

founder of the party and the hero who banished the imperialists and secured independence for his country. He was able to unite many of the citizens behind him in the struggle to get rid of alien rule. For many he comes to be a symbol of their aspirations, achieved and expected. Their millennial hopes are focused on his quasi-charismatic personality. The prestige of the leader engendered in the struggle for freedom is enormous and constitutes a considerable obstacle to any other politician wishing to wrest the power of leadership from him. Freedom is a heady brew and, in the exultation, rivals can safely be denounced (and destroyed) as being traitors to the cause of national unity or imperialist agents. If the leader has sufficient authority (as distinct from power) over a number of citizens, then he can derive from that source sufficient power over those who refuse to recognise his legitimacy.

I have stressed the importance of party in the process of mobilisation of society. If membership of the party is the key to success and the possibilities of patronage by the party are immense, then, obviously, the power of the party leader is further consolidated.

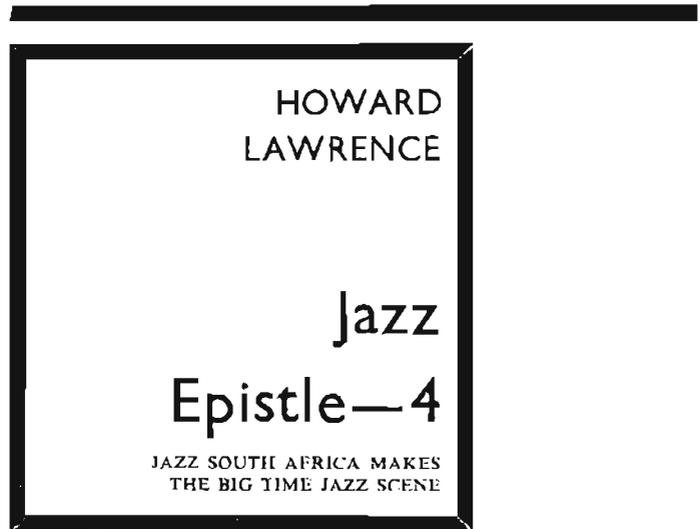
How far is the notion of "democratic centralisation" likely to inhibit the entrenchment of an oligarchy in the party? In those states where only one party is permitted, is it a genuine substitute for the right to form opposition parties? In the U.S.A. the two major parties have been able to tolerate "factionalism". New political movements that arose have tended to be enveloped in one or the other of the parties. No pretence at any kind of ideological homogeneity of the party is made. Cross-party is much more common in Congress than in the House of Commons. In Britain it might well be argued that the tightness of intra-party discipline is to some extent determined by the size of the leading party's majority. In an African state where the ruling party is so firmly entrenched that the possibility of potentially dangerous opposition arising is slight, a similar relaxation of discipline may be permitted. But this is a purely theoretical consideration. It seems more likely that the revolutionary leaders will keep a tight rein on the distribution of power and prevent the formation of other centres of power either in the party or in other social institutions. In other words, any kind of pluralistic distribution of power in the social structure is not likely to be permitted. This kind of *gleichsaltung* is one of the hallmarks of authoritarian rule.

IMPLICIT IN THE ABOVE analysis is my belief that the developing states will not be able to support the kind of political democracy one associates with the liberal societies of the West. Despite the fact that African nationalism is essentially a Jacobin revolt against alien rule and that its leaders are men imbued with democratic ideals, I believe that the social tensions between leaders and followers which vigorous development policies will generate will prove too much of a strain for democratic institutions. Millennial hopes in the breasts of followers are bound to be dissipated as the hard realities of development are reckoned with. The authority of the leadership which was nurtured by the presence of the alien rulers will tend to diminish as the *raison d'être* of nationalism withdraws. "Neo-colonialism", "White rule in Southern Africa", are useful whipping boys to keep the

nationalist fervour alive but they are not adequate substitutes for the actual presence of the alien oppressor.

You have, then, an overall picture of predominantly rural societies controlled by a tiny elite of nationalists who, paradoxically, are trying to build nations out of the imperfectly shattered remnants of the old societies. In his work *Political Man*, S. M. Lipset has argued that political democracy must be based on a certain level of socio-economic development if it is to endure. The higher this level, the more educated, the more industrialised the society, the firmer the base for democratic institutions. The Russians, though they spilt much blood, have laid such a base and the pressures for greater freedom in all fields have resulted in a slow relaxation of controls—"the thaw". They have a long way to go before they can be described as politically democratic but the indications are that the trend must go in that direction.

The rate of investment is the determinant of the rate of



MODERN JAZZ has been around in South Africa for a good many years, having found a small but dedicated following through United States discs released by South African record companies at about the same time that Charlie Parker and his contemporaries of that era were revolutionising jazz with their Bop sound.

One of the men who helped most to set the modern sound on the road to its current high pitch in the Republic, via a "live" scene, was the world-famous Johannesburg altoist, Kippie Moeketsi.

It was largely due to his dedication and musical sincerity that modern jazz was able to crawl confidently out from its shaky beginnings in township backyards and shanty jam sessions into the public eye, where it weaned a small coterie of musicians on the artistic possibilities of the "new sound" (of that time).

Naturally there were rewards for their sincerity—starvation, frustration and rejection by the classical and "pop" snobs who snubbed jazz as "neurotic", "juvenile" and "obscene" music. Still, they held fast and it was with this sincerity dictating his music that Kippie, on one of his road tours, met Dollar Brand.

economic growth. The unconsumed part of the national product is the amount invested. The greater the extent it is possible to minimise consumption the more is left over for investment. If, as the more radical leaders desire, development is to be swift, high investment rates will be necessary and consumption will not be allowed to rise rapidly. From the population's point of view, a screw will be put on them: produce more but keep the consumption level constant. To the nationalist leader this is elementary economics; but to the followers (and some 80 per cent of Guinea's population are rated as "peasants") it represents a new kind of oppression. Modernisation, if it is as thorough-going as the radicals want it, also represents to the peasant an upheaval and destruction of his traditional mode of living. And if peasants are the most conservative of all political animals, one can be sure that it will be bitterly resisted. Good government is not necessarily popular government.

Rousseau-esque notions of a General Will supporting the nationalist leaders at the height of the struggle for independence may then have had some relevance. However much Sékou Touré may claim that his authority is grounded in "the people's wishes", it is clear that the General Will is becoming more a normative concept. No longer do the leaders represent the actual will of the followers but rather what they ought to will. In Rousseau's terms, they are to be "forced to be free". Marx put the matter in a nutshell: "Theory is going to be realised in a people only to the extent that it is the realisation of its needs. . . . Will the theoretical needs be immediately practical needs? It is not sufficient that the idea strive for realisation; reality itself must strive toward the idea."

Centralised government and strong leadership are necessary in African states. Without this it is likely that Africa will see a repetition of the pattern of successive revolutions characteristic of South America. ●

LAST MONTH THAT MEETING between these two men who destined to become the high priests of jazz in South Africa was rewarded by international recognition of Dollar Brand's new disc entitled "Duke Ellington presents the Dollar Brand Trio". The record, cut in Paris by the Duke for Frank Sinatra's "Reprise" label, was reviewed by *Downbeat*, the world's leading jazz journal in a recent issue. The reviewing panel, which includes such top names as Leonard Feather, Don de Michael and a host of other world-famous critics, stated: "Dollar Brand is a 28-year-old South African pianist who has impressed a good many American musicians in Europe. It is clear now, with this release, what everybody has been shouting about. Brand is one of the strongest—as Duke Ellington and Thelonius Monk are strong—musicians to come along in some time. His playing is an amalgam of Monk, Duke and himself. He has that wide time conception of the other two; he has perhaps more technical command of his instrument, though, like his elders (Monk and Duke—H.L.), he maintains an appealing aura of the primitive in his playing. He is a deliberate player, sometimes moving with Monkish dignity—that slow, ponderous movement of which Monk is the acknowledged master. Further, he constructs his improvisation with the same care and respect for thematic material as do Monk and Ellington.

"Brand's piano often takes on a deeply dark hue that conjures a feeling of restless melancholy. In fact, his playing rarely seems at rest—here only on parts of the ballads 'Kippic' and 'Ubu Suku' (both composed by Brand.—H.L.) He does dapple his generally sombre tones, improvisations and composition with patches of light that are sometimes startling in their unexpectedness. Often there is a bi-tonal quality to his jaggedly contoured work, the right hand playing figures set at half a step down from what one should expect, judging by the left-hand chords. This is in keeping, however, with the clashing dissonance that is part of all his playing and composing on this record. . . ."

The record was awarded 4½ stars out of 5—a distinction that even the world's top acknowledged jazz musicians are seldom awarded.

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME that Dollar Brand's music has received international recognition. In November, 1963, *Downbeat* ran a cover story on him and his group—sidemen Johnny Gertze (bassist), drummer Mackay Ntshoko and vocalist Beattie Benjamin (all from Cape Town).

In 1961 Willis Conover, director of the Voice of America's "Music U.S.A.", played a tape of Dollar Brand's "Jazz Epistle, Verse I" album cut in South Africa. Conover and world-famous musician, composer and arranger Quincey Jones conducted an enthusiastic dialogue on the music. (All the compositions on the "Epistle" disc were originals written by members of the group, Dollar, Kippic, Moeketsi, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa.—H.L.)

Late in 1961 Dollar Brand decided that he was ready to assault the European Jazz Circuit and, after a series of concerts in the major centres of the Republic, he flew to Switzerland with vocalist Beattie Benjamin and set up his headquarters in Zurich. Bassist Gertze and Drummer Ntshoko followed them a few months later to form the Dollar Brand Trio with Beattie Benjamin. Concert tours, night-club engagements, festivals, TV appearances followed until they became front-page news. *Politiken*, one of Denmark's leading morning newspapers, ran a front-page lead story on Brand and the *Downbeat* cover story followed after they were spotted by Duke Ellington and recorded by "Reprise" in Paris.

WHEN DOLLAR BRAND HITS the States in the next few months Jazz South Africa will have made the big time jazz scene, finally. The starvation, frustration and rejection of its growing years will become a thing of the past.

And what with Chris McGregor's "Blue Notes" ready to fly to Paris for the Antibes Festival on the French Riviera, Jazz South Africa, in Chris McGregor's words, "will have some fantastic surprises for the jazz world".

*The New African* wishes them all good luck. We only hope that the Dollar Brand Trio and the Blue Notes will not forget the men back home who all helped to make this heartening fact a reality. ●