

After the ban

The New
African



Contents

- 99 THIRD FORCE SOCIALISM: Obed Matlala
 100 FORT HARE RECORD: Winston Nagan
 104 OUR CHANCES: An interview with Dr. Mondlane
 106 COME TO TEA: David Rubadiri
 108 BREAKING OF MEN
 110 COLOURED SON-3: Johan de Lange
 118 CHAD FREScoes: Claude Servoise
 98 Leader; 99 Cartoon; 111-118 Reviews by Raymond Kunene, Henry Swanzy, Terence Ranger, Aaron Segal, Merle Babrow, Sebaretlane, Alfred Hutchinson, Robin Hallett, James Currey, Shula Marks.
 120 THE EXOTICA MARKET: Lewis Nkosi

Subscription rates

World Surface Mail: 1 year R2 - £1 - \$2.80;
 6 months R1 - 10s. \$1.40; Renewal: 1 year
 R.1.80 - 18s. - \$2.50.

Students in Southern Africa: 1 year R1.50 -
 15s.; Airmail: 1 year U.S.A. \$6 - S.A. R4.

THE NEW AFRICAN
 12A GOODWINS COURT
 OFF ST MARTINS LANE
 LONDON WC2 ENGLAND

Published by Gransight Holdings Ltd., 12 Gayfere Street,
 London, W.1, and Printed by Goodwin Press Ltd. (T.U.),
 135 Fonthill Road, London, N.4, England.

THE BANNING in South Africa of *The New African*, *Africa and the World*, and *Revolution in Africa* on June 18, 1965, passed almost unnoticed in South Africa, entirely unnoticed elsewhere. The home-grown one of the three, *The New African*, had been banned by actions taken against it in various forms — against writers, staff, printers, agents — always short of an actual ban, while the South African government continued to advertise the freedom of South Africa's press, as a counter to police-state accusations outside. The ban has fallen, the freedom of the press is presumably that much less of concern to the South African government. It coincides with the third major police raid on a South African national newspaper, this time the *Rand Daily Mail* (previously raided were the *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg — after its Broederbond exposures — and the *Evening Post*, Port Elizabeth — after a long career of hard-hitting liberal criticism of apartheid).

It is a sign of the growing need of the apartheidists to strengthen their fortress that they have sacrificed the old boast of a free press by banning *The New African* and the others and by both raiding and threatening the *Rand Daily Mail*.

It is not for us to speak for the *Mail* and Mr. Laurie Gandar, its editor. Let us congratulate them and hope that they can withstand the attack of South Africa's Vorsters and Van den Berghs. Doubtless *Africa and the World* and *Revolution in Africa* will continue to find their secret way into the Republic. *The New African* in its editorials in 1962 and 1963, when threatened by the State, resolved to go on. It has done so by moving to London, and sending to South Africa. It will continue to do so in a manner not to be vouchsafed here. It is hoped that *Inkululeko* will prove a worthy successor to *The New African* in South Africa.

DENNIS BRUTUS

ON 8TH JULY, 1965 Dennis Brutus, South African patriot and poet, was released from Robben Island prison after serving eighteen months for breaking his banning order by attending a meeting of Olympic administrators, leaving the country without a passport, and resisting arrest. He has now returned to his wife, May, and his children, in Port Elizabeth. He has been placed under house arrest for the next five years.

In his honour we publish a poem written before his banning order was imposed in 1962, and submitted then to *Breakthru*, the international poetry magazine, to whom we express grateful acknowledgement.

This sun on this rubble after rain.

Bruised though we must be
 Some easement we require
 unarguably, though we argue against desire.

Under jackboots our bones and spirits crunch
 forced into sweat-tear-sodden slush
 — now glow-lipped by this sudden touch:

— sun-stripped perhaps, our bones may later sing
 or spell out some malignant nemesis
 Sharpevilled to spearpoints for revenging

but now our pride-dumbed mouths are wide
 in wordless supplication
 — are grateful for the least relief from pain

— like this sun on this debris after rain.

AFRICA IN ITS TIME of awakening and reconstruction is regarded with uncertain speculation by interested parties who, engaged in a cold war, are anxious to see whether Africa's emergence means a gain in their contest for ultimate power or the reverse. The influence of the communist East on the African political scene therefore, becomes of interest in so far as it swings African development towards socialist lines.

African socialism must be seen as an acknowledgement of the significance of Eastern experiences in nation building. At this stage of its definition the East has already had major developments in the construction of socialist states. But African leaders have emphasised the differences between their intended systems and "scientific socialism." The differences within Africa of collectivised or communalised economies themselves betray a flexibility in African Socialism that does not characterise those of affirmed Marxist-Leninists. Nor is Marxist-Leninist theory acceptable in Africa as a whole; but various leaders have said that although those

Marxist principles which are held not to apply to Africa are adhered to in other countries, they should not be mechanically applied in Africa — which in their opinion would be a travesty of Marx's teachings. African nationalists argue that European conditions fostered Marxism, and socialism is relevant in Africa in so far as it serves Africanist ideals.

Africanism restated in our modern context cannot hold the view that it is in man's nature to live in inevitable strife. Africanism, it is true, holds that the best basis for social dynamics is found in the differences between individuals in a society, but this does not mean class war as Marxist theory holds. It is important, however, to note that whilst Marxian classes are held not to exist in African society, the effects of industrialisation by the colonialist is clearly accepted.

ONE OF THE NATIONALIST LIBERATORY movements of South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress, states for instance that in South Africa in particular — and this is generally applicable to all Africa — the African is the real worker. In contrast to the dictatorship of the proletariat the Congress stands for a dominance of African interests over those of exploiting minority groups. Because the African nationalist insists on an Africanist orientation, it is understandable that he views the ultimate African Socialist Democracy as a third social force in the world and his ultimate contribution to this feuding world. In this, incidentally, is contained his "guarantee" for the success of positive neutrality.

African leaders have gone on to expound viewpoints and aspirations with regard to this aspect of the question probably for the same reasons that leaders in the West have recognised a necessity for an ideology sufficiently viable to provide an answer to communism. Thus has Africa felt a need in the face of spiritually disatisfying ideologies to propound and develop its own. It has been

OBED MATLALA is the pseudonym of a South African refugee now living in Dar es Salaam, which he fled to in 1964 while in his fourth year at Wentworth Medical School in the University of Natal (Non-Europeans) at Durban.



Arms for the Love of Allah

expressed as the historical mission of Africa — and indeed it is if one just calls to mind the resentment Africa feels towards foreign domination and control! This applies equally to Peking as it does to Moscow, London, Washington — and of late — to Bonn.

The imperialists are now the enemy of Africa precisely because they negate self-determination of the Africans. On the other hand,

the East having so far had to reluctantly support nationalist movements in Africa, relies on the dialectic march of history to bring ultimate global victory to communism.

But Africa has no desire to go Red and now seeks to safeguard its survival in developing the ideology of Africanism. Whether it is called "humanism" — a loose translation — or "familyhood" as in South and East Africa respectively, the urge is there to "strive for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African freedom... and to rebuild the destroyed shrines" with a firm faith in the survival value of the inherited "faculty of knowing" of present-day Africa.

TODAY THE AFRICAN IN THE FASCIST SOUTH will find greater significance in the lessons of the Russian Revolution and the long years of China's revolutionary war than will other Africans, perhaps. Their fight will still, like the others, be as between a privileged minority against a long-suffering majority armed with a dynamic ideology and led by advanced elements of the society. In the Southern Africa context then, there might be a greater reflection of socialist methodology than was experienced in black Africa before. Leaders in South Africa have indicated, for instance, the fate of the wealth of the country in the event of their taking over by armed force.

If any of the reflections of a class war in southern Africa will be clouded by racist overtones especially in South Africa, the result may well be a dictatorship of the indigenes. The nationalisation programme may also be so extensive that the problems of private ownership might appear only in a mild form.

Elsewhere in Africa the governments have found it necessary to define socialism in a manner which at the same time allows the existence of private ownership and a great emphasis on state planning. When the governments do find the money they need, they will initiate industries in a planned and orderly manner and thus increase gradually and to the benefit of all the public sector of the economy. The experience of the socialist states will certainly be very readily made available especially when it comes to advising on, and the training of personnel for, socialist projects.

IT CAN THUS BE SEEN that although eastern influences are permitted in African politics they gain acceptance on condition they serve African freedom as seen by Africans themselves. An example is readily found in Tanzania's recently tabled report of a presidential commission investigating the best arrangements for the guaranteeing of democracy in a one-party state. This undeniably eastern conceptual influence is being given an African complexion. The Kenya Government also recently brought the whole question of socialism in Africa under careful study and arrived at a distinctive socialist programme.

African Nationalism will be the movement that posterity will see as the first manifestations of Africanism — a third social force that is destined to resolve the sharp contradiction of our times. It is characterised by an adaptation of suitable influences from the two opposing power blocs and their incorporation into a new ideology of Africanism — a nationalism that may be exclusive but purports to provide a solution that may solve the problem of man's relationship to his fellow men. ●



ABOVE: Professor Z. K. Matthews, Acting Principal, at the graduation ceremony in 1956

BELOW: The Christian Union Building from within the ruins of the old military Fort Hare

