a song with a definite purpose: it is recited by those on guard who must stay awake all night. The dhaamto are used for marching songs or rallying songs for an important occasion.

Other forms of Somali poetry are the buraanbur, which are women's songs, the halaanhal, a type of free verse which is becoming rare nowadays, and the uurow, which is sung at gatherings such as weddings, and which resembles the gabay, though lighter in tone and simpler in meaning.

There are 'pop songs'. These are the modern hees and the heelo. The word hees means any kind of song: it is now often applied to any song with a political theme. It is the popular poetry of the modern urban community. The whole poem is continuous. There is little use of allegory as can be seen in a song called Independence. This celebrates the unification of the former British Somaliland Protectorate with the ex-Italian Somalia, and the creation of the independent Somali republic.

Freedom and dignity have reached us,
We have brought together the two lands,
Glory to God!
Say: 'It is God's victory,
It is God's victory!
We are victorious.'

The story of the heelo's invention by 'Abdi Deeqsi, nicknamed the 'Cinema', has already been told. The heelo is formed out of a sequence of two-line poems and is thus quite different from the classical forms. The audience claps or stamps to the lively rhythm: there may be a lute or a tambourine for accompaniment. The separate ele-
ments may be sung by the different reciters and the only
unifying thread is the theme which is usually love and
occasionally politics.

The subject is elaborately treated in metaphorical sym-

bols such as:

Like a sailing ship caught in a typhoon
I set my compass towards a desolate land.
The desolate land symbolises the absence of the poet’s
beloved and the typhoon his feelings. Unlike the poems
of the classical tradition the heelos disappear after a few
months in the same way as the modern hees.

All your young beauty is to me
Like a place where the new grass sways,
After the blest song of the rain,
When the sun unveils its light.

THIS SHORT heelo illustrates one of the many purposes of
Somali poetry, for in every land men have always com-
posed songs for the women they loved. Among Somalis,
most major events of life, whether personal feelings such
as those found in love songs, or happenings which con-
cern a family or a whole tribe, are marked and recorded
in songs. Each tribe has its own poets, who compose
poems suitable for whatever occasion arises. If there is a
tribal fight, the poet is expected to rally the tribesmen by
his songs, to incite them to battle, to strengthen their
courage. At weddings, when the newly married couples
are complimented and given blessings and good advice, it
is the poet who gives expression to the thoughts and
feelings of the entire community. In politics, issues are
debated throughout the country not only in discussions
but also in the songs of the gabay poets.

ALTHOUGH IT IS OFTEN philosophical, Somali poetry is
realistic. The poet deals with the world around him, with
the lives of people he knows, and with the creatures
familiar to him. Because most Somalis are so dependent
upon their livestock, it is common to find poems com-
posed to animals. Camels are the chief source of wealth,
but the Somalis also love horses, which are used for
riding on the long journeys across the plains, for hunting,
and in battles. Many fine poems have been composed to
a favourite steed.

If my horse is ridden at dawn, and travels far, across the
distant rivers, still he returns before sun set, as though he
were a djinn, or the swiftest wind. I could never live without
him—I keep him close to my dwelling, as though he were
one of my nearest kin.

The Somalis say that in a land of such hardships as
theirs, three things help people to survive—love of poetry,
generosity, and good counsel. Somali poetry is often used
to heighten generosity and to give good counsel. In the
following gabay, Koor-jaan rebuked his older wife for her
lack of generosity to strangers who once came to her for
food.

“I have learned,” he said, “that it is not enough to con-
side only one’s own immediate good in this world. A service
done for those in need will act as our salvation in the next
world. I charge you, therefore, not to turn away the needy
stranger, for if you do, you are leading me away from the
path of a noble man and into the ill fame of meanness. That
is how Eve misled Adam.”

Good counsel is offered by women as well as men. In
the following hees, one of the few free-verse poems in
Somali, a mother advised her daughter to be wise and
prudent, for the bond between husband and wife is not
unconditional, like the bond between parent and child.

“Oh, my daughter,” she said, “believe me, if your burden
camel strays, untended, and is lost, your husband may di-
verse you instantly for he is neither your father nor your
mother—he is only your husband.”

SO, IN ALL THESE VARIOUS WAYS, Somali poetry flourishes
as a necessary and valued part of the life of Somalia.
These poems have many functions—to entertain, to edu-
cate the young, to discipline the unruly, to hearten the
traveller, and to give a voice to sorrow and to love.

To end here is part of a gabay called “Blessing to a
Friend” by Mohammed Abdullah Hassan, the early
nationalist leader. This gabay was composed to a friend
who was going on a journey, and it illustrates not only
the value placed upon friendship, but also the Somalis’
faith in God, a faith which sustains them in a land where
life is often perilous and difficult.

Now you depart, and though your way may lead
Through airless forests thick with “hagar trees,
Places steered in heat, stifling and dry,
Where breath comes hard, and no fresh breeze
Can reach
Yet may Allah place a shield of coolest air
Between your body and the assailing sun.
And in a random scorching flame of wind
That parches the painful throat and sears the flesh,
May Allah, in His compassion, let you find
The great-boughed tree that will protect and shade.
On every side of you I now would place
Prayers from the Holy Quran, to bless your path.
That ills may not descend, nor evils harm,
And you may travel in the peace of faith.
To all the blessings I bestow on you
Friend, yourself now say a last Amen.
YUGOSLAVIA
Planning and Autonomy

Part 4 of a series on economic development

FRANCIS WILSON

WHEN MR. KHURSHEV visits a country and is so struck by what he sees that he sends back Russian technicians to study it in more detail one realises that the country must be unusual; for Russians, like Americans, are loth to acknowledge that anybody can teach them anything. The country which so impressed Mr. Khurschev last August and which President Kennedy, a few weeks before his tragic assassination, had promised to visit is Yugoslavia. Lying on the eastern shore of the Adriatic sea, between Italy and Greece, having common borders with Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania as well, it was carved out of the Austro-Hungarian empire at the end of the first world war. Yugoslavia is thus a melting pot of ethnic groups varying from the sophisticated ‘westerners’ near the Italian border to the more old-fashioned peasant farmers round Skopje in the south, with the more typically ‘eastern Europeans’ of Belgrade in between. As such a melting pot, not only of peoples but also of political ideas, Yugoslavia is becoming the focus of East-West relationships and the testing ground on which the ideas of American ‘free enterprise’ and Russian ‘communism’ have been tried out and fused into the peculiarly Yugoslavian form of realistic and pragmatic socialism. Neither of the two power blocs were, until recently, at all happy about this form of social structure but it is one from which many of the new nations of Africa and elsewhere are wanting to learn much.

Until the pro-Nazi Government was overthrown by popular revolt in 1941, Yugoslavia was ruled as a dictatorial monarchy. After the revolt Hitler fought his way in and for the next four years the country was under German occupation. As soon as the war was over, however, the Yugoslav peoples, under Josip Broz Tito, who had led the underground resistance to Hitler, set up a socialist democratic republic on a federal basis. As its name suggests the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia consists of a number of federated republics. Five of these are inhabited mainly by each of the five Yugoslav nationalities while the sixth republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is inhabited by Serbs, Croats, and Moslems of Yugoslav origin. Each republic has its own constitution, assembly, and government. This system enables the country to grow into one nation without trying to force everybody into a uniform mould, which is what King Alexander had tried unsuccessfully to do. For Yugoslavia is a country where prejudices, and differences of religion and history are so great that it was nearly torn to shreds by the internal tensions before the Second World War. One of the fundamental laws of the country today stipulates that any propaganda or other activity intended to cause or foster ethnic, racial, or religious hatred or strife is a criminal offence against the people and the State.

YUGOSLAVIA EMERGED from the war devastated. The Nazi occupation had seen the destruction of millions of pounds worth of fixed capital in the form of houses, schools, bridges, railways, and factories. With a population little bigger than that of South Africa, over 1½ million of her people had been killed. Primarily an agricultural country, she had seen the destruction of half a million ploughs and 18 million fruit trees. And her per capita income just before the war had been only $100 a year. In such a crisis determined action was required to increase the gross national product as rapidly as possible in order that people might rise above a subsistence standard of living. The action took the form of a centralised five-year plan for “the industrialisation and electrification of our country”. Speaking on the introduction of the plan, in the National Assembly in 1947, President Tito had this to say: “The planned economy and its success are, of course, inseparably linked with the new social order in the New Yugoslavia.—It is indeed possible in our country just because industry, the mines, and the fundamental wealth of the country are in the hands of the people”. But he went on to add that, as far as land was concerned, “there can be no question of the abolition of private ownership, but merely the extension of planned economy to agriculture. This is made necessary in the interests of the community as well as in those of the peasants themselves”. Thus even today only about 12% of the land is under public ownership. The tasks of the plan included the development of “the enthusiasm for work and creative initiative of the working class and of working people in general”—(Article 3.1). Fascinating and rewarding though the study of this plan and its effects is we have not space here to deal with it except to note that ‘the expansion in the volume of gross output during the early years of the plan was substantial’ and that ‘the policy it inaugurated has provided the impetus for the industrial development of Yugoslavia’.* But the plan was highly centralised with a strict chain of command from the top downwards, and with strict concentration of power in the hands of the executive. In other words, as in many of the other Communist countries private capitalism had been replaced by a form of state capitalism.

It was at this point that Yugoslavia began to develop...
the highly significant form of workers' management which people from such diverse places as Russia, Canada, and Tanganyika are finding so exciting. For by 1949 a strong reaction had set in against "bureaucratic centralism" and the Government and party leaders began to search around for a new approach. The Yugoslav rejection of the doctrinaire Communist approach was not exactly welcomed by Moscow which saw to it that all the countries behind the Iron Curtain broke off all economic and commercial relations with the erring satellite. This action considerably delayed the fulfillment of the first five-year plan but the Yugoslavs were not deterred and continued to seek that form of social and economic organisation which would best answer their needs. Needs which demanded both an effective method of production and an effective method of distribution; distribution not only of material goods but also of power and responsibility.

THE FIRST MAJOR CHANGE in the 1946 constitutional structure came in 1950 with the fundamental enactment dealing with workers' management. This was considerably revised in 1953 and the necessary political and economic institutions built up between then and 1958. The administrative structure of the federal republic takes the form of the 6 federated republics which are divided into a total of 91 districts: these, in turn, are broken down into 1,105 communes. The districts and communes are organs of local self-government while the six federated republics and the overall Federal Republic are the organs of the state. All have considerable autonomy. The commune which forms the basic social and economic community, with an average population of 15,000 and occupying an average of 77 square miles, has very wide powers and is independent in budgeting matters, making its own economic development plans and operating its own investment fund. The supreme body of both the commune and the district (which is made up of a group of communes) is the people's committee, a representative body which has both regulatory and executive powers. These committees each have two chambers: the people's chamber, which is elected direct by all citizens; and the producers' councils for which only those engaged in the productive sectors of the economy have the vote. In this system of local self-government it is the producers' councils which play the decisive part for their powers cover all financial, economic, and social matters affecting undertakings. The powers of the state authorities are confined to those matters such as defence, customs, foreign affairs, and the maintenance of law and order, which must be dealt with centrally and which do not directly affect the management of industry. Although, ultimately, the key political decisions which determine such things as the relative levels of investment and consumption (controlled via taxation) or on which particular sectors of the economy development is to be concentrated, are taken not only by the people's committees at the local level but also by the democratically elected central assemblies of the republics and by the Federal Assembly.

Within this political system, and based on public ownership of the means of production and comprehensive planning of all economic and social life, workers' management operates. Its guiding principle is 'respect for the independence of each undertaking or local community subject to the law'. Its demands are for complete freedom to trade and produce for all undertakings and producers. And its philosophy, in the words of the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, is "to expand the productive capacity of our society, to strengthen socialist democracy and management by the producers in order to eliminate the last traces of master-servant relationships and to build up Socialist social relationships . . .". In order to achieve this double purpose of efficient production and communal responsibility the internal structure of the factory or firm is based on the separation of policy control from the technical and executive side. The policy of the firm originates in the Collective which comprises all workers, including the director, who normally serve in the undertaking. This policy then flows up via the workers' council and the board of management to the director who is the executive authority and whose downward channel of command flows back once more to the Collective whose members are both the managers and the producers of the firm or undertaking.

THE WORKERS' COUNCIL which is elected annually by the members of the Collective is the legislative body which discusses, and then takes, all the fundamental policy decisions affecting the undertaking. It is directly responsible to the Collective and has periodic meetings with all the workers to give an account of its stewardship. The smaller management board is the executive organ of the workers' council and is elected by the latter at its first meeting each year. The director is an ex-officio member of this board of which at least three-quarters of the members must be engaged in the undertaking's "essential economic activity" (i.e. manual workers).

The position or status of the director is not yet at all uniform or precise in Yugoslavia where there is considerable experiment and change still taking place. However, the general principle is that he should be selected, after open competition, by a committee representing both the workers in the undertaking concerned and also the public authorities. Once appointed he is the main executive agent of the workers' council, responsible for organising the day to day work of the undertaking, but always an employee of the undertaking and subject to its rules and managerial decisions. The appointment of a director is not always a simple matter for there is often a conflict of interests between the representatives of the workers and of the public authorities. The workers are looking for "a man capable of creating conditions in which collective labour can develop successfully", while the public authorities "are much more concerned with the general political qualifications of applicants.* These problems resulting from the conflict of national and local interests, the conflict of planning and free enterprise have not been resolved but the fact that they exist at all shows that the politicians and bureaucrats are not having things all their own way.

With the policy of decentralisation and the adoption of workers' management the Yugoslavs have produced a form

of economic democracy which seems to be more advanced than that which has evolved anywhere else in the world. The workers are themselves responsible for their conditions of work; their remuneration is not a 'wage' but a personal income dependent both on the output of the firm and on what proportion of this output they decide to allocate for re-investment and on what proportion for their own immediate remuneration. Moreover they feel themselves responsible for their own undertakings and are able to build up the sort of community spirit which is so singularly lacking in the impersonal economic rat race of so many 'Western' enterprises. The undertaking is 'nationalised' in the sense that producers do not own it themselves but hold it in trust for the whole community.

There are yet many problems to be solved. Yugoslavia still has some political prisoners. But there is no doubt that what is happening there is paving the way for more genuinely democratic forms of economic organisation. The lessons lie not so much in what exactly Yugoslavia has done (e.g. nationalising secondary industry but not agriculture) but in the way she has tackled her own particular problems. Refusing to be bound by dogmas or doctrines from either the East or the West she has drawn ideas from both in a pragmatic attempt to build a society where men are regarded primarily as men and not as cogs in either a political or an economic machine. It is too soon yet to assess the permanent significance of the Yugoslav experiment but, as the ILO concluded in its excellent, detailed and careful report "Nationalisation of the means of production, over-all planning, industrial democracy, autonomy of undertakings, market competition, remuneration of workers according to production and profits are the main ingredients of a new alloy whose durability only the future can show but whose originality and interest can hardly be denied even today".* Yugoslavia's particular solution contains some general ideas which may well prove fruitful when worked out in other countries; not least our own.


Communalism

A reply to D. H. Craighead's
Socialist Survey 2

MR. CRAIGHEAD KNOWS full well that two diametrically opposed concepts cannot be reconciled by any twist of imagination, and for him to contemplate to reconcile capitalism and its evil accompaniments, with a strongly humanist and community-minded African Society, is to me, to close any incentive to reasoning on this matter. Again, he reduces African community-mindedness to nothing by implying and assuming that there are no incentives to better work and therefore, foresees an African Society in which laziness is to become part of the African socialist order. African Socialism is not a mediaevalistic economy but progressive and adaptable to the industrial needs of a technological human society. He quotes the findings of an industrial psychologist, 'the concept of mutual assistance begins to lessen and eventually disappear under the harsh realities of factory life'. Perhaps his findings were made in Europe. In the first place, as an African who is community-minded, I can tell the writer that the concept of mutual assistance began at my home. I sucked it from my mother's breast, and "no harsh realities of factory life" will lessen my concept of mutual assistance to my African socialist community. The social, economic and industrial progress will be brought about by a community-minded African society with a strong central Socialist Government.

The social security, unemployment and such relevant industrial problems, will not be left to respective industrial trade unionists "as under capitalist society" but shall be satisfied by an African socialist government through its socialist trade unions. Surely, Africans living in industrial areas are not to blame for their apparent existence "at the standard of chronic malnutrition" caused by neglect. The writer must blame capitalist individualism which he defends. The exploitation of African labour derived from African-community-mindedness, "as is happening in Bantustans" is barbaric and savage. The standard of living maintained through capitalist motives will not benefit an African community-minded society.

"A NATION WITHOUT a history is like a blind man who has lost his memory, he neither knoweth where he cometh nor whither he goeth". It is for this reason that the basis of African socialism lies first in the past of the African people. History records that before the advent of European imperialism and the ravages by capitalism of our economy thereafter, Africans had an effective communal economy which was based on pastoral, agricultural and mineral resources under the trusteeship of a monarch, African communalism implies the joint ownership of the land, of the people's potentialities and of mineral resources for the good of the nation. In certain communities today, Africans still adhere to a communalist economy.

Unfortunately, African communities have been converted into cheap-labour reservoirs to pave the way for the capitalist economy. African socialism is the perpetuation of our communal economy into a modern industrialised economy. It should be understood that chronologically speaking, it rates first to most oriental and occidental socialisms. That an African had been a socialist, in his social, economic, and political life cannot be disputed by Africans in Africa. The eastern socialisms were the resultant social order brought about by a revolt against capitalism; as is the case with western socialisms. African socialism is not a product of a revolt against any social order, but the perpetuation of an African communal economy of the past into a modern industrialised economy. The economic planning and programmes of African socialism will not be dictated by the objective conditions prevailing in the continent. It will accept capital from the east and the west, but reject psychological domination culminating into neo-colonialism as a result. It will invoke
originality in outlook, and creativeness in purpose. Like all socialisms, it seeks to satisfy the basic needs of its people, namely: food, clothing and shelter, and the elimination of poverty, disease and illiteracy.

We contend that human beings are material and spiritual in composition and as such should draw complete satisfaction from our Africanist Socialist Democracy. The principle of egalitarianism, as an essential element in African socialism, will be applied if the people are to benefit equally without considering social status, whether from the continent's wealth output. The nationalisation of the continent's primary industry must be effected if African socialism is to uphold equal distribution of wealth.

It is the view of Marxian Socialists that equal distribution of wealth can only materialise in a highly industrialised society. Thus, we know of highly industrialised countries east and west but we see no ultimate presence of true socialism. In fact, the equitable distribution of wealth is non-existent, because of the laws of capitalism, which are entrenched factors in the lives of Europeans, east and west. Does African socialism envy this tedious, protracted, and ambiguous approach to its attainment of an equitable distribution of wealth?

African socialism must be established immediately we overthrow white-domination. For, the conquest of imperialism and colonialism imply conquest against capitalism as well. The decks for African socialism will be cleared at conquest, so that capitalist-inspired counter-revolutions must not incubate in an Africanist socialist state. The establishment of an All-African common-market will mobilise the resources of the continent and the potentialities of the people. Thus, eliminating inter-territorial tariffs and customs will kill this disparity of commodity prices existing from one territory to the other, which result in a varying cost of living throughout the continent.

The African Socialist approach to Africa's economy will imply the acceptance by Africans of the fact that no territory in Africa is economically self-sufficient, and that the economic problems of Africa cannot be settled by the respective states in isolation from the rest of the indivisible wealth potential of the continent.

It is important to note from this contribution that the Marxian dialectics do not get reconciled. In the African revolution, African Nationalism is the thesis and Pan-Africanist Socialism its synthesis. It is for this reason that the identity of African Socialism will be reflected through its projection of the concept of the African personality, thus perpetuating African humanism and offering it to the world.

There are some cats, White and Black all over the world who tell you that the White cats, no matter where they are, can't really play serious jazz. They contend that the White cats are incapable of crossing the 'ocean' that cuts West Coast jazz from the East Coast school. "Technically the Whites are better", they'll tell you, "but the Black cats are really the only artists because they're saying something all the time, something from the soul of their being".

There was a time when I too held that belief, influenced no doubt by my nationalism, my belief that the Blacks should assert themselves as Black people because they have never really been given a chance to develop as a group, because they have always been influenced to believe that what came from the White people was Western, but then, on reflection it becomes negativised by the realisation that there is a case for the Whites and the Blacks if they prefer to think as Black people and White people but no case when they look beyond to the fact that in the final analysis we are moving towards a universal society of people!

When you listen to Chris McGregor's (he's White, for the record) new Big Band disc 'The African Sounds' (Gallo) then you'll know what I'm talking about. Having played with nearly every good musician in the country, White and Black, Chris McGregor gets ten stars for his selection of the best Black and White musicians in the country, the best original compositions by Black and White musicians in the country, and moulding this collection of Black and White 'African Sounds' into one of the most fantastic jazz records for people that I've heard for at least three years. And he emerges as the undisputed king of arrangers this country has known in the jazz idiom. Even Dollar Brand's fantastic 'Indigo Suite' arrangement is eclipsed by this record which I have no hesitation in calling a piece of Africanism, for those who are interested in such things.

Once again a fact has been proved. That when White and Black meet as equals on the platform of opportunity,
they learn to assimilate the best from each other and end up with the best that people can give each other. Listen to the sound Chris gets from the musicians here. Listen to the Choruses by Ronnie Beer on tenor (he’s also White incidentally) and Kippie Moketsi on Alto. When you’ve listened, you’re left absolutely exhausted and doubting that what you’ve heard was really there and that it was South African.

Kippie Moketsi’s dazzling phrases leaves you breathing hard, harder than the time when he rose to the throne of greatness for which he is renowned throughout the world. The last two or three years saw Kippie switching his moods so often that what emanated from his horn left one wondering if he was really as great as one thought him to be at one time. Now the doubt has been completely removed. His furiously energetic brain has at last found that chord of balance that will once again give him the hold he had on genius. If he sticks to stable influences like Chris, even if only for recording sessions and City Hall concerts, then we can all go around town and paint slogans on the walls heralding the fact that ‘Kippie Lives’.

CHRIS HIMSELF was never a really outstanding soloist. I say was because surrounded by the power of the group he: so ingeniously collected around him, he has found greatness as a soloist too. And that goes for Ronnie Beer, a comparative newcomer to the scene, (from Cape Town, which has produced the best jazzmen in the country, including Chris, Gertze, Dollar, Ntshoko, Cups Kamuka, Columbus etc.). Ronnie’s hard work at regular, long rehearsals with his sextet with which I have become well acquainted, has proved another outstanding fact—that practice makes perfect—even in jazz which some stupid people brush aside with a snobbish wave of the hand. Listen to Ronnie on this record and tell me if you can believe that he’s been on the scene for about two years only.

When you listen to this disc I am certain you will grieve with me for the state of the live scene. We have the musicians. We have the listening potential. But we haven’t got a P.R.O. for jazz in South Africa—something we need very urgently. And I think this is the job of the recording companies.

The apathy of the local recording companies and the local distributors of the overseas companies in the field of jazz has always amazed me. During the last five years the local companies have cut only five worthwhile jazz discs and I have it on authority that very little was sold in this time. That’s no fault of the music produced, “Jazz in Africa, Vol. I and II”, “Jazz Epistle Verse I”, “Sphere Jazz”, and now “The African Sounds”. It is a tragedy, really a very serious one too. When are the recording companies going to show some initiative and set up a promotion scene that would not only get the musicians ‘live’ to the public but also give a tremendous boost to jazz appreciation among the public that would pay tremendous dividends in the record field as well? Obviously they want to sell these discs otherwise they wouldn’t press them. So why not spend a few rands on promoting sales by soliciting appreciation through an organised countrywide drive? At the moment the musicians have to rely on small scattered jazz clubs that more often than not are reserved for exclusive all-White or all-Black listening and to a few occasional concerts that more often than not are organised on a more or less racial basis (in the choice of musicians, I mean. And then the musicians selected to play at these concerts such as those organised in Cape Town by Gallo are more pop than hip).

Footnote.

A cat’s just said to me “Who said Ornette Coleman tried to play like Bird, sound for sound but found he couldn’t make so he promptly ‘discovered’ a new sound—Ornette Coleman. New sound. No jazz. Bad. Bad. Bad. Something new something newer a step away from the Bossanova two steps toward the twist’.

How about some comments on Ornette Coleman? I’m sure it would be very interesting to cats the world over.
In October 1962 76 pieces by these three artists were exhibited in Calcutta by Mbari of Nigeria, assisted by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Paris. The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has reported: “This was the first exhibition of original work by African artists in India and the exhibition was hailed by all sections of the public. One of the reasons for this was that in the public mind Africa was associated with colonialism, backwardness and racial and political conflicts, such as in South Africa and Congo. This exhibition provided an occasion to have an aesthetic view of Africa free from these issues of tension and conflict.”

We reprint here notes on the artists by Ulli Beier, with grateful acknowledgements.

**Okeke**

The most striking feature of these drawings by a young Nigerian is that they are so obviously African. During the last two decades it has been the preoccupation of many African artists to assert their African identity or personality. But how does an artist who has been to an English speaking school and was trained in art school modelled on the Slade assert his African-ness? Rightly many young artists in Nigeria are now seeking inspiration in ancient traditions. The times are gone when it was considered African to compose market scenes, lagoons with palm trees and women carrying water pots on their heads. An artist like Uche Okeke has no time for this superficial approach. He states that the young African must study and understand his traditional art and folklore “in order to come to terms with himself”. For him it is not a matter of copying traditional Igbo masks or designs, but of understanding the deeper meaning of Igbo culture and art. He has gained security and certainty in his life from his understanding that Igbo culture was not a “primitive” or “savage” society but an organic and human system.

Uche Okeke is a keen collector of folklore and he has collected and written down several hundred Igbo folktales. (As yet unpublished, unfortunately.) It is the themes and characters of these tales that have inspired some of these extraordinary drawings. In these drawings Uche Okeke introduces us into an entirely new world of imagination. They are far more phantastic and surreal than anything to be found in traditional Igbo art. These drawings represent a new interpretation of Igbo folklore by a modern and individual artist. These frightening figures contain human, animal and plant forms. Yet nothing is contrived, nothing seems artificial. The figures have grown. One is not surprised by the artist’s statement: “I allow every new idea to grow and mature into clear vision. During this period which ranges from months to years, all sentimental elements of my vision naturally disappear revealing the heart of my idea. The visible result of my idea is generally urgently executed.”

There is a satisfying completeness about his vision. These legendary creatures are not merely frightening shapes, they are characters with a life of their own and even if one is not acquainted with Igbo folklore one is tempted to invent new stories and adventures of Nza the smart, or Ojadili.

It is with these competent and original drawings that Uche Okeke first made his name in Nigeria. But he has recently proved himself to be an exciting painter with a fresh and vigorous approach.

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**Three African Artists in Calcutta**

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TO SOME ARTISTS the world is mainly a visual experience. They paint what they see, either reflecting it faithfully, or commenting on it. But there are other artists who are not so much interested in the surface of things or in the optical experience of the world. They are concerned with the things that lie behind appearances. They want to express feelings and ideas, and not only their conscious emotions but also their subconscious sensations and experiences. Malangatana from Mozambique is such a painter. His pictures are not describing anything—they are visions. The world of Malangatana is not pretty. There is fear, suffering, horror. There is murder, witchcraft and rape. There are human beings, frightened, frustrated or savage. There are spirits: monstrous, bizarre, awe inspiring.

The first encounter with Malangatana gives us a deep shock. He shocks us, because we feel that he has got hold of some kind of undeniable truth, because what he has to say is close to the bone.

Why is it, that one keeps coming back to his apocalyptic visions? Why do we not avoid the unpleasant truth of his monstrous world? Malangatana compels us, because he is absolutely sincere. Nothing is self-conscious; there is no pose. And as we get used to his startling images we discover among his apocalyptic visions a very human person: tender, poetic and very lonely.

The spirits and monsters in Malangatana's pictures are not folkloristic. They are not illustrations. Malangatana is chiefly concerned with himself. Like every modern artist he has to go through the agony of coming to terms with himself, of establishing his own set of values, his personal truth. It is the agony of the modern artist that is reflected in his work.

Although Malangatana is only 35 years old and has been painting for only three years, he already ranks among Africa's most important painters.
HOW OFTEN IN STORIES is the man at the top of the tree inspired to risk his neck in the climb by an inner urge to prove himself—to himself as well as to others. The rags-to-riches theme commonly ends with its Huey-Long-type hero a successful yet tragic figure, the master yet still the slave of his bare foot origins. An added twist is provided if the tragic figure is himself the son of a house fallen on evil days, to whom the polishing up of the escutcheon becomes a passion. For as fast as he wipes off one blot, another begins to appear.

THERE WERE SOME OBSERVERS of the Transkei election who were puzzled at the absence of the name Tshunungwa from the list of candidates for the four Emigrant Tembland seats.

Thembekile ka Tshunungwa, former Cape Provincial Secretary of the African National Congress and one of the 157 accused in the ill-famed Treason Trial, had long been one of Chief Kaizer Matanzima's trump cards. Here was a leading figure in the "liberatory movement" who had come across to Matanzima—who had thrown his weight behind a man who was trying to project himself to the African people as the leader of a new and very different "liberatory movement". While Kaizer Matanzima was still viewed by the Africans and their sympathisers as a 'stooge' of the Government, it was surely valuable for him to have a former A.N.C. leader as his personal lieutenant.

Personal considerations, however, appear to have outweighed the political usefulness of Mr. Tshunungwa.

Several versions of the quarrel between the Chief and the political aide circulated. They had a common ending. A scene between the two had ended the expulsion of Mr. Tshunungwa from Qamata with orders never again to darken the doors of that attractive hillside settlement of kraals, modern villa and colonnaded court-house.

They also gave a common reason for Mr. Tshunungwa's departure. However far it may be from the truth, it illuminates an aspect of the reputation Chief Matanzima has acquired among those around him. They say that Chief Matanzima thought Mr. Tshunungwa had slighted him, who was the Senior Chief of Emigrant Tembland, and Presiding Chief of the Transkeian Territorial Authority.

Here perhaps is the spring of the drama that is the career of Kaizer Matanzima. For here is a man of high birth, of undoubted ability and energy, with power to command above all, with a long campaign to be waged if the furthest limits of his ambition are to be reached, but a man who is as sensitive to real or imagined reflections on his dignity as if he were a jumped-up nobody. Perhaps the truth is that while he is always conscious of his power, talent and ambition, Chief Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima also feels himself to be the "jumped-up nobody" that he sometimes appears.

BORN IN 1915 of minor royal parentage, his father being head of the AmaHala clan of the Tembu tribe, Chief Kaizer grew up nevertheless as a normal Transkei boy, until he was sent away to be brought up away from his father's home. From the Great Place of the AmaJumba clan of the Tembus, under Chief Falo Mgudlwa, he went...
at the late age of 15 to primary schools at Ntonzoe and Qumanco in the St. Mark's district, and later to Lovedale, the 123-year-old board ing school at Alice in the Ciskei. In 1932 his father died and an uncle, Dalubuhle Matanzima, was appointed to act for Kaizer until he came of age.

The following year he won the Andrew Smith Bursary to Fort Hare, where he matriculated in 1936, and went on to take a B.A., majoring in Roman Dutch Law and Politics. After graduating in 1939, Chief Kaizer was duly appointed Chief of the AmaHala in the district of St. Marks, successor in line to his ancestor Matanzima, heir to the right-hand house of the Paramount Chief Mthikra kra, who had ruled the Tembus before the cattle-killing delusion (or “national suicide”) of the neighbouring AmaXhosa in 1857. The first Matanzima had taken advantage of the Governor, Sir George Grey's offer of land east of the Indwe River, a fertile area vacated by the Krei’s Xhosas, who had been decimated by the starvation that followed the cattle-killing. With three other chiefs and their people, he emigrated away from the “Tambooke location”, as the present Queenstown area was then called, out of the Cape Colony’s confines and nearer to the main body of the Tembu people in “Tembuland Proper”. In character, and by birth, Matanzima was the dominating chief in what then became called Emigrant Tembuland.

But sixty years saw a sad decline in the fortunes of the Matanzimas, while the ruling house of the Tembu, especially under Paramount Chief Dalindyebo, who died in 1920, grew in stature. When Dalindyebo’s son, Paramount Chief Jingilizwe, the father of the present Chief Sabata, visited his “younger brother” Mhlobo Matanzima, father of Kaizer, on family business, in 1930, young Kaizer, aged 13, witnessed the unedifying spectacle of his uneducated, tribally-dressed father, a petty chief over a handful of locations appearing so obviously inferior to the powerful and educated Jingilizwe. Chief Mhlobo’s habits, moreover, were such that Paramount Chief Jingilizwe recommended to the Government that Mhlobo be suspended from the chieftainship because of his heavy drinking. The recommendation was taken by the Government as final evidence that such independence as the Emigrant Tembu had had of the Tembu Paramount was at an end.

Thus, when, at 25, Kaizer Matanzima became Chief of the AmaHala, he had power over a mere 17 locations, and a declining house as his background. His brains and application had won him academic success, and it seems that from then on his driving urge was to put those assets to the service of raising his power to the level of his ancestor’s, and, more fundamentally, dispelling the aura of Mhlobo about him.

His associates were surprised when, after taking study leave from the Chieftainship in 1944 and becoming qualified as an attorney in 1948, Kaizer Matanzima took a quite inferior Government law examination. The explanation seemed to be that a puppet chieftainship under the paternalistic Smuts Government was not enough to satisfy the young chief’s craving for recognition. Matanzima doubtless saw himself as a magistrate, dispensing justice to the Transkeians, as proof that even such a lofty eminence was within the reach of Mhlobo’s son.

Policy changed quickly under the Afrikaner Nationalists, however, and Matanzima began to see that his seat in the Transkeian Territories General Council in Umtata, which he took in 1943, was not so valueless after all. Greater heights were to be reached than a mere seat on the magistrate’s bench under a distant white Department of Justice. Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, a persuasive propagandist of the policy that the new Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, was beginning to formulate, early convinced Matanzima that under the Bantu Authorities scheme, the power of the chiefs would be greatly increased, and who knows what degree of autonomy the Government might finally accord to this Transkeian “heartland” of the “Bantu”.

In 1955, he accepted the Bantu Authorities Act on behalf of the people of Emigrant Tembuland, although his Paramount Chief, the young, popular and fiery Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, had so far refused to do so. This brought him far greater power, as he became presiding chief of the Regional Authority that was duly set up. It also brought about a conflict with Chief Sabata: in 1958, after a commission under Dr. Eiselen, secretary for Native Affairs, had sat in Umtata, capital of Tembuland, he was refused the title of Paramount Chief of the Emigrant Tembu, which he coveted. Sabata was reaffirmed Paramount Chief of all the Tembus but the jurisdiction of the Emigrant Tembu districts of St. Mark’s and Xalanga (Cala) was taken from him and given to Kaizer as compensation. Matanzima’s title was also elevated from “Chief of the Hala clan resident in St. Mark’s” to “Chief of the Natives in Emigrant Tembuland, comprising the districts of St. Mark’s and Xalanga.” And his salary was increased.

The seven years that followed saw Kaizer Matanzima consolidating his position, proving himself a model Bantu Authorities ruler, and a heart-and-soul apartheid or separate development man. He enforced the highly unpopular land betterment scheme; he ruled his people with a firmness which many called harshness, and occasional stiff sentences for offences, often only those affecting his dignity he appeared anxious to convince himself and his government-backers that he was filled with “a deep natural love” for his people. Criticism or opposition became “communist agitation”; peasant stubbornness when it transgressed the 1960 Emergency Regulations, was punished by forced removal to strange and distant locations, often by corporal punishment, and heavy fines.

His popularity with the Government increased—here was the only African in the country, and both a B.A. and a Chief at that, talking the apartheid language as fluently...
as Mr. De Wet Nel himself. He was proving himself a very good B.A.D. investment and even his several attacks on Bantu Education, though they made him enemies in the Nationalist Government, were useful evidence that this was no stooge. In 1961 he was made presiding chief of the Transkeian Territorial Authority, the body which had replaced the old TTGC, and the same year he was elected to a Recess Committee which the T.T.A. had set up to consider a “self-government” motion. This had unexpectedly come up in the May session, and had been blessed, with reservations, by the Government. The resolution went no further than to require the Recess Committee to consider “the advisability or otherwise” of asking the Government for “self-government”. It was handy outside propaganda for the Government’s good intentions to implement “positive apartheid” some time in the future.

Then, the following December, the Government suddenly decided on a desperate bid to win foreign support by producing a Bantustan rabbit out of the apartheid hat. Chief Kaizer was the very man to call on and the Recess Committee, which had never met, was quickly gathered under his ex officio chairmanship. In a matter of months after the announcement of self-government in January 1962, it had accepted a constitution drawn up by Republican advisers, notably Mr. J. H. T. Mills of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

Mr. Chris Prinsloo’s hints at future greatness seemed to be becoming more concrete. From the petty Hala chieftainship to the head of Emigrant Tembuland, from presiding chief of the T.T.A. to chief minister of the Transkei... The failure to become a Paramount Chief might be compensated for were he to head the new state. Where the tribal hierarchy had proved too high a ladder, the Western democratic system could at last satisfy vaulting ambition.

Favour with the Government had been won at the expense of popular esteem. Early association with left-wingers in the All-African Convention made his adherence to apartheid seem the more ignominious to African intellectuals and “politicos”. After the banning of the Congresses in 1960, it was the Liberal Party which co-ordinated the attack on Matanzima in the Transkei and beyond, earning his bitter enmity. Though he hit back at accusations that he was a “sell-out”, he responded to them by trying to convince the public that he too sought freedom for Africans, that he was, in fact, the apostle of a new Verwoerd-model African nationalism. To back up the new line, he made demands of the Government that they did not like, and for a while his star seemed about to set, after he had publicly talked of a Transkei from the Fish River to the Natal border.

The people seemed unconvinced, as stories of unpleasant doings in Emigrant Tembuland spread around South Africa. The two attempts on his life late in 1962 were, the evidence showed, the work of embittered tribesmen, who felt that they had no other way of getting justice than to remove their Chief. His heir’s unhappiness became talked about too. The boy had left a school in Basutoland as he had been victimised as Matanzima’s son, at Fort Hare he had joined the anti-Matanzima camp. A major snub was administered to Matanzima when it was explained to him that he would not be welcome at the state marriage of the Paramount Chief of Basutoland.

In the Transkei, whites and coloureds came to fear him. White residents at Cofimvaba talk of their grievances against “his nips” at Qamata, who they say might ruin them yet. The Government, which had showered him with authority, and, it is rumoured, gifts like the fence round his farm at Bolotwa, was held to blame. Educated, Christian people of the area were not without disapproval of his private life, for though this tall, youthful-looking and handsome man is a teetotaller and non-smoking Methodist lay-preacher, he has been married three times, divorced twice, and apparently keeps all three ladies in establishments around Qamata.

The 1936 Transkei election saw Kaizer Matanzima as a man eager to grasp a prize, and becoming increasingly intolerant of those who sought to keep him from it. If the Tshunungwa incident showed him reacting ever more strongly to the shadows of his early background, his thirst for power and authority might be thought to have been slaked by his election as Chief Minister on 10th December. But if Shakespeare's Macbeth is any lesson, Chief Kaizer Matanzima may have a long way to go before he accepts that there can be a limit to his power. It will be the fate of many unwilling companions to travel that road with him, but for them there is the solace that the directions forced on them by Dr. Verwoerd's scheming and Chief Matanzima's ambition may shorten the final journey to their real freedom.

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The Breaking of Men

South African 'solitary'

LEN BLOOM

IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1963, sixty leading psychiatrists, psychologists and medical specialists (including the Dean of the Medical School of the University of Natal), appealed to the Minister of Justice to abolish solitary confinement (as carried out under the "90-Day" detention clause), and said that solitary confinement is "inhuman and unjustifiable". A substantial report on solitary confinement by psychologists of the University of the Witwatersrand concludes that detainees who spend even a short time in solitary can suffer "various bizarre experiences". (Rand Daily Mail, 19 December 1963.)

One hundred years ago England abolished solitary confinement as a punishment: it was condemned as brutalising rather than as reforming. The theory behind this punishment was that the prisoner, left alone with his thoughts, would mull over his sins and repent of his wickedness. He was kept in the strictest solitude, visited only by the chaplain, and his loneliness was relieved only by the reading of the bible. This punishment broke men's spirits in the mid-1800s. In 1963 the Minister of Justice admitted that "it is not a very nice thing to see a human being broken . . . I am painfully aware of that fact". But: the object of the "90-day" clause was to hold any "person—who is connected with crimes affecting the security of the state . . . for interrogation, and until he has answered those questions to the satisfaction of the Commissioner of Police". Where the criterion for release is the satisfaction of the Police, a little breaking of human beings is as inevitable as it was in Nazi Germany where similar pressures were used by the Gestapo.

During the seven (or so) months the Act has operated human beings have been broken. Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle was "found hanged in his cell", and at least four people (including one young woman) were mental hospital patients during their imprisonment. None of these showed the least sign of mental instability before they were imprisoned. The frequent breaking-down in Court of those turning state evidence suggests too that the South African police have learned something about the techniques of brain-washing.

Up to the beginning of December 1963 there were 586 solitary detainees. At least one man (Alfred Nzo) was starting his third term of 90-Day confinement; and to the 23 men and women still detained at the time of writing, the Commissioner of Police has said that if they "co-operate" with the police they might be released for Christmas 1963. And if they do not . . .?

HUNDREDS OF STUDIES by psychologists and psychiatrists have analysed the effects of solitary confinement, and there are many autobiographical accounts of what it means to live in solitude. Christopher Burney was kept in solitude for 18 months by the Nazis, and wrote of his experiences: "I feel a sense of impotence, an inexcusable subjection to a machine of nameless horror . . ." Admiral Byrd spent six months alone in the Antarctic, and despite the excitement of battling with the elements, the sheer loneliness made him acutely anxious and unbearably depressed. Captain Joshua Slocum who sailed alone around the world "saw" a man at the tiller who assured him that he would steer the ship to safety. Major-General Dean of the U.S. was "brainwashed" and kept isolated by North Korean troops. He felt abandoned and had the greatest difficulty to keep his judgement. "You have no one on whom to test your ideas". What is real? What is going on in the world outside your cell? You cannot tell—except through the filtered and distorted reports of the

Warning To An Absent Lover

What is lost but today's desire
Or the hurt we praise as love?
It is the breaking tree and the burning tree
And the sky that's blind with fire.

We are drugged with absence, or drown
In our sleep that's pain,
Through the wild nerve's urging
In the hours clattering down.

Remember little in your separate year
But the structure of muscle and bone,
That we may not build on nothing
Nor speak our prayers from fear;

Except the permanent heart
There's little our cells protect;
Come away from the skyline's edge,
Settle the dusk in our eyes.

If we lose this map, we lose our guide
And so much more than hurt or flesh.

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C. J. DRIVER

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prison staff. General Dean became so depressed that he attempted suicide.

Burney, Byrd and Slocum (and many others) were competent, normal and dedicated, imprisoned while carrying out important duties for their country, and believing strongly in their cause. Yet their isolation drove them to thinking, feeling and perceiving as though they were temporarily insane, or at the very least, disturbed.

Experimental studies also show in detail the psychological and physical changes that isolation causes. In most studies the experimenter places his subject in a silent, dimly-lit room, with no means of telling the time, no direct contact with any human being, and nothing to relieve the monotony. But, the subject can summon the experimenter, visit the toilet, have meals—and end the experiment when he wants. All the subject has to do is to relax upon a comfortable bed. In some experiments the subjects were paid considerable sums if they stayed in isolation; in other cases the experiment was a part of projects to test if the subject were able to take part in space-flights. The experimenters took care to weed out disturbed subjects.

The pattern of how the subjects emerged from isolation is remarkably similar. There was very often widespread disturbance of thinking and feeling, and some subjects had hallucinations: hearing non-existent voices, music, smelling strange things and having sensations of floating. Many subjects did not know where they were, could not carry out simple tests. were confused, bewildered, dazzled and detached from the outside world, frightened of people. And perhaps most sinister, some subjects lost their desire to think and persisted living in the inner-world created by them during their isolation. Some doctors believe that isolation affects the brain itself; it becomes disorganised, as though certain drugs had been taken, or as though it suffered from large brain tumours or lack of oxygen.

The overwhelming majority of research-workers agree that if the mind is to work normally the individual must live in a changing and interesting world, that he feels he can control. A human being must do things. If he has no power to make his own world his mind suffers—perhaps permanently.

Isolation plus brain-washing is a more terrible way to break a human being. "The complete separation of the prisoner from the companionship and support of others, his utter loneliness, and his prolonged uncertainty", added to fatigue, cold, hunger, unfamiliar and often crude living-conditions, physical discomfort (including torture) may be totally unbearable. Brainwashing depends upon destroying the prisoner as a human being; he is made to feel helpless, hopeless and alone; rejected, forgotten and worthless; guilty and responsible for the fate of others. The prisoner often develops an overwhelming urge to confide in someone, to talk to another human being, and may find himself dependent upon anyone who appears to befriend and help him. Thus the technique of a team of interrogators: the strong-arm men to break down the prisoner's strength, and the phony friend who exploits the prisoner; need for comforting, for news of his family, for anything to make him feel that he is a human being still, despite the indignity, hardship and misery inflicted on him.

Whatever techniques employed: simple isolation, brainwashing and prolonged questioning, torture (or some combination of all these) evidence obtained under these pressures must be highly suspect, however coherent and sincere the prisoner may appear in court. It seems that in South Africa all three methods have been used since high-ranking police officers visited the French authorities in Algeria before Algerian independence. A study for the United States government summed the results of isolation-plus-brainwashing: the prisoner becomes 'mentally dull and loses his capacity for discrimination. He becomes malleable and suggestible, and in some instances he may confabulate", that is, he may invent elaborate fantasies to escape the horrors of his prison life.

According to the Cape Times "allegations by people detained that they have been questioned brutally by police investigators have been increasing steadily in the past few

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### Christian-Nationalism: or, Our Leader has a Plan

**A conversation piece**

**Scene:** The Cabinet Office in the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

**Present:** Dr. Verwoerd and all his cabinet members.

**DR. V.:** (tapping table with jukskel-gavel) Kérels, as you all know, I am pretty worried these days about the situation. These communists are making things really tough. Our airways have now been hard-hit, the United Nations is passing strong resolutions against us, and even our closest allies are saying that they will not send us arms any more. It is these communists and we must think of a plan to outwit them. Now, kéréls; I have been spending the past few months thinking of just such a plan to outwit them all—that is why I have been so quiet and have done so little talking. I have a plan—

**CABINET MEMBERS:** Ons leier het 'n plan—hoera! Nou sal ons die kommuniste donder.

**DR. V.:** I have not worked out the plan in detail yet, and that is why I have called this cabinet meeting. I want you kéréls to help fill in the details of my plan.

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**MARK ROBERTSON is a student of politics, at present in England.**

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**The New African 18 January 1964**
months... the allegations have been so many, and so
circumstantial, that they cannot be shrugged off". And
yet hundreds of men and women have been sent to prison
for as much as twenty years (and others might be execu
ted) on evidence obtained in this manner.

BUT IT IS NOT ONLY POLITICAL PRISONERS who are isolated.
Professor Danziger of Cape Town University has drawn
attention to the terrifying social isolation of South African
whites, who "lose touch with the reality of the world,
and live in a strange world of imagination and myth". The
white electorate lives only partly in the twentieth century.
Politically it has obstinately refused to leave the days of
white-man-boss colonialism. The South African govern­
ment believes in an ox-wagon political morality, but em­
ploys the same techniques of political terrorism as the
French authorities in Algeria. The electorate has steadily
and stealthily become isolated from reality: the reality of
the changing political Africa of the twentieth century, and
from the reality of the erosion of moral standards that
accompany the arid arrogance of apartheid. Above all,
the electorate isolates itself from considering the inevi-
tability of the spread of violence as the method of rule
while the government clings on to its illusions that South
Africa is a white-man's land in a black continent. The
detention of political prisoners is effectively outside the
control of parliament and in the hands of the police—
subject only to the dictates of expediency. Yet, with a
few honourable and brave people excepted, the eyes of
the electorate are sealed as firmly shut as the bones of many
Germans at the time of Dachau and Belsen.

The marks of torture by electricity or beating-up can
sometimes fade. The mind destroyed or damaged by the
mental torture of isolation can sometimes be healed. But
moral damage is done to a society in which such torture is
built into its legal system, in which individual human
beings are subject to the whim of "the Minister's Plea-
sure", and in which the Courts listen to evidence given
by possibly broken men and women. These are the symp-
toms of a sick society. Such sickness may be incurable
and irreversible. We cannot tell. We dare not wait.

MARK
ROBERTSON

CABINET CHORUS: Ja seker. Wat kan ons doen?
DR. V.: Well, let me explain. It is like this: the only way
to beat these commies is at their own game. We have
tried apartheid, we have tried separate development and
good-neighbourliness but they are no good. We
must compete with the commies if we want to win
through, and we must beat them at their own game.
MR. VORSTER: But I am already doing that—my new laws
and powers are as good as Stalin's any day.
DR. V.: Yes, but we are using the wrong theory to back
our laws. We must use communist theory.
CABINET VOICES: God, maar kommunis toerie is godde-
loos! Onse land is 'n Christelike land!
DR. V.: Ja, ja, net so. But our new policy is one of
Christian communism. We shall remain Christelike
nasionale but we shall also be kommunis and beat the
communists at their own game.
CABINET VOICES: God, Henk, maar jy is slim. It is an
unbeatable plan.
DR. V.: Well, listen. Karl Marx said that in the commu-
nist society it would be a case of "From each according
to his ability, to each according to his needs": Now the
white man in South Africa is suited to this. The white
man gives his ability and he takes what he needs, né!

Now it was Stalin who said that when the people
were not ready for full communism they have to have
socialism where they have the slogan "From each
according to his ability, to each according to his work".
In South Africa only the white man is far enough
advanced to be given according to his needs, while the
Bantu are still backward and only do menial work so
they must be given according to their work.

LE ROUX: That is why we have job reservation.

DR. V.: Net so, Net so. You are understanding my plan.
So the Bantu are still backward and are not ready yet
for communism so we give them Stalinist socialism
and all that goes with it, while we whites who are
advanced, we are ready for communism. We are, as
Lenin said, the vanguard of the proletariat.

MULLER: And at the United Nations we will tell them
that they must not interfere with us for we are follow­
ing Stalin and now have "Socialism in One Country"
and they cannot interfere with us or it will not be
socialism in one country and they will be fighting
against historical materialism and will be counter-
revolutionary imperialist pigs, as Trotsky would have
said.

DR. V.: Hilgard, you must never mention Trotsky. You
will mess up things at UN like Eric did if you do that.
As it is we are going to have quite a job trying to play
the Kruschev and the Mao lines at the same time.

Now it has struck me that our Bantustan plan fits in
beautifully with the collectivisation of the peasants by
Stalin. So we must rewrite our theory there. We know
that we are giving them what is best for them, but with
peasants one can expect opposition to all change. This
was the lesson of Stalin.

A possible difficulty might be the communists who
are banned or in gaol at the moment. They must be
denounced as Trotskyites and as liberals. Johan Bal-
thazar, here is your opportunity to really get stuck into
the liberalists, for they can now be denounced as the traditional opponents of communism, as counter-revolutionaries and as capitalist renegades. Their bourgeois ideas must be liquidated.

Vorster: This is a scheme which I go for in a big way. The Special Branch will be our Ogpu or N.K.V.D. Now in the name of the working class or Afrikaner as we call him in our language I can use my 90-day laws to really donner any person anywhere in the country if they so much as have an anti-government look on their faces. Just think how full the gaols will be. I wonder what Stalin did when his gaols got full . . . ? I must find out about that. And we must work out a plan as to when we shall start operating against the Menshevik Gnaaf. There is the real danger that the Mensheviks will betray the revolution and we cannot have deviationists in our midst.

Dieperchis: The philosophical implications of this plan I find absolutely fascinating. But fascinating . . . Just think how wonderfully the dialectic can be applied: The thesis of Afrikaner nationalism is confronted with bourgeois capitalist imperialism and there emerges the synthesis of the Afrikaner socialistic society. No . . . No . . . It is more complex even than that. We start out with the settler group or class in the Cape who are a slave-owning feudal society: this is the thesis. Then came the British and they fought against the feudalism of the settlers introducing their bourgeois ideas. This resulted in the emergence of a new class—the Afrikaner nationalist class. Hence antithesis and synthesis. Then there are the kaffirs, I mean Bantu who are still a peasant community. So the new thesis of Afrikaner Nationalism are workers or proletariat finds itself with the peasant Bantu community who are basically workers too, but menial workers. They are confronted by the capitalist class of rooie and Jews—the Indoos of Natal and the Oomenheimers and that ilk, many of them with liberalist bourgeois ideas. This is the antithesis. In 1948 the Afrikaner proletariat came into power and the mopping up operation of the counter-revolutionary elements began. Already we have many jingoes or English-speaking people behind us. It is just a question of time before this process is complete, and the new synthesis will be reached. The Rivonia arrests have eliminated the Trotskyite left-wingers and soon there will be left only the two segments of the population: the vanguard of the proletariat, the Nationalist Party and the white proletariat of the country, and the Bantu, Coloured and koelie, I mean Indian, lumpen-proletariat. We have every reason to distinguish between the proletariat proper and the lumpen proletariat. If anyone doubts this they have simply to go to Marx himself. The lumpen proletariat are incapable of leading. They have to be first made conscious of their role and their interests. For this, democratic centralism, the Leninist invention, has to be used. If you understand democratic centralism, then you will understand why the lumpen proletariat must follow to the letter all that they are told to say, think and do by the vanguard of the proletariat, the glorious all-South African party of the proletariat, the National Party. Any attempts to disobey or to show reluctance to fall into line we can only denounce as counter-revolutionary, and the work of spies of the imperialists.

Dr. V.: We are really getting places now. Democratic-centralism also explains the working of our party. That is why the backbenchers have to obey the cabinet, and why we do not allow deviationists. It is contrary to democratic centralism. Our whole party works according to this Leninist doctrine. God, kérél, we are pure Marxist-Leninists! I must confess though that I am a bit worried about the Stalinist aspects of our policy.

Dieperchis: There is no need to be. We can easily get around that, Kruschev . . . I mean Nikita Sereevich has not denounced all of Stalinism. All we have to do is to do a little denouncing of severe Stalinism, and liken our repressive measures to Nikita's own actions in Hungary. We can say that the banning of Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf was a Stalinist error and that our friend Willie de Klerk here withdrew the ban.

A F R I C A N A

Farmers in the Eastern Cape are complaining about the inconvenience caused by the influx control regulations which make it compulsory for them to sign the pass-books of Native labourers every time they fetch their pay.

‘It is irksome to us and resented by the Natives. They feel like a lot of sheep on parade,’ said Mr. A. C. Dixon, a Coombs Valley farmer.

Mr. G. Mullins pointed out that this regulation was introduced to implement influx control. It prevented labourers from deserting. Without the signature there would be no way of checking up.

Mr. E. Howart said that since its introduction he had had no deserters. ‘Once upon a time when you gave a young Native a hiding he ran away. Now he can’t do that.’

Mr. N. Douglass warned that it was a delicate matter.

He said his labourers did not resent the pass-book. They looked on it as an insurance and protection from the police . . .

‘If we sign when they come and we sign when they go, that is sufficient,’ he said. ‘If they run away then all we need do is notify the police.’ —Cape Argus. [H.S.]

Liberty Curbed, by Hennie Potgieter, guards the building's third entrance. It is an impressive 14-times life-size sculpture of a strong young man in firm control of an Afrikaner bull—symbolic of the virility of a free young nation in control of liberty which is the cornerstone of democracy and preventing liberty from deteriorating into licence.—South African Digest. [V.R.]

Recent survey figures reveal that more adult Coloureds—394,000—listen to Springbok than to any other station. That's 84% of all Coloureds who listen to radio—67.5% of the total adult Coloured population! Springbok gives you this bonus daily listenership at no extra cost!—SABC advertisement in Press, Radio and Advertising Review.
indicating that we are not all-out in favour of Stalinism and that we are having our thaw. To Mao we can secretly put across the Stalinist aspects of our policy, and dismiss the "thaw" as merely the equivalent of his "100 flowers". In fact we can play it both ways in our traditional manner.

DE WET NEL: What worries me is that these communists have the reputation of being big liars and we do not want that reputation. So far by wonderful covering up and by our barefacedness we have come through, but that is because of the fact that we are all good Christians.

DR. V.: Do not worry, Daan. A liar is a person who has not got the courage of his convictions. We have the courage of our convictions, so that no matter what we say it is not lying. And as I told you we shall still be Christians. What you must think about is how to apply the dialectic to the Bantu. You must realise that the development of the Bantu takes place in accordance of the theory of historical materialism. All history is economic history. It depends on the economic relations of production. That is what you must remember. Now the means of production is now in the hands of the glorious proletariat so that the Bantu by definition cannot be exploited. Of course the Jews and Zimees still own some of the means of production but that is in accordance with our economic plan. Do you remember that Lenin introduced his New Economic Plan in 1921? Well, he allowed a little bit of private enterprise to continue. So you see we are not denouncing from Leninism. But, Daan, what about your Bantu?

OOM DAAN: O God. All this theory I find hard to follow. But I shall try, Hendrik. But will you not continue to tell me what to do as you always do? How can I carry on without you to give me instructions and to tell me what to say in my speeches?

DR. V.: I will stand by you as I have always done, so long as you remain loyal to me.

OOM DAAN: Dankie, Henk. Well, I will try to say something about the Bantu. Will it be all right if I say that when the white man first came and when the Bantu first came, at exactly the same time, to South Africa, they fought because they were thesis and antithesis? And that the Afrikaners taught them with the whip and with Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities, and that now a new synthesis has grown up which we call Bantustan, in which there are no contradictions between white and black because there are only blacks in the Bantustans? And if anyone does not believe this he must come and see all the karosses that the grateful Bantu have given me proving that there is no longer any class clash? There is now only the one class, the proletarian or white class, and the lumpen proletariat or non-white class which are really one working class. And we distinguish between white and non-white because Marx and Engels and Lenin distinguished between the proletariat and the lumpen proletariat.

DR. V.: Wragtig, Daan, maar dis goed. Our policy then is now one which condemns racial discrimination in any form. Ours is a classless society and the only divisions are between proletariat and lumpenproletariat. If the lumpenproletariat are all non-white, that is like history, not us. They must blame it on historical materialism if they do not like it. But the glorious prophecies of Karl Marx have proved conclusively that they have history on their side and that they have nothing to worry about.

Well, gentlemen, I want to dissolve this meeting now so that you can all go and work out your policies in detail.

MAREE: One last point please, Hendrik?

DR. V.: Yes?

MAREE: What about the Party? How do we put our new policies across to them?

DR. V.: Willie, that is easy. We do it in the same way as we have put all our policies across. This is the traditional policy of South Africa. That is the line. Well, kérél, I must get on with my work, so you may go now.

Exeunt all except Dr. V.
Words
Words
Words

Joost de Blank

A Farewell Interview

Joost de Blank retired as Archbishop of Cape Town at the end of 1963. Before leaving for England he was interviewed by The New African.

THE NEW AFRICAN: During the past fifty years many people feel it's very difficult to say that there has been real progress. In fact, a leading Negro writer makes rather a depressing statement that "We human beings now have the power to exterminate ourselves; this seems to be the entire sum of our achievement." Would you say that this is a fair appraisal of the last half century?

DE BLANK: I don't think it's a fair appraisal of the last half century: I think it's perhaps the most important thing that has happened in that time. I think it is true that humanity now has the ability to exterminate itself and this ability of course has been secured chiefly in what we call the western world . . . All the powers of mass destruction have been uniquely a white man's preserve. And he has secured this and has done this, and the black man, I think, in America and elsewhere, feels this is of very doubtful credit to the western civilisation which is so strongly advocated. I don't think it's a fair appraisal; there are all sorts of things like surgery and medicine and the whole art of healing where there have also been tremendous strides over the last half century. It would be quite unfair to say that the only achievement of the last half century is the destructive one.

NA: The same writer also feels that Africans and Negroes have suffered so very much from cruelty and destruction that they may prove to be the redeemers of the twentieth century.

DE BLANK: I think that is a little bit extravagant. I think it's true that black people have suffered enormously - particularly in Africa and the slave trade over the last four hundred years or so; I think they have endured a tremendous amount at the hands of both the Middle Easterners and the Westerners. I think that if they could rise to their true greatness they might act as the sort of mediatorial element in the world.

But I don't think this comes naturally, it isn't because of their suffering that it comes. It depends on the man does with his suffering—whether he makes it bitter and resentful and therefore angry, whether he's angry as your writer has been angry; or whether he becomes a redemptive force in outlook and believes that his experience, his agony, can be used to redeem a situation.

NA: The grip of Islam at the moment—do you think this will sharpen the distinction between black and white, and if so, will it make reconciliation more difficult in the long run?

DE BLANK: I don't think that Islam is necessarily an altogether . . . I think that in the near East, with the Mbutrof case in London, you do find a great Pan-Arab sense, but you don't find it outside the near East.

NA: Today there is much discussion about the secular effects of Christianity. What secular changes would you like to bring about the kingdom of God on earth?

DE BLANK: I don't think any of us believe that the kingdom of God can be established on earth in a convenient political programme. What I believe the Church's job to be is to proclaim the Gospel which has to do with a man's whole personality, which means his physical situation as well as his spiritual being. In this I imagine peace and unity are almost cliché words, which do, however, indicate what the Christian Gospel would like to see in effect in the world. It believes that peace with God is actually unachievable and is a heresy if it is divorced from trying at the same time to establish peace and unity with your neighbour. The two things hang and fall together. There's a text in the Bible which says that if a man says he loves God whom he has not seen, he's a liar if he doesn't love his brother whom he has seen. This seems to me to be absolutely axiomatic to Christianity, Christianity seeks to bring about a situation where
men are anxious to bring order out of chaos, and peace out of mistrust and suspicion, and unity out of division and separation. I believe that in this country the primary division is the racial difficulties in which we find ourselves. Fifty years ago in Britain it was an economic split; I believe that in the country of tomorrow we shall probably find that a great deal of the racial split is in fact an economic one. If we are really going to take our Christianity seriously it means we have to face facts of man's relationship to his fellow man, and make this as much a part of the Gospel as the creation of a private pipeline between himself and God.

N.A: What do we mean by the brotherhood of man? There are certain Christian bodies which seem to lean rather more towards the fatherhood of God, and a rather fierce father at that, towards the brotherhood of man. What can one say to such bodies?

DE BLANK: The fatherhood of God, which doesn't include as an essential element with in this faith a belief in the brotherhood of man, is inadequate. By the brotherhood of man I believe fundamentally that you treat your fellow man as an end and not as a means to an end. He has a dignity and a significance in himself and you aren't allowed to use him as a tool to bolster up your state theories or your political ideologies. He has to be considered in the totality of his being; how best you can give him the freedom whereby he can achieve fullness of personality which we believe really is the end of man.

N.A: I should think then that Christianity, thought of in this way, would be a very strong bulwark against any form of totalitarianism?

DE BLANK: I would have thought so, yes; and this was true in Hitler's Germany. Einstein said that he looked to the universities to show their opposition to Hitler and he found nothing; he looked to the newspapers with their great tradition of a free press and he found that they just crumpled up before Nazism, and he looked elsewhere to the philosophers and found that nothing happened. Then he found a group that he rather despised and ignored for years, a group of ordinary, rather pedestrian church-going Christians. And these were the people that, because of their faith, did stand up against Nazism.

N.A: This has happened in South Africa too.

DE BLANK: To some extent, yes.

N.A: What, briefly, is your answer to those who call you a political bishop?

DE BLANK: I believe that all churchmen are politicians. Politics has to do with human beings in society, and Christianity has to deal with human beings in society. I believe that you cannot love God, as I've said already, without loving your neighbour as yourself, and this means the whole society of human beings. In this modern world you cannot deal with men in society without coming up against political theories and political opposition and political support. I believe that if there's any way affecting this essential brotherhood of things common to both.

N.A: There is a quotation which is often used by churchmen who try to support the idea of racial distinction; "Renuer unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." What is the real significance of this?

DE BLANK: The Church has recognised that the state, the organised human society, has its job to do in the ordinary running of everyday life. I believe the state gets out of step with the divine plan when it arrogates to itself the making of laws which are contrary to God's laws. When you render unto Caesar the things which are God's, This is the real difficulty we are in. In the moment you try to question this brotherhood of man, the fact that we believe as Christians that Christ died for every man and that therefore all men are brethren because of that, the moment you question that, then your whole law-making becomes positive law, relative law, it isn't real divine law at all. Like the Apostles at the time of their first persecution you have to say that in the end you have to obey God rather than men if there's a conflict. This remains true of the Church today as it did in the early centuries.

N.A: Finally, I wonder if you, as an orthodox Christian, have any message for those of our friends who are in prison for political offences of a non-violent character?

DE BLANK: I'm sure this is both our duty, and our highest privilege, to do all that we can for those in prison, whether we think any of them are in prison justly or not. It is one of the hallmarks of Christianity that Our Lord said "I was in prison and ye visited me." And therefore everything we can do to ease the lot of the prisoner, the loss of his liberty, I think, is, in my opinion, frequently quite unjustified, is itself so big a punishment that having executed that punishment, whether rightly or wrongly, then everything should be done to make the lot of the prisoner as easy as possible. We should like the prisoner to feel that the Christian church would work for this, to do everything in its power to try and help the families of those who are in prison, and to show in every way that the Christian Gospel applies not only to those who deserve it, but to those who don't deserve it. One of the great priests of the Anglican church in London once left £500 in his will to the "undeserving poor." This is exactly right; this is Christianity, you don't ask whether the man deserves it or doesn't deserve it; the question is that he's in trouble and you try to help him.

N.A: In other words, one has to convince the prisoner to feel that he isn't rejected, that he is still human?

DE BLANK: Yes, and from our point of view that he is still redeemable. Otherwise our Gospel of redemption would be completely nonsensical.
Text-Book for the Immature

H. B. Kimmel

The Morning After by Brian Crozier. (Methuen R3.60)

IP THE PEOPLE of the newly independent states are often immature, defiantly turning on their elders as they do, they need a textbook to guide them. They have it at last. Impressionable Africans and Asians must know their seducer—this is communism while socialism and even planning are bad company too. The ex-guardian, now in the role of suitor, however, has nothing but understanding for the new leaders, professing socialism, seem resistant to the appeal of private enterprise. As an apostle for capitalism he is far too patronising to win converts. The doubts one feels on reading ‘I am a Western Liberal’ in the preface are confirmed, rather embarrassingly, by indiscretions like ‘that amiable irrationality which seems to be characteristic of Africa’, ‘the charm of Africa’ and by anthropological bowlers like ‘the Burman mentality’.

To pick out all the absurd notions in this book would require more time than the ‘few scattered weeks’ it took the author to write it but here are two quotations most likely to antagonise even an ordinary liberal—there seems no reason whatever why it should be immoral for the Katanga to secede from the Congo and moral for, say, Dr. Randa’s Nyasaland to secede from the Rhodesian Federation.

About the ‘Common Market’ he has this to tell us—

‘Sir Abuhakar’s attitude was as incomprehensible, in economic terms, as Dr. Nkrumah’s. Much is irrelevant in a book which seems to be characteristic of Africa’.

According to the author, India’s prospects, despite a handicap of built-in socialism, are better than China’s after all, the tortoise reached the winning-post before the hare. One wonders whether Mr. Crozier drew on his African image intentionally. Whatever readership he had in mind, his ill-timed reminder that Kenyatta was the prophet of the Rhodesian Federation.

What will finally damn him, however, is a curious statement to the effect that there is not much substance to the ‘myth’ that the colonial powers grew rich at the expense of the colonies.

Projecting his ideas into a South African context, what would his solution be? His answer would lie in the observation: ‘the federal system is the only one that can offer proper safeguards for minority peoples.’

If the South African orgy is segregated, one hopes, even if there is a hangover, that at least the morning after will be spent in mixed company.

Salahi

Continued from page 13

BOTH THESE ART forms formed important starting points in Salahi’s search for new forms and expression. The swinging rhythm of Arabic writing is felt in nearly his entire work. To begin with he drew many pictures which were simply decorative treatments of Arabic words or verses from the Koran. Then the doodles which decorated the letters began to gain a life of their own and develop into figurative images. We begin to have haunted human images peering through bold sweeping calligraphic patterns. But even where the drawing is completely figurative one can recognise that the basic shapes have been derived from the Arabic alphabet.

The use of decorative pattern is most notable in some but can also be found in many other drawings. The basic elements of these patterns may actually be derived from traditional Sudanese designs, but Salahi makes these patterns swing in a way in which no traditional design can. These patterns seem to have life, breathing surfaces.

And here we must remark immediately on one important element in Salahi’s work. The traditional formal elements he has used are in themselves aesthetic and rigid. Salahi’s line on the other hand is extremely sensitive, it moves along nervously, tenderly and its movement is highly expressive of the artist’s personality. Salahi’s line has a life and expression of its own which is quite separate from its representational function.

These then, are the formal and structural elements of Salahi’s drawings. But in strange contrast to their aesthetic perfection which borders on elegance, is the powerful, disturbing contents. Beneath the balanced design there is a strong magical element.

Out of Salahi’s drawings we are looking at us, or through us. Eyes that seem to be asking, or pleading, or warning. Eyes that make us feel ill at ease. To whom do these eyes belong? Are they human, spirits, gods or masks? In Salahi’s work there are no clear divisions between the natural and the supernatural. The dead and the living, gods and men seem to mix freely. It is this quality that gives to many of Salahi’s images a mask like appearance. When I looked at these drawings for the first time I felt sure that some of the images were inspired by Ivory Coast masks, for example Senoufo funeral masks. But a closer look at the masks shows that there is hardly any formal resemblance. Salahi’s art is not derivative. It merely happens to evoke similar responses in us.

Salahi’s images are not inspired by objects seen. They rise from the dreams and fantasies of the artist’s mind. They are visions, disturbing and compelling visions. Having once come in contact with Salahi’s images we shall live with them for the rest of our lives.

To the Editor

The New World

Sir,—Can you help us to procure material for a new periodical which is going to appear in Denmark?

The name of the periodical will be Den ny Verden (The New World), and it is our intention to bring articles and literature from non-European countries to throw light on the cultural, economical and political conditions in those countries. We attach great importance to obtaining as many and any Verden.

Copenhagen, Denmark

OLE KARUP PEDERSEN

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