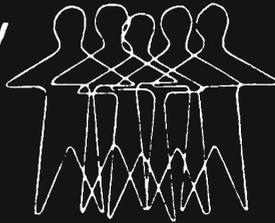


The New African



THE RADICAL REVIEW
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KAMBONA

Africa, U.N. & Congo
—an Interview

The End of Non-Violence

R. KUNENE, M. NKOANA

MPHAHLELE

Cultural Tensions of
Non racialism

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THE NEW AFRICAN
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THE LESSONS OF DISASTER

THE WHITE ESTABLISHMENT is hailing the end of revolution in South Africa. With Rivonia, the A.R.M. trials, "little Rivonia" and the trial of Braam Fischer and his fellow-accused behind them, those who saw in the two Sabotage Acts the end of organised opposition to white supremacy believe themselves proved right by the apparent complete success of the Security Police mopping-up operation.

Certainly the top layer of the South Africa-based underground has been all but wiped out. The morale of their followers has suffered both by the loss of their leaders and by the circumstances of their trials—informers, traitors, confessions, the self-abasement of some pleas in mitigation. Perhaps the biggest setback to morale is in the apparent smallness of the achievement for which they have paid so high a price.

The loss has been heavy, far heavier even than the loss of the headline-catching personalities and groups mentioned accounts for. Characteristically the white establishment seems hardly aware of the other great Security Police triumph—the presence of over 1,000 political prisoners on Robben Island—or Makana's Island, as its new black inhabitants are beginning to call it, and of unknown numbers elsewhere. The hanging of over forty men under the Sabotage Acts is scarcely taken into account either, nor is the impotence of both the hundreds of political exiles and the hundreds of banned, house-arrested and otherwise proscribed radicals at home.

IT IS NOT NECESSARY to take so wretched a view. The idea that this is the end of revolution should be reserved for the establishment—*slegs vir blankes*, and for those second-class honorary *blankes* with black faces who help prop up the establishment by their subservience. A high price has admittedly been paid but it has bought concrete things.

- *Their total commitment will inspire a new generation to emulate their activism.*
 - *Their mistakes—negligence, over-confidence, naïvety, disunity—constitute lessons to be learned by their successors.*
 - *The diversity of the communities from which they sprang keep alive hope that the struggle will continue non-racial.*
 - *The response of white South Africa to their actions—unity across the old Boer-Briton barriers—will teach the oppressed people no longer to sit back and wait for a liberalising of their treatment as a result of the hope that power will shift back to Briton from Boer.*
- (continued on next page)*

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The very weapons they chose will be called into question, and the stage of "violence to property", which has followed naturally from "non-violent action", itself the successor to constitutional pressures, perhaps brought to an end. The new phase will perhaps follow the violent pattern already set by the PAC at Paarl, Queenstown, Bashee Bridge. Or this will be mixed with political strategies within the apartheid framework that the crushing of organised opposition outside it makes permissible. Perhaps the lesson in chief that has been learned is that the sabotage tactics that lost the battle that began with the launching of Umkonto weSizwe in 1961 must be changed for others that will more quickly bring about the end of terror, bloodshed and white baasskap in South Africa.

The Editors' apologies are extended to subscribers who have received no issues of The New African since July, 1964. Renewals will not be invoiced until subscribers have had the number of issues owing to them. Please send changes of address or new subscriptions to The New African, 12a Goodwins Court, off St Martins Lane, London WC2. Constant South African Security Police harassment, and intimidation of successive printers of The New African in Cape Town have made it necessary for the magazine to be printed and published in London.

'Obscenity' on Trial

THE NEW AFRICAN CASE

A LEADER OF THE CAPE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH who blushed and said "That is a leading question" when asked in court if he had ever inadvertently used the word "damn" as an expletive, was the key State witness in a case that ended in a director of *The New African* being fined last November for publishing an obscene article.

The title of the "obscene article" was given on the charge sheet as "The Fugitives Can Themba". In fact, it is a short story by Can Themba, set in a Johannesburg shebeen. According to the evidence of Detective-Constable T. Zandberg, of the Security Police, some of the words used in the dialogue are blasphemous and/or obscene.

(Some of us who attended the proceedings were relieved to hear that Const. Zandberg himself never uses these words, although to his regret he has heard them on the lips of others.)

The South African Government has various ways of suppressing written matter that it considers undesirable for any reason. It can forbid the publication of the words of certain people, or of political journals, under the Suppression of Communism Act. It can prevent the sale, distribution or display of matter published overseas, or their import into the country, under the Customs and Immigration Act. It can cause the banning of publications through the agency of the censorship board set up two years ago. Or it can bring a charge against writers or publishers in the courts.

THE SECURITY POLICE HAD BEEN LOOKING for a chance to get at *The New African* ever since it first came out. They had raided its offices at the end of 1963, removing the entire contents. Four months later the last file was reluctantly returned. Another raid followed almost immediately, and this time the police also visited the home of Mrs. J. N. Block, a director of Insight Publications (which published *The New African*) and took 700

copies of the March issue, just printed. The remaining copies they got from the office and the post office, already addressed and stamped.

Then nothing was heard for seven months.

In October they acted. They called for Mrs. Block at her home and drove her to their headquarters to take fingerprints. She was told when to appear in court, and that she would be charged with publishing an obscene article.

This is only the second time a publication has been charged under the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963. The first was the University of Cape Town student newspaper,

What it has cost

Lawyers' fees and fines in this case have come to R1,000 (£500). The appeal will cost at least another R500 (£250).

The principles involved and the possibility that a dangerous precedent may be set, mean that the appeal must be fought with every weapon we have.

It will be expensive, but we hope readers, understanding the need, will help us with donations.

We cannot engage counsel until we have the money. And R300 of the fine has still to be paid.

Please send a donation to The New African Fund, 12a Goodwins Court, off St. Martins Lane, London, WC2.