

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. ●

*Op. cit. p. 295.

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 unionist "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 capitalistic 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 capitalistic 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 our African communal economy of the past into a modern industrialised economy. The economic planning and programmes of African socialism will 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

Communalism

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

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-Socialistic-Democracy. The principle of egalitarianism, as an essential element in African socialism, will be applied if the people are to benefit equally from it, irrespective of social status, from the continent's wealth output. The nationalisation of the continent's primary industry must be effected if African socialism is to accord equal distribution of wealth.

It is the view of Marxian Socialists that equal distribution of wealth can only materialise in a highly industrial society. 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 an alleged fear of lack of incentive to work in socialism. What is interesting is that the workers in the western industrialised countries have failed to revolt or overthrow capitalism. The reasons for this state of affairs are not far to seek. Exhaustive and expensive trade competition, possessiveness, individualism, exploitation of labour, and profit motives are entrenched factors in the lives of Europeans, east or west. Does African socialism envy this tedious, protracted and ambiguous approach to its attainment of an equitable distribution of wealth? The answer is no.

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 tariff and custom duties. This will kill the 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 the projection of the concept of the African personality, thus perpetuating African humanism and offering it to the world. "KOGOSI" Francistown, Bechuanaland Protectorate

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,

Helmut Starke

CHRIS, DOODOO AND ANN (at the top of the opposite page) tempera on canvas, was shown in Helmut Starke's first one-man show in Cape Town in November 1963. His is a fascinating way with people and buildings. The cake sale ladies eat you with their cherry smiles. Christian Salvation soldiers blow up the railway rococo of the station in Adderley Street, Cape Town into a house for grand opera. He sharpens his eye on everyday scenes which end up looking not so everyday and faintly menacing. He has been likened to Daumier though the bite sometimes loses its edge in sentiment. When so many South Africans escape from reality Starke finds vivid patterns in the commercial chaos of Ackermans Bazaars and Cold Castle advertisements tied together with trolley bus wires.

Starke, who came to South Africa from Germany nearly six years ago, works in advertising. The South African National gallery bought one of the paintings from this first exhibition.

HOWARD LAWRENCE, a Cape Town journalist, was recently detained under the '90-day' clause of the General Laws Amendment Act.

HOWARD
LAWRENCE

Jazz Epistle

Christian and Civilised and that what came from the Blacks was, more often than not 'primitive'. For some of these points there is a strong case, no doubt, but then, on reflection it becomes negated 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 in 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 *Africana*, 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,