

*The Speeches of
Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe*

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS
OF AZANIA
BASIC DOCUMENTS



THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

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ISSUED BY

THE SECRETARY OF PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

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FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

Our patience has run out

It is my fond pleasure to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues in the struggle who have asked me to write this foreword to the second edition of our Basic Documents. This booklet is in demand the world over among friends of our struggle who want to acquaint themselves with the purpose and methods of our struggle so that they can be better able to share and exchange experience with us. We are proud of their confidence and solidarity.

As we march into the theatre of war, are required to clearly answer one question which determines the nature of our struggle: IN WHOSE INTEREST SHOULD STATE POWER BE WIELDED? This is the rallying call of our war of liberation, and requires a practical answer which can only be supplied by the battlefield. Our patience has run out. We must fight to restore our usurped land. Our sons and their sons will carry on the fight where we leave off, until victory is won, until an AFRICANIST SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY is established in our land.

It must be Africanist, because nationalism demand that the interests of the indigenous people, to whom the land belongs, should dominate over those of aliens; it must be Socialistic, because the interests of the workers, whose contribution to the wealth of the country is more significant, should dominate over those of their private employers; it must be Democratic, because STATE 4 POWER will be wielded by the common people, who form the majority of the people, and whose interests are common and non-antagonistic.

That day is not far off!!!

E. L. Makeli

May 31st, 1968

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS CALENDAR

2nd November 1958 - The "Africanists" become the custodian of African Nationalism and Africanism

6th April, 1959 - The Pan Africanist Congress is born

19th– 20th December 1959 - The First and Historic National Conference of the PAC

21st March - 1960 Launching of Positive Action Campaign, Sharpeville/Langa Massacres

30th April 1960 - The PAC is banned and goes underground

31st July Anniversary of ANTON MUZIWAKHE LEMBEDE in 1947 and now commemorated as AFRICAN HEROES DAY

3rd May, 1963 PRESIDENT SOBUKWE completes his three year term of imprisonment and is detained "this side of eternity" on Robben Island (Sobukwe Clause)6

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THE ROAD TRAVERSED

WHO ARE THE PAN AFRICANISTS?

This compilation of the basic policy documents of the Pan Africanist Congress will satisfy long standing desire by both members of the party and other revolutionaries on the other hand, and it will serve as a devastating evidence against our critics who have constantly mis-represented and mis-interpreted the policy and programme of the Party, on the other. It is not a reply to these malicious critics. It is a challenge and a reference to those who desire to understand the Pan Africanist Congress – what it is and what it stands for?

FRESH AS EVER

These documents, presented, deliberated upon and finally accepted by the Inaugural Conference of the PAC, held in Johannesburg from the 4th – 6th April 1959 – six years ago – remain today as fresh and as authoritative as when they were first presented.

We have travelled a long way in the period of six years of our existence. As the forces of African Nationalism and Pan Africanism throw off the shackles and chains of oppression, the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists run helter skelter to save what they can from their loot in Africa. Indeed the changes of momentous significance have taken place. At that time, only 9 states in Africa were independent.

Today there are 37 Independent States. Form the All-Africa People’s Conference held in Accra in 1958, Africa has reached greater unity with the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa in 1963. The Central Federation “the greatest political fraud of our times “has been dismantled by the militant forces of African Nationalism and Africanism. Many more states in Africa are on the road to self-government and independence. Indeed great leaders have emerged in Africa, signifying the “Voice of Africa”, they have shouldered the position of their responsibility with Statesman –like disposition and have been equal to the task.

Indeed independence to us mean the improvement of the living conditions of the African Masses in all fields of human progress and activity. It means the exploitation of the resources of Africa, both material and human for the benefit of the Africa. In spite of the declared stand by African leaders – the stand of Positive Neutrality or non-alignment I the East-West relations; some African countries continue to flirt with the East and others with the West; they have now reached “a stage where the parties can kiss in public without blushing’.

The political truism; that “white domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword”, has found a vociferous answer from the African people. That reactionary violence must be met revolutionary violence. That is the answer that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is receiving in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, and other dependent parts of Africa. The African people will pay the supreme sacrifice for human freedom – with their own lives.

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!!

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY!!

IZWE LETHU!

Z.B. Molete

Secretary: Publicity and Information

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ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE GRADUATING CLASS AT FORT HARE COLLEGE DELIVERED AT THE 'COMPLETERS' SOCIAL' BY MANGALISO ROBERT SOBUKWE, OCTOBER 21, 1949

Prof. Dent, Ladies and Gentlemen, I intend to follow in my opening remarks the conventional pattern. And for that reason, I will give a very brief review of our doings within the College this year. We saw at the beginning of the year the implementation of the Students' Constitution, whereby six members of the S.R.C. (Students' Representative Council) were elected by secret ballot at a mass-meeting of the students and whereby also certain powers were delegated to the Council. Of that arrangement the worst I can say is that it seems to be working well. We witnessed also at the beginning of the year the promotion of Prof. Dent to the position of Principal of the S.A.N.C. (South African Native College). He was succeeding a man who was highly esteemed, Dr. Kerr. But I do not think we lament the change, for we are concerned not with personalities, but with policies, and there has been no change in this respect. Moreover, however much we may disagree with Prof. Dent on certain issues, we cannot say that he has ever refused students a chance to state their case. And I believe it is due to this fact that there has been no trouble in the College this year. After all, even the minor demonstration we had last term was not a reaction against the administration of the college. The stimulus came from outside.

But that does not mean that all is well in the College. I had occasion last year and also at the beginning of this year to comment on some features of our structure of which I do not approve. It has always been my feeling that if the intention of the trustees of this College is to make it an African College or University, as I have been informed it is, then the Department of African Studies must be more highly and more rapidly developed. Fort Hare must become the centre of African Studies to which students in African Studies should come from all over Africa. We should also have a department of Economics and Sociology. A nation, to be a nation, needs specialists in these things. Again I would like to know exactly what the College understands by "Trusteeship". I understand by "trusteeship" the preparation of the African ward for eventual management and leadership of the College. But nothing in the policy of the College points in this direction. After the College has been in existence for 30 years, the ratio of European to African is 4 to 1. And we are told that in ten years' time we might become an independent University. Are we to understand that an African University predominantly guided by European thought and strongly influenced by European staff?

I said last year that Fort Hare must be to the African what Stellenbosch is to the Afrikaner. It must be the barometer of African thought. It is interesting to note that the theory of "Apartheid" which is today the dominating ideology of the State was worked out at Stellenbosch by Eiselen and his colleagues. That same Eiselen is Secretary for Native Affairs. But the important thing is that Stellenbosch is not only the expression of Afrikaner thought and feeling but is also the embodiment of their aspiration. So also must Fort Hare express and lead African thought. The College has remained mute on matters deeply affecting the Africans, because, we learn, it feared to annoy the Nationalists' Government. What the College fails to realize is that rightly or wrongly the Nationalists believe that the Fort Hare Staff is predominantly U. P. So that whether we remain mute or not the government will continue to be hostile towards us. So much for the College.

Sons and daughters of Africa, harbingers of the new world order, what can I say to you? As you see, for the first time since the practice was started, we do not have the nurses with us this momentous night -- Completers' Social...and the reason? The battle is on. To me the struggle at the Hospital is more than a question of discipline in inverted commas. It is a struggle between Africa and Europe, between a twentieth century desire for self-realization and a feudal conception of authority. I know, of course, that because I express these sentiments, I will be accused of indecency and will be branded an agitator. That was the reaction to my speech last year. People do not like to see the even tenor of their lives disturbed. They do not like to be made to feel guilty. They do not like to be told that what they have always believed was right is wrong. And above all, they resent encroachment on what they regard as their special province. But I make no apologies. It is meet that we speak the truth before we die.

I said last year that our whole life in South Africa is politics and that contention was severely criticized. But the truth of that statement has been proved in the course of this year. From the pulpit in the C. U. we have heard responsible preachers deplore the deterioration of race-relations in this country and suggest co-operation as a solution. Dr. Bruce Gardner and Rev. Mokitimi are but two of a large number. Professor Macmillan and a number of speakers in our Wednesday assembly have condemned this "naughty spirit of Nationalism and non-cooperation" and have told us of the wonderful things that have been done for us, forgetting, of course, that

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what they say has been done for the Africans the Africans have achieved for themselves in spite of the South African Government. The point I am trying to make is that was politics, whether we loved it or not. So that we can no longer pretend that there is a proper place and a proper occasion for politics. During the war it was clearly demonstrated that in South Africa at least, politics does not stop this side of the grave. A number of African soldiers were buried in the same trench as European soldiers. A few days afterwards word came from the high command that the bodies of the Africans should be removed and buried in another trench. "Apartheid" must be maintained even on the road to eternity.

The trouble at the Hospital then, I say, should be viewed as part of a broad struggle and not as an isolated incident. I said last year that we should not fear victimization. I still say so today. We must fight for freedom - for the right to call our souls our own. And we must pay the price. The Nurses have paid the price. I am truly grieved that the careers of so many women should have been ruined in this fashion. But the price of freedom is blood, toil, and tears. This consolation I have, however, that Africa never forgets, and these martyrs of freedom, these young and budding women will be remembered and honoured when Africa comes into her own.

A word to those who are remaining behind. You have seen by now what education means to us: the identification of ourselves with the masses. Education to us means service to Africa. In whatever branch of learning you are, you are there for Africa. You have a mission; we all have a mission. A nation to build we have, a God to glorify, a contribution clear to make towards the blessing of mankind. We must be the embodiment of our people's aspirations. And all we are required to do is to show the light and the masses will find the way. Watch our movements keenly and if you see any signs of 'broad-mindedness' or 'reasonableness' in us, or if you hear us talk of practical experience as a modifier of man's views, denounce us as traitors to Africa.

We will watch you too. We have been reminded time and again that fellows who, while at College, were radicals, and as soon as they got outside became spineless stooges and screeching megaphones of "white Herrenvolkism" or else became disgruntled and disillusioned objects of pity. My contention is: those fellows never were radicals. They were anti White. And as Marcus Garvey says: "You cannot grow beyond your thoughts. If your thoughts are those of a slave, you will remain a slave. If you thoughts go skin-deep, your mental development will remain skin-deep." Moreover a doctrine of hate can never take people anywhere. It is too exacting. It warps the mind. That is why we preach the doctrine of love, love for Africa. We can never do enough for Africa, nor can we love her enough. The more we do for her, the more we wish to do. And I am sure that I am speaking for the whole of young Africa when I say that we are prepared to work with any man who is fighting for the liberation of Africa WITHIN OUR LIFE-TIME.

To the completers among whom I number myself, my exaltation is: REMEMBER AFRICA! I thought last year that the position was bad. I realize it is worse this year. This is a difficult period to analyse. It is a confused period. Such as only a Mqhayi, or Bereng, or Dickens could describe. We are witnessing today the disintegration of old empires, and the integration of new communities. We are seeing today the germination of the seeds of decay inherent in Capitalism; we discern the first shoots of the tree of Socialism. In married life we see a reversal to what the Missionaries condemned when they first got here -- polygamy. But this time it is not the African who is the culprit, and the third party is not a second wife, but a mistress. We are witnesses today of cold and calculated brutality and bestiality, the desperate attempts of a dying generation to stay in power. We see also a new spirit of determination, a quiet confidence, the determination of a people to be free whatever the cost. We are seeing within our own day the second rape of Africa; a determined effort by imperialist powers to dig their claws still deeper into the flesh of the squirming victim. But this time the imperialism we see is not the naked brutal mercantile imperialism of the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a more subtle one - financial and economic imperialism under the guise of a tempting slogan, "the development of backward areas and peoples". At the same time we see the rise of uncompromising "Nationalism" in India, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, and Africa! The old order is changing ushering in a new order. The great revolution has started and Africa is the field of operation. Allow me at this juncture to quote a few lines from the Methodist Hymn- book:

"Once to every man and nation, comes the moment to decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood for the good or evil side...then to side with truth is noble when we share her wretched crust, ere her cause bring fame and profit and 'tis prosperous to be just. Then it is the brave man chooses while the coward stands aside, Til the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied."

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The cowards are still standing aside and the brave have made their choice. We have made our choice. And we have chosen African Nationalism because of its deep human significance; because of its inevitability and necessity to world progress. World civilization will not be complete until the African has made his full contribution. And even as the dying so-called Roman civilization received new life from the barbarians, so also will the decaying so-called western civilization find a new and purer life from Africa.

I wish to make it clear again that we are anti-nobody. We are pro-Africa. We breathe, we dream, we live Africa; because Africa and humanity are inseparable. It is only by doing the same that the minorities in this land, the European, Coloured and Indian, can secure mental and spiritual freedom. On the liberation of the African depends the liberation of the whole world. The future of the world lies with the oppressed and the Africans are the most oppressed people on earth. Not only in the continent of Africa but also in America and the West Indies. We have been accused of blood-thirstiness because we preach "non-collaboration". I wish to state here tonight that that is the only course open to us. History has taught us that a group in power has never voluntarily relinquished its position. It has always been forced to do so. And we do not expect miracles to happen in Africa. It is necessary for human progress that Africa be fully developed and only the African can do so.

We want to build a new Africa, and only we can build it. The opponents of African Nationalism, therefore, are hampering the progress and development not only of Africa, but of the whole world. Talks of co-operation are not new to us. Every time our people have shown signs of uniting against oppression, their "friends" have come along and broken that unity. In the very earliest days it was the Missionary (we owe the bitter feelings between Fingoes and Xhosas to the Christian ideals of the Reverend Shaw). Between 1900 and 1946 it has been the professional Liberal. Today it is again the Missionary who fulfils this role. After maintaining an unbroken and monastic silence for years while Smuts was starving the people out of the Reserves, the Missionaries suddenly discover, when the Africans unite, that the Africans have not had a fair deal. In the same stride, so to speak, they form a "Union wide Association of Heads of Native Institutions" for the purpose of regimenting the thoughts of students. A Missionary Hospital closes even though the people are dying in its neighbourhood, and there is a dearth of Nurses throughout the country. I am afraid these gentlemen are dealing with a new generation which cannot be bamboozled. "What you are thunders so loudly that what you say cannot be heard."

Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa re-created, young AFRICA. We are the first glimmers of a new dawn. And if we are persecuted for our views, we should remember, as the African saying goes, that it is darkest before dawn, and that the dying beast kicks most violently when it is giving up the ghost, so-to-speak. The fellows who clamped Nehru into jail are today his servants. And we have it from the Bible that those who crucified Christ will appear before him on the judgment day. We are what we are because the God of Africa made us so. We dare not compromise, nor dare we use moderate language in the course of freedom. As Zik puts it:

"Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell a man moderately to rescue his wife from the arms of a ravisher; tell a mother to extricate gradually her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but do not ask me to use moderation in a cause like the present."

These things shall be, says the Psalmist: Africa will be free. The wheel of progress revolves relentlessly. And all the nations of the world take their turn at the field-glass of human destiny. Africa will not retreat! Africa will not compromise! Africa will not relent! Africa will not equivocate! And she will be heard! REMEMBER AFRICA!

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THE OPENING ADDRESS

[Delivered by Mangaliso R. Sobukwe at the Africanist Inaugural Convention]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sons and Daughters of Africa! Mr. Speaker as already informed you that we had hoped that this inaugural Convention of the Africanists would be opened by Dr. Kamuzu Hastings Banda, failing which, by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of the Zambia African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia. Both have been unable to attend our convention, for both are now, in the language of the colonialists, "detained" in some concentration camps because they dared to demand the right of self-determination for the indigenous African people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The honourable task of opening this conference has, therefore, fallen to me, an Africanist, and I wish to thank the Central Committee for the honour. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity this offers me to treat briefly of certain issues relevant to our struggle which, though adequately treated in the documents that will be considered by this Convention, require to be presented to such a gathering. I hope, then, Mr. Speaker, in the course of my address, to answer broadly questions pertaining to our stand in contemporary international politics, our relation to the states of Africa, both independent and dependent, our attitude to the entire nationalist movement in Africa, our stand on the question of Race in general and the so-called racial question in South Africa. Finally, I hope to outline briefly our ultimate objectives.

INTERNATIONAL SCENE

We are living today, Sons and Daughters of the Soil, fighters in the cause of African freedom, we are living today in an era that is pregnant with untold possibilities for both good and evil. In the course of the past two years we have seen man breaking asunder, with dramatic suddenness, the chains that have bound his mind, solving problems which for ages it has been regarded as sacrilege even to attempt to solve. The tremendous, epoch-making scientific achievements in the exploration of space, with man-made satellites orbiting the earth, the new and interesting discoveries made in the Geophysical Year, the production of rust-resistant strains of wheat in the field of agriculture, the amazing discoveries in the fields of medicine, chemistry and physics – all these, mean that man is well on the way to establishing absolute control over that environment.

However, in spite of all these rapid advances in the material and physical world, man appears to be either unwilling or unable to solve the problem of social relations between man and man. Because of this failure on the part of man, we see the world split today into two large hostile blocks, the so-called Capitalist and Socialist blocks represented by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union respectively. These two blocks are engaged in terrible competition, use tough language and tactics, employ brinkmanship stunts which have the whole world heading for a nervous breakdown. They each are armed with terrible weapons of destruction and continue to spend millions of pounds in the production of more and more of these weapons. In spite of all the diplomatic talk of co-existence, these blocks each behave as though they did not believe that co-existence was possible.

AFRICA'S POSITION

The question then arises, where does Africa fit into this picture and where, particularly, do we African nationalists, we Africanists in South Africa, fit in? There is no doubt that with the liquidation of Western imperialism and colonialism in Asia, the Capitalist market has shrunk considerably. As a result, Africa has become the happy-hunting ground of adventuristic capital. There is again a scramble for Africa and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to win the loyalty of the African States. Africa is being wooed with more ardour than she has ever been. There is a lot of flirting going on; of course, some Africans [are] flirting with the Soviet camp and others with the American camp. In some cases the courtship has

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reached a stage where the parties are going out together; and they probably hold hands in the dark but nowhere has it yet reached a stage where the parties can kiss in public without blushing. This wooing occurs at a time when the whole continent of Africa is in labour, suffering the pangs of a new birth and everybody is looking anxiously and expectantly towards Africa to see, as our people so aptly put it "*ukuthi iyozala nkomoni*" (what creature will come forth). We are being wooed internationally at a time when in South Africa the naked forces of savage Herrenvolkism are running riot; when a determined effort is being made to annihilate the African people through systematic starvation; at a time when brutal attempts are being made to retard, dwarf and stunt the mental development of a whole people through organised "miseducation"; at a time when thousands of our people roam the streets in search of work and are being told by the foreign ruler to go back to a "home" which he has assigned them, whether that means the break-up of their families or not; at a time when the distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation, the "*dompas*" is being extended from the African male dog to the African female bitch. It is at this time, when fascist tyranny has reached its zenith in South Africa, that Africa's loyalty is being competed for. And the question is, what is our answer?

Our answer, Mr. Speaker and children of the Soil, has been given by the African leaders of the continent. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly stated that in international affairs, Africa wishes to pursue a policy of positive neutrality, allying herself to neither of the existing blocs but, in the words of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, remaining "independent in all things but neutral in none that affect the destiny of Africa". Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya has expressed himself more forthrightly, declaring that it is not the intention of African states to change one master (western imperialism) for another (Soviet hegemony). We endorse the views of the African leaders on this point. But we must point out that we are not blind to the fact that the countries which pursue a policy of planned state economy have outstripped, in industrial development, those that follow the path of private enterprise. Today, China is industrially far ahead of India.

Unfortunately, however, this rapid industrial development has been accompanied in all cases by a rigid totalitarianism notwithstanding Mao Tse Tung's "Hundred Flowers" announcement. Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the west. We also reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of a few. We accept as policy the equitable distribution of wealth aiming, as far as I am concerned, to equality of income which to me is the only basis on which the slogan of "equal opportunities" can be founded. Borrowing then the best from the East and the best from the West we nonetheless retain and maintain our distinctive personality and refuse to be the satraps or stooges of either power block.

RELATIONS TO STATES IN AFRICA

Our relation to the States in Africa may be stated precisely and briefly by quoting from George Padmore's book, 'Pan Africanism or Communism'. Discussing the future of Africa, Padmore observes that "*there is a growing feeling among politically conscious Africans throughout the continent that their destiny is one, that what happens in one part of Africa to Africans must affect Africans living in other parts*". We honour Ghana as the first independent state in modern Africa which, under the courageous nationalist leadership of Dr. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has actively interested itself in the liberation of the whole continent from White domination, and has held out the vision of a democratic United States of Africa. We regard it as the sacred duty of every African state to strive ceaselessly and energetically for the creation of a United States of Africa stretching from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar. The days of small, independent countries are gone. Today we have, on the one hand, great powerful countries of the world; America and Russia cover huge tracts of land territorially and number hundreds of millions in population. On the other hand the small weak independent countries of Europe are beginning to realise that for their own survival they have to form military and economic federations, hence NATO and the European market. Beside the sense of a common historical fate that we share with the other countries of Africa, it is imperative, for purely practical

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reasons that the whole of Africa be united into a single unit, centrally controlled. Only in that way can we solve the immense problems that face the continent.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

It is for the reasons stated above that we admire, bless and identify ourselves with the entire nationalist movements in Africa. They are the core, the basic units, the individual cells of that large organism envisaged, namely, the United States of Africa; a union of free, sovereign independent democratic states of Africa. For the lasting peace of Africa and the solution of the economic, social and political problems of the continent, there needs must be a democratic principle. This means that White supremacy, under whatever guise it manifests itself, must be destroyed. And that is what the nationalists on the continent are setting out to do. They all are agreed that the African majority must rule. In the African context, it is the overwhelming African majority that will mould and shape the content of democracy. Allow me to quote Dr. Dubois, the father of Pan Africanism: "Most men in the world", writes Dubois, "are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future of the world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it". As for the world, so for Africa. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it.

THE RACE QUESTION

And now for the thorny question of race. I do not wish to give a lengthy and learned dissertation on Race. Suffice it to say that even those scientists who do recognise the existence of separate races, have to admit that there are border line cases which will not fit into any of the three Races of mankind. All scientists agree that all men can trace their ancestry back to the first *Homo Sapiens*, that man is distinguished from other mammals and also from earlier types of man by the nature of his intelligence. The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is superior to another, and there is no "race" that is inferior to others. The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary therefore, the word 'race' as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation.

In Africa the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe, in order to facilitate and justify their inhuman exploitation of the indigenous people of the land. It is from this myth of race with its attendant claims of cultural superiority that the doctrine of white supremacy stems. Thus it is that an ex-engine driver can think of himself as fully qualified to be the head of the government of an African state, but refuse to believe that a highly educated black doctor, more familiar with Western culture than the White premier is, cannot even run a municipal council.

I do not wish to belabor this point. Time is precious. Let me close discussion of this topic by declaring, on behalf of the Africanists, that with UNESCO we hold that "every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind".

IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa we recognise the existence of national groups, which are the result of geographical origin within a certain area as well as a shared historical experience of these groups. The Europeans are a foreign minority group, which has exclusive control of political, economic, social and military power. It is the dominant

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group. It is the exploiting group, responsible for the pernicious doctrine of White Supremacy, which has resulted in the humiliation, and degradation of the indigenous African people. It is this group which has dispossessed the African people of their land and with arrogant conceit has set itself up as the “guardians”, the “trustees” of the Africans. It is this group which conceives of the African people as a child nation, composed of Boys and Girls, ranging in age from 120 years to one day. It is this group which, after 300 years, can still state with brazen effrontery that the Native, the Bantu, the Kaffir is still backward and savage etc. But they still want to remain “guardians”, “trustees”, and what have you, of the African people. In short, it is this group which has mismanaged affairs in South Africa just as their kith and kin are mismanaging affairs in Europe. It is from this group that the most rabid race baiters and agitators come. It is members of this group who, whenever they meet in their Parliament, say things, which agitate the hearts of millions of peace-loving Africans. This is the group, which turns out thousands of experts on that new South African Science -the Native mind. Then there is the Indian foreign minority group. This group came to this country not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. In the South African set-up of today, this group is an oppressed minority. But there are some members of this group, the merchant class in particular, who have become tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance. This class identifies itself by and large with the oppressor but, significantly, this is the group, which provides the political leadership of the Indian people in South Africa. And all that the politics of this class have meant up to now is preservation and defence of the sectional interests of the Indian merchant class. The down-trodden, poor “stinking coolies” of Natal who, alone, as a result of the pressure of material conditions, can identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow White supremacy, have not yet produced their leadership. We hope they will do so soon. The Africans constitute the indigenous group and form the majority of the population. They are the most ruthlessly exploited and are subjected to humiliation, degradation and insult. Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when White supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the African people can be organised only under the banner of African nationalism in an All-African Organisation where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of the minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans. We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the African means the freedom of all in South Africa, the European included, because only the African can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in which all men will be citizens of a common state and will live and be governed as individuals and not as distinctive sectional groups.

OUR ULTIMATE GOALS

In conclusion, I wish to state that the Africanists do not at all subscribe to the fashionable doctrine of South African exceptionalism. Our contention is that South Africa is an integral part of the indivisible whole that is Africa. She cannot solve her problems in isolation from and with utter disregard of the rest of the continent. It is precisely for that reason that we reject both apartheid and so-called multi-racialism as solutions of our socio-economic problems.

Apart from the number of reasons and arguments that can be advanced against apartheid, we take our stand on the principle that Africa is one and desires to be one and nobody, I repeat, nobody has the right to balkanise our land. Against multi-racialism we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term of multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population

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figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To us the term “multi-racialism” implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes.

We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups.

Economically we aim at the rapid extension of industrial development in order to alleviate pressure on the land, which is what progress means in terms of modern society. We stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth.

Socially we aim at the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms or manifestations of the racial myth. To sum it up we stand for an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree. Sons and Daughters of Africa, I declare this inaugural convention of the Africanists open!

IZWE LETHU!!!

THE 1959 PAN AFRICANIST MANIFESTO

PREAMBLE

A. A Chain of Reaction

The significant portion of our social milieu begins with the expansion of the markets founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century. Succeeding years witnessed the "Discovery " of new lands by the Europeans, the Papal award of the whole of Africa to the Portuguese, increase European slave raids on Africa, denuded Africa of Africans and led to the establishment in the Americas of the greatest mass chattel slavery that the world had ever known. Africa has been successfully robbed of Africans. It was this chattel slavery that contributed substantially to the initiations of the European industrial revolution which in turn resulted in the unleashing of the chain of the reaction which culminated in the rape of Africa at the close of the last century.

B. Land Robbery and political Subjugation

Early European settlement of Africa especially of its southern tip, as a direct result of the rise of European commercial capital. Wave upon wave European settlers came to Africa and their penetration of the interior involved the loss of sovereignty by the indigenous peoples and the alienation of more and more portions of their land. With the rise of the industrial capital of Europe and its increased search for raw materials and more markets, the partition of Africa went apace and the doctrine of "effective occupation" was enunciated, a theory calculated to "sugar coat" the bitter pills of robbery and political subjugation. More and more settlers came into the country until today there are 5, 000,000 Europeans who up to the dawn of African liberation had constituted themselves a 21 ruling class over the 250, 000,000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

C. Established by the Sword

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of white domination, whether visible or invisible, which is characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of the indigenous African masses. Throughout this historical epoch, the age of white domination, whenever the spokesmen or representatives of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to the phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilisation" or "the extension of Christian trusteeship". The undisguised truth is that White domination has ground down the status of man and stunted THE NORMAL GROWTH OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY ON SCALE UNPRECEDENTED IN HUMAN HISTORY. White domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword.

D. Expulsion of Imperialist Exploiters

Significant event of the twentieth century especially of the latter part of it, have constituted a massive challenge to *Herrenvolkism*, a particular manifestation of imperialism and colonialism. Already European exploiters and oppressors have been dramatically expelled from such countries as Indonesia, India, China, Burma, Vietnam, etc. These are today being systematically routed and forcibly caused to retreat in confusion. The post-war world has witnessed the expulsion of the European imperialist exploiters and oppressors from large tracts of Africa and the emergence of no less than nine sovereign and independent African states. We are

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indeed witnessing a twilight of the twin gods of white domination and imperialist exploitation - a *Gotterdammerung*.

E. Decolonisation and Independence

Elsewhere in Africa the progressive force of African nationalism continue to be locked in mortal combat with reactionary forces of *Herrenvolkism*. By the end of next the people of Togoland, Somaliland, the Cameroons and Nigeria will have achieved freedom. The French policy of “association’ is also being rejected in favour of decolonisation and independence.

F. The Liquidation of the Forces of Oppression

To the chagrin of the imperialists the government of Free Algeria is a reality. Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda are on the verge of obtaining their freedom from British imperialism. Contrary to their traditional policy the Belgian imperialists have been forced to accede, at least in principle, to the African people’s demand for the recognition of their independence in the Congo. The policy of partnership pursued in the Central African Federation has been exposed for what it is: the greatest political fraud of our times. Even in those massive concentration camps, Angola and Mozambique, the African people have begun to reject the status quo in favour of their own freedom. The liquidation of the forces of oppression is a process not even nuclear power can halt.

G. Right to Shape Own Destiny

The days of European dominations of Africa are numbered. Even in South Africa the writing is glaringly on the wall for those of our European rulers who can see and decipher it. For exactly three-hundred and seven years today, the African people have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded. They have in the past, as they do now, declared themselves for freedom. They reject white domination in any shape or form. They are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of the country from alien hands. They are determined to exercise the most fundamental of human rights, the inalienable right of indigenous people to determine and shape their own destiny. To the African people there can be no room in any way or in any part of Africa for any nonindigenous peoples who deny to the indigenous populations their fundamental right to control their own materials and spiritual interests effectively, South Africa, which is an integral part of the continent, is the inalienable heritage of the African people and its effective control is their undoubted and unquestionable birth right.

H. No Longer with the Ranks of the Liberation Movement

Following the ‘capture’ of a portion of the black leadership of South Africa by a section of the leadership of the white ruling class, the masses of our people are in extreme danger of being deceived into losing site of the objectives of our struggle. This captured black leadership claims to be fighting to perpetuate the tutelage of the African people. It is tooth and nail against the Africans gaining the effective control of their own country. It is fighting for the maintenance of the status quo .It is fighting for the “constitutional guarantees” or “national rights” for our alien nationals. It has completely abandoned the objectives of freedom. It has joined the ranks of the reactionary forces. It is no longer within the ranks of the liberation movement.

I. White Domination Without Frills and Trappings

These “leaders” consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims. They regard as equal the foreign master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited, the foreign oppressor and the indigenous oppressed. They regard as brothers the subject Africans and their European overloads. They are too incredibly naïve and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject people who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class. Citizen Toussant once remarked that: “whenever anybody, he be white or mulatto, want a dirty job done, he always gets a black man to do it”. The so-called leaders after doing a dirty job namely; seeing to it that the African is deprived for all time of this inherent right to control his country effectively; of seeing to it that whatever new social order is established in this country; the essentials of white domination are retained, even though its frills and trappings may be ripped off. This attitude has been labelled *multi-racialism* by their white masters. They have been boldly suggested that being multi-racialist is a virtue!

J. One Race: The Human Race

The African people are very much proud of their race – the human race. They recognise no inescapable fundamental differences among members of even the three main branches of that race: the Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Afrinoids. They do not subscribe to the theory that there are inherent mental, emotional and psychological differences among the members of the different branches of the human species. They hold the granting of “right” on the basis of ethnological origin to be the entrenching of sectional arrogance and the continued maintenance of contempt for human worth and disregard for human dignity. They regard the differences that exist among various groups of man to be among various groups or subgroups of man to be mainly acquired in and through the individual factors in the acquisition of group characters. They do not, and will not tolerate or foster sectional arrogance, and continued contempt for the worth of the human personality and the disregard for human dignity. The African people are fully aware that suggestions of apartheid, whether total or partial, of segregation social or political, of Christian trusteeship, while leadership with justice, of partnership etc., are all intended merely as a look for their continued oppression, exploitation and degradation. They deny the foreigners any right to balkanise or pakistanise their country. To any such schemes, programmes of policies, the African cannot be a party. The African people are neither racists nor racialists, and they unreservedly condemn all forms of racialism. They do not nurse any crude hatred for the European peoples, but they do cherish a deep – seated detestation for the *Herrenvolk* system.

K. Monolithic Giant – Union of African States

The African people of South Africa recognise themselves as part of one African Nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Madagascar to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organisational expression for this nation in a merger of free independent African States; a United States of Africa, which will serve as an effective bulwark against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, *herrenvolkism* and tribalism, and as a sure and lasting foundation for an Africanist Socialist democracy. The African people regard the development of such a nation as essential for the preservation of their sovereignty, of their vital material and spiritual interests and for the creation of conditions under which they will be enabled to make their lasting contribution to human advancement in a free Africa. The African people will not tolerate the existence of the other national groups within the confines of one nation. For the healthy growth and development of the African nation it is imperative that all individuals must owe their first, and only, loyalty to the African nation,

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and not to their ethnic or national groups. The African people regard the influence of material conditions in the development of nation as being of greater significance than mere ethnic origin. Within the social environment of the African there will be room for all individuals who will identify themselves materially, intellectually and spiritually with the African nation.

In South Africa the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interest of the oppressed people is African nationalism, and the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressor is *Herrenvolkism*. These antithetical forces shall find their final reconciliation everlasting in the synthesis of Africanism, in which contradictory aspects shall have vanished and only the unifying factors which portray no instability shall remain. ***Africanism is a social force that upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.*** In this way Africanism is the only logical and practical solution for the social question in Africa.

L. Social Relations

The basic question confronting the African people is identical with that has faced mankind from the beginning of time itself: the problem of man's relations to his fellowman. It is the question of how man shall live with fellowman in fellowship; in harmony and in peace. Man, moves and has his being in a social environment. In absence of social life the economic question would fall away. Man's relation to his fellowman is determined by his primary needs. The social question, whose structural foundations are to be found in economic determinism, arises within the framework of social relations.

Man is therefore, a social being and not an economic ANIMAL. To live in harmony with his fellowmen, man must recognise the primacy of the material and spiritual interest of his fellowmen; uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellowmen. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be fostered.

M. Our Historic Tasks

The historic tasks of the African liberation movement are clearly the product of Africa's history, of the forces and factors which have made it what it is. To attain complete freedom in Africa, the historic tasks of the movement are:

- To forge, foster and consolidate the bonds of African nationhood on Pan African basis.
- To implement effectively the fundamental principal that the domination or sovereignty over and the dominion or ownership in the whole territory of the continent rest exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous people.
- To create and maintain a United States of Africa that will serve and provide and provide a concrete institutional form for the African nation.
- To establish an Africanist Socialist democratic social order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.

A liberation movement must find concrete expression in organisational form and substance in order that it may achieve its historic tasks. The highest organisational form and structure in which the African liberation movement has found concrete expression in South Africa is the Pan Africanist Congress and the various facets of its historic role are:

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- To create an organisational machinery for the galvanising of the oppressed exploited and degraded African masses into an irresistible social force bent upon destruction of all factors and forces that have reduced that stature of man and retarded his growth and also bent upon the creation of conditions favourable for the restoration of man's worth and dignity and for the development of the African personality
- To establish for the liberation movement a training ground for production of a determined, dedicated and disciplined collective leadership that will serve, not only as a symbol of a national unity on a Pan African basis, but also as the repository, guardian and custodian of the ideas, principles and methods of the movement, as well as of the policies and programmes of the organisation.
- To provide an administrative machinery for the direction, guidance and control of the national liberation movement in its grand march towards the inevitable goal of the complete freedom.

N. Africanism – A Third Social Force

Africanism is Pan Africanist in scope, purpose and direction. It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa and does not in any way serve the spiritual interests of either the Eastern or Western powers. It is continental in scope, covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Madagascar to Morocco. It is a social force functioning through the media of African social conditions, and operating to liberate Africa and to create a social order original in conception, Africanistic in orientation, socialistic in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose. Pan Africanism became a concrete reality when African nationalists met at Accra. The All- Africa Peoples' Conference, held in Accra in December 1958, laid a promising organisational foundation for African nationalism on a Pan African basis.

O. Final Triumph

In its dialectical march towards the final synthesis of Africanism, African nationalism is destined to create the conditions favourable for the development of the African personality. The final triumph of the liberation movement under the direction of the P. A. C. is assured. The movement must triumph because in the march to freedom the African people have history on their side. The militant progress forces of African nationalism are bound to crush the reactionary forces of white domination. The movement must triumph because the P.A.C alone has a message for the oppressed, that their salvation lies in the manifest determination to unite as a nation and to struggle for the noble ends of freedom and self-determination. The movement must triumph because, having been purified in the crucible of oppression, the African people can demonstrate to the world genuine in action, a democracy founded upon the ruins of the material and spiritual conflicts and contradictions of the existing social order, a democracy in which man shall at long last find his true self, and a democracy in which the human personality shall blossom to the full.

ADOPTED BY THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE P.A.C – 5TH APRIL, 1959

THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS - DISCIPLINARY CODE

1. NAME

The name of the organisation shall be the Pan Africanist Congress.

2. MOTTO

S.S.S Serve, Suffer and Sacrifice

3. AIMS

(a) African Nationalism be the basis of our political philosophy for an African Socialist Democratic State.

(b) To maintain ourselves and the movement as vanguard in the struggle for African liberation, we courage and determination.

(c) To wage the struggle in this country for national independence under the banner of the Programme of Action of 1949 adopted in Bloemfontein.

(d) Africanism shall be the ideal for an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

(e) To secure and maintain the complete unity of the movement.

(f) To maintain complete purity of the P.A.C. the only organisation of the African people struggling for the national liberation in South Africa.

(g) To work with other nationalist democratic movements in Africa, with a view to the overthrow of imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism and all other forms and all other forms national and racial oppressions of the African people.

4. DISCIPLINE

(a) There shall be a Disciplinary Tribunal of Justice consisting of three or more members appointed by the National Executive Committee.

(b) Its decision shall be reported to the National Executive Committee for ratification or otherwise.

(c) Until Appeal comes before the Annual National Conference the decision of the National Executive Committee shall be effective and binding.

5. SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES

(a) The Disciplinary Tribunal of Justice shall enforce all the provisions of this Code in their entirety.

(b) Sanctions and penalties shall include fines, ostracism, isolation, suspension and outright expulsion for a long or short period or for good.

6. EXPRESSION OF IDEAS

(a) Statements relating to policy, programme of principles and tactical line of the P.A.C. should not be lightly uttered.

(b) All public utterances or statements must reflect the policy and programme of principles of the P.A.C.

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(c) Policy statements in the Press or Radio must be made by the National Executive Committee or the President or the National Secretary.

(d) Irresponsible statements made by anybody shall not be countenanced.

7. RESPONSIBILITY

(a) Members must develop a high sense of responsibility and discipline with respect to all matters relating to the Pan Africanist Congress.

(b) They should refrain from tale-bearing, backbiting, gossiping, rumour mongering and spreading lies and distortions of the truth.

(c) Their utterances must reflect the ideas, philosophy, policy and programme of the P.A.C. The ideas of Africa for the Africans, Africans for Humanity and Humanity for God must be understood and appreciated.

8. SPREADING OF IDEAS

(a) Members must spread the ideas of the P.A.C. through the Press, Radio and fearlessly.

(b) It is the duty of members to circulate ideas contained in official dodger's bills, circulars, lecturettes, journals, written addresses etc.

(c) It should be the duty of each and every member to strive to convert people to the ideas of the P.A.C. and into the movement itself.

(d) Members must spread the ideas of our cause in the streets, in house to house campaigns, in the trains, in the restaurants, at the state functions, cinemas, on the sports fields, at railway platforms, in social gatherings, tea parties, dance parties, in schools and at orations by the grave-side.

9. ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

(a) It shall be the duty of each member of the PAC to improve, increase and develop his or her knowledge of the affairs of mankind in general and of the continent in which we live in particular.

(b) Members must read books and newspapers, for it is an offence in the PAC to be ignorant of current events.

(c) Members should make it their duty to read and to hold discussions. Lectures should be arranged to educate the rank and file and the less advanced.

(d) The more theoretically advanced members should conduct classes for the less advanced.

(e) A library of pamphlets, newspapers, clippings, extracts from books, lecturettes, etc, should be compiled in order to improve and develop and build the ideas of the members around the central philosophy of African nationalism.

10. PERSONAL HABITS

(a) Members of the P.A.C. should develop healthy and sound personal habits.

(b) Members should maintain an exemplary standard of cleanliness.

(c) Members should deport themselves with honour, dignity and proper decorum in the sight of the movement and the nation.

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- (d) They should be punctual for their appointments, especially for meetings, discussions or other duties relating to the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (e) They should be tireless in day-to-day work in the interest of the P.A.C. and the nation.
- (f) They should develop and demonstrate honesty, frankness and courtesy towards one another.
- (g) They should strive to be principled in their approach to the main problems of life and the world.
- (h) They should develop and show a true respect for African womanhood and demonstrate in practice the theory of sex equality with respect to men and women in the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (i) They should develop a true love for the African people, the Fatherland in particular, and for all mankind in general.

11. RELATION WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS

- (a) Pan Africanists should be armed with theory to such an extent that they can meet other movements or groups on the basis of equality, but must not promote the ideas of other Movements or Parties.
- (b) Members of the P.A.C. should be keen to study different ideologies especially the philosophy of African nationalism in order to equip themselves fully.
- (c) Members should deport themselves with poise, calmness and dignity in the presence of other movements or groups, in debating chambers or elsewhere.
- (d) They should not display immaturity or pettiness, or apologeticness or illconceived inferiority.
- (e) Their poise should be natural, dynamic and human but ruthless where necessary.
- (f) Vanquish the other man with arguments, and not with a knuckle duster.

12. MEETINGS

- (a) There should be punctual attendance at meetings which should be made known in good time to all members concerned.
- (b) Meeting should be short, precise and to the point.
- (c) The Chairman of the meeting must be respected.
- (d) He must conduct the meeting in a proper procedure and with fairness to the members.
- (e) His rulings must be respected by all members of the P.A.C.
- (f) Clear decision with no equivocations must be taken and these should be practicable and within the scope of the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (g) Meeting of the P.A.C must be business-like and serious-minded. The Chairman must know his job well, and must have studied methods of conducting meetings
- (h) Members must be open, objective, brief and business- like in their approach to discussions. There should be no waste of time; redundancy or irrelevant bickerings.

13. DISCUSSION –DECISION

- (a) Decisions affecting the P.A.C. should be arrived at after the issue has been properly discussed by a quorum.
- (b) In the course of a discussion each and every member is free to air his views and to agree or disagree with all or any member of the movement, including the leader
- (c) No man or woman will if necessary enjoy a privileged position entitling his or her view to greater weight than those of merely because they are expressed by so-and-so. The weight of views should depend on relevance and substance, and not on who puts them forth.
- (d) All discussions shall be on a democratic basis. Every man or woman is entitled to a hearing, and each and all are subject to criticism.
- (e) Once a decision has been properly taken after a democratic and objective discussion of the subject matter, then it becomes binding on all. In the execution of such a decision, no differences must be allowed, the leader of the movement has to issue directives which must be obliged and carried out.
- (f) At that stage the leader exercises almost dictatorial powers which he wields with impunity, so long as he acts within the letter and spirit of the democratic decision and the Code.

14. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

- (a) This means that the power of directing the Pan Africanist Congress is centralised in the National Executive Committee which acts through the President who wields unquestioned powers as long as he acts within the grounds laid by the decisions of the organisation which must have been democratically arrived at. It means a centralisation of directive, and executive implementation of a decision. If P.A.C. wants to forge ahead, it must adopt and carry out this principle with firmness and thoroughness.
- (b) The President shall have emergency powers, which he may delegate, to suspend the entire constitution of the Pan Africanist Congress so as to ensure that the movement emerges intact through a crisis. At that time he directs the Movement by decree, and is answerable for his actions to the National Conference.

15. FACTIONALISM

- (a) Factionalism is the enemy of solidarity and unity of action.
- (b) To destroy it at its roots, maximum self-criticism should be encouraged within the movement. A movement that adopts democratic centralism in its approach to its organisational problems will know how to deal with the virus of factionalism.
- (c) Where the normal processes of free discussion fail to curb factional tendencies, then firm iron discipline should come into play, and functional elements, no matter how important, should be chopped off without ceremony.

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16. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

On my life, honour and fortunes I solemnly pledge and swear that I shall always live up to the aims and aspirations of the Pan Africanist Congress, and shall never under any circumstances, divulge any secrets, or plans of the organization, nor betray an Africanist, and that if I dare to divulge any secrets, or plans of the Pan Africanist Congress, or betray a member of the cause, or use the influence of the P.A.C. for my own personal interest or advertisement, I do so at my own risk and peril. I will irrevocably obey and act upon the orders, commands, instructions and direction of the National Executive Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress. I will always serve, suffer and sacrifice anything for the cause for which the P.A.C. stands, and will at all times be ready to go on any mission that I may be called upon to perform. I will make it my duty to foster the cause for which the P.A.C. stands, in any organization that I may become a member of. I accept the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress.

17. PUBLICATION

The organisation shall publish its own literature whenever deemed desirable and directed.

18. OUR NATIONAL HEROES' DAY

(a) The A. M. Lembede Anniversary held on the 31st July annually should be treated and regarded as African Heroes' Day, which all members of the Pan Africanist Congress should observe and rededicate themselves to the cause of Pan Africanism and the goal of United States of Africa.

(b) The Lembede Scholarship Fund should be firmly established so that the right youth of the country should be helped to obtain higher learning.

19. AMENDMENTS

Amendments to the Code shall be made by a two-thirds majority of members present at an Annual National Conference, provided that notice has been given in accordance with provisions of the Constitution with regard to amendments.

ADOPTED BY INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS HELD AT ORLANDO, JOHANNESBURG 4th– 6th APRIL, 1959

SIGNED: POTLAKO K. LEBALLO

(National Secretary)

MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE

(NATIONAL PRESIDENT)

THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

CONSTITUTION

1. NAME

The name of the Organization shall be Pan Africanist Congress, hereinafter referred to as the P.A.C.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- (a) To unite and rally the African people into one national front on the basis of African Nationalism.
- (b) To fight for the overthrow of White domination, and for the implementation and maintenance of the right to self-determination of the African people.
- (c) To work and strive for the establishment and maintenance of an Africanist Socialist democracy recognizing the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the human personality.
- (d) To promote the educational, cultural and economic advancement of the African people.
- (e) To propagate and promote the concept of the federation of Southern Africa, and Pan Africanism by promoting unity among peoples of Africa.

3. MEMBERSHIP

(a) Any African who is of the age of 16 years or above and accepts the principles, programme and discipline of the P.A.C shall be eligible for membership provided that:

(i) He/She is not a member of any political organization whose policy is inconsistent with that of the P.A.C.

(ii) The National Executive Committee shall from time to time determine whether a certain organisation is inconsistent with the cause of the P.A.C.

(iii) In doubtful cases applications shall be forwarded by the Local Executive, together with the reasons for doubt, before the application is accepted or rejected. Then and only then shall the NEC issue such an applicant, upon payment of the enrolment fee, a membership card after which the applicant shall be regarded as a member of the PAC.

(b) Application for membership shall be normally made on duly prescribed forms which shall be completed by the applicant and forwarded for consideration by the National Executive Committee.

(c) Each individual member of the P.AC shall pay a subscription fee of 2/6 per annum.

(d) On enrolment each member shall be supplied with a membership card.

4. FINANCE

(a) The general funds of the PAC shall be derived from proceeds of functions (parties, dances, football matches etc.) voluntary subscriptions, levies, appeals, donations, bequests, sales of PAC literature, badges, subscription fees of individual members and other sources approved by the P.A.C.

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- (b) It shall be the competency of the National Executive Committee to finance projects should general funds be inadequate.
- (c) Funds contributed by members for any specific purpose shall not be alienated for any other purpose save by the resolution of the N.E.C.
- (d) The National Executive Committee shall establish and administer a National Reserve Fund, and at the end of the financial year the N.E.C. may vote a sum to be determined for this purpose.
- (e) The NEC shall at the end of the year prepare estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the ensuing year, such estimates shall be submitted to the Annual National Conference for consideration.
- (f) The financial year of the P.A.C shall begin on the 1st day of November to 31st day of October the following year.
- (g) All N.E.C accounts other than recurring expenditure such as rent, salaries, petty cash, shall be submitted to the N.E.C for approval prior to payment, and amount not exceeding 210 shall be granted from time to time as petty cash.
- (h) All national funds shall be deposited in a bank, and applications for withdrawal must be signed by the Treasury-General and either National Secretary or the President.
- (i) Subscription fees shall be equally distributed between the three organs of the P.A.C namely, the Branch, the Region and the National organs. Also provision for keeping of monies shall apply mutatis mutandis between the three organs of the P.A.C unless otherwise indicated.
- (j) The N.E.C. shall at the end of the financial year cause the Treasury-General to prepare and submit audited accounts to the National Conference.

5. NATIONAL FLAG

The official colours of the P.A.C. shall be green, black and gold. The P.A.C. flag shall be green field with a black map of Africa and a gold star in the northwest of Africa. Green shall represent the youth and vitality of the continent. Black shall represent the colour of the people and gold shall represent the wealth actual and potential.

6. THE ANNUAL AND THE SPECIAL NATIONAL CONFERENCES

- (a) The National Conference of the P.A.C. shall be the supreme organ of the organization and shall lay down the broad basic policy and programme of the P.A.C. and its decision shall be binding on all members and organs of the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (b) The Annual National Conference shall be held at such time and place as may be decided upon by previous Conference or, in the absence of such a decision, by the National Executive Committee.
- (c) The functions, duties and powers of the National Congress shall be supervisory, deliberative, administrative and determinative.
- (d) A special National Conference may be called by the N.E.C. in cases of emergencies.

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(e) Upon receipt of a requisition signed by one third of the number of the branches represented at the previous Conference, a special Conference shall be called by the N.E.C in connection with the subject matter of the requisition within six weeks of the receipt of such requisition by the National Secretary or President.

(f) The Annual Conference shall consider reports and audited accounts presented by the N.E.C.

(g) Branches which are in full compliance with their fees shall be entitled to be represented at a General Conference by one delegate for every 15 members, provided that no single Branch shall be represented by more than 10 delegates.

(h) Any Branch of the P.A.C. which is in arrears shall have no right to participate in any General Conference.

(i) At least six weeks before the date for the holding of an Annual Conference the N.E.C. shall frame and circulate an agenda to all branches of the P.A.C. To secure inclusion in the agenda of items from the Region or Branches, these must be forwarded to the National Secretary at least 8 weeks before the date of the Conference. Delegates to the conferences shall be entitled to move amendments at Annual and Special Conferences to any resolutions or proposals or to any proposed alteration to the Constitution that may appear on any agenda paper of such conference.

(j) Only P.A.C organs such as Branches and not individual members, shall send resolutions for determination at the Annual or Special national Conference.

7. COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

The National Conference shall be constituted as follows:

(a) Delegates from Branches elected subject to section 6(g) above.

(b) All members of the National Executive Committee and members of the National Working Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the National Conference.

8. QUALIFICATION FOR DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE

(a) All delegates to the National Conference must be bona fide members of the organs of the P.A.C.

(b) No person shall be a delegate for more than one organ of the P.A.C.

(c) No person who is in arrears with his subscription fee shall be eligible as a delegate to the National Conference.

(d) Every delegate must, as an individual accept the Constitution, programme, principles and policies of the P.A.C. and conform to them.

9. COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) The N.E.C. shall consist of the following:-

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(i) The President, the National Secretary, Presidents from the Regions existing, the Secretariat consisting of the Secretaries for: Pan African affairs, Foreign Affairs, Publicity and Information, Labour, Education, Culture, Economic Affairs and the National Organiser and three other members.

(ii) The N.E.C. shall hold office for three years. After the Regional elections the National Secretary shall summon the National Executive Committee, including the Chairmen of Regions who ipso facto become Deputy Presidents, for the election of Senior Deputy President among the Deputy Presidents. This Senior Deputy President shall hold office, until the expiry of the N.E.C period of office, irrespective of subsequent Regional Election results.

(iii) The members of the N.E.C. shall not hold office in either the Regional or Branch Executive Committees.

10. THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The National Working Committee shall be the main sub-organ of the National Executive Committee, and shall consist of:-

(a) The President, and

(b) Four other members elected by the N.E.C from among themselves.

11. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

(a) The N.W.C shall see to it that the decisions of the Conference and those of the N.E.C. are duly executed and its policies are duly implemented.

(b) It shall supervise the administrative machinery of the organization on a national, provincial and local levels and shall take such measures as it deems fit to enforce the decisions and programme of the Pan Africanist Congress.

(c) The members of the NWC shall normally reside in an area situated within a radius of 50 miles from headquarters to be indicated from time to time.

(d) The N.W.C. shall meet in a plenary session at least once in a month or, if emergency arises from day to day to review the major trends, formulate tactics and modify strategy for the guidance of the N.E.C. and assume full powers for safe-guarding the basic programme of the P.A.C.

12. COMPOSITION OF THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE

(a) The Regional Conference shall consist of representatives from each local branch as indicated in section 6(g) above.

(b) The Regional Conference shall elect the Regional Executive composed of the following:

1. Chairman and Vice-Chairman,

2. Secretary and Assistant Secretary,

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3. Treasurer and

4. Four other committee members.

All the above-mentioned shall be elected every two years.

13. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(a) To organize local Branches within the Region, and co-ordinate their activities.

(b) To carry out the programmes and policy of the P.A.C. and the instructions and directives received from the National Executive Committee.

(c) To make recommendation to the N.E.C. on matters affecting the welfare of the organization within their region.

(d) To implement the decision of the Regional Conference, provided that such decisions are not in the conflict with the programme and policy of the P.A.C.

(e) To submit the annual statements and annual reports to the Regional Conference and the N.E.C

(f) To help manage, control and guide the work of the P.A.C. Educational, and Cultural organisations in their Region under the general supervision of the National Executive Committee.

(g) To undertake all such activities as may further the work of the P.A.C. in the region concern.

(h) The N.E.C shall at the end of the financial year cause the Regional Treasurer to prepare and submit audited accounts to the Regional Conference.

14. THE REGIONAL FUNDS

The National Executive Committee shall determine the manner whereby any funds of the Region shall be kept.

15. LOCAL BRANCHES

(a) The local Branch shall be the basic unit of the organisation of the P.A.C. Each shall be governed by a Branch Executive Committee, which shall consist of:

1. Chairman and Vice Chairman

2. Secretary and Assistant Secretary

3. Treasurer, and

4. Four other members

(b) The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected at the Branch Annual Meeting.

(c) There shall be a Branch meeting at least once every fortnight.

(d) Fifteen members shall constitute a branch

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16. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- (a) To carry organisational and propaganda work among the masses in order to acquaint them with the standpoint of the P.A.C.
- (b) To keep close contact with the masses and to report periodically their experiences to the Regional Committee.
- (c) To study educational and cultural life of the people in their area.
- (d) To foster the spirit of initiative among the masses by taking leading part in organising them to solve problems.
- (e) To recruit new members and to collect P.A.C. membership dues.
- (f) To forward the list of members to the Regional Executive Committee and to report any indiscipline and other dishonour and disputes.
- (g) To discipline any member of the branch as provided in the Disciplinary Code.
- (h) To foster political and general education amongst P.A.C. members, especially the youth.
- (i) The Branch Executive Committee shall prepare and submit a financial statement to the Annual Members Meeting which shall have been endorsed by the Regional Committee.

17. AMENDMENTS

- (a) This Constitution or any part thereof may be amended or rescinded, altered or added thereto by a two-thirds majority present and voting at an Annual National Conference.
- (b) Proposals regarding any amendment of the Constitution must be sent to the National Secretary at least two months before the Conference at which they are to be considered and circulated in writing to the Branches at least one month before Conference.
- (c) Two-fifths of the members shall constitute a quorum any meeting.

ADOPTED BY INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS HELD AT ORLANDO, JOHANNESBURG 4th – 6th APRIL, 1959

"Future of the Africanist Movement". Questions and Answers Y.R.M. Sobukwe, in *The Africanist*, January 1959

Q: Who are the Africanists?

A. A simple answer would be that they are the members of the Africanist Movement. But, if one wishes to go deeper into the question, one would say that they are those Africans who believe that African Nationalism is the only liberatory outlook that can bind together the African masses by providing them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe and thus mould them into a militant disciplined fighting force.

Q: How long has your movement been in existence?

A. The germ of the Movement was there even before the advent of the European. When Moshoeshe brought together the scattered remnants of various African tribes and moulded them into a patriotic Sotho tribe, he was engaged in nation-building. Similarly Shaka's wars whereby he sought to establish a single authority in place of the many tribal authorities of Natal, were, we say, steps in the direction of nation-building. In the Cape the House of Gcaleka was recognised as the Paramount authority. There is no doubt that the pressure of social and economic conditions would in time have given rise to the Union of these territories.

As a political organisation, however, we trace our origin to 1912—the year the African National Congress (ANC), was born—with 1944 the year our Movement was given that purposiveness which helps to give clear direction and power to a mass struggle. It is in that year that Lembede and those in his immediate circle demanded from the A.N.C.:

1. A clear outlook: African Nationalism and Africanism.
2. A basic policy outlining our fundamental postulates with respect to our social intentions, especially in the ultimate future.
3. A Programme. The first two demands, Lembede himself met, while the third was met in 1949 when the Africanists (known as the Congress Youth League) provided the A.N.C. with the popular Nation-Building Programme of 1949.

Q: What are your differences with the A.N.C.

A. First of all we differ radically in our conception of the struggle. We firmly hold that we are oppressed as a subject nation—the African nation. To us, therefore, the struggle is a national struggle. Those of the A.N.C. who are its active policy-makers, maintain, in the face of all the hard facts of the S.A. situation, that ours is a class struggle. We are, according to them, oppressed as WORKERS, both white and black. But it is significant that they make no attempt whatsoever to organise white workers. Their white allies are all of them bourgeoisie!

Secondly we differ in our attitude to "co-operation" with other national groups. Perhaps it might be better to say we differ in our understanding of the term "co-operation." We believe that co-operation is possible only between equals. There can be no co-operation between oppressor and oppressed, dominating and dominated. That is collaboration, not co-operation. And we cannot collaborate in our own oppression! The A.N.C. leadership, on the other hand, would seem to regard collaboration and co-operation as synonymous. They seem to believe that all that is required for people to be "equals" is that they should declare that they are

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equals, and lo!, the trick is done. At the present moment the A.N.C. leadership regards anybody and everybody who is against the Nationalist government (for whatever reasons) as allies.

This latter attitude is the result of a mentality that continues to speak of South Africa as though it were an island, completely cut off from the continent and, therefore, able to fashion its own policies and programmes, unrelated to and unaffected by those of the other African States. We, on the other hand, have always been acutely aware of the fact that ours is a particular front in a battle raging across the continent. We claim Africa for the Africans; the A.N.C. claims South Africa for all. To the A.N.C. leadership the present Nationalist government is the properly elected government of South Africa whose policies, however, it does not approve of. And the A.N.C.'s main struggle is to get the Nats out of power. The fact that the Nats are a logical product of past South African history and that what they stand for is approved and supported by the overwhelming majority of whites in the country has apparently escaped the notice of A.N.C. leadership. We, however, stand for the complete overthrow of white domination. That means that the S.A. Act of 1909—that fossilised relic of the white man's exclusive privileges and prejudices—must be scrapped.

Q: What is your answer to the accusation that you are anti-white?

A. Our reply has been officially given in a statement appearing in the Golden City Post of Sunday 7th November, 1958 signed by Mr. P. K. Leballo (Chairman) and Mr. S. T. Ngendane (Secretary). On the material level we just cannot see any possibility of co-operation. To say that we are prepared to accept anybody who subscribes to our Programme is but to state a condition that one knows cannot be fulfilled. From past history, not only of this country but of other countries as well, we know that a group in a privileged position never voluntarily relinquishes that position. If some members of the group appear to be sympathetic to the demands of the less privileged, it is only in so far as those demands do not threaten the privileges of the favoured group. If they (the privileged) offer assistance, it is for the purpose of "directing" and "controlling" the struggle of the underprivileged and making sure that it does not become "dangerous."

Q: But are you anti-white or not?

A. What is meant by anti-whiteism? Is it not merely an emotional term without a precise signification? Let me put it this way: In every struggle, whether national or class, the masses do not fight an abstraction. They do not hate oppression or capitalism. They concretise these and hate the oppressor, be he the Governor-General or a colonial power, the landlord or the factory-owner, or, in South Africa, the white man. But they hate these groups because they associate them with their oppression! Remove the association and you remove the hatred. In South Africa then, once white domination has been overthrown and the white man is no longer "white-man boss" but is an individual member of society, there will be no reason to hate him and he will not be hated even by the masses. We are not anti-white, therefore. We do not hate the European because he is white! We hate him because he is an oppressor. And it is plain dishonesty to say I hate the sjambok and not the one who wields it.

Q: Do you regard all whites as oppressors?

A. We regard them all as shareholders in the S.A. Oppressors Company (Pty.) Ltd. There are whites, of course, who are intellectually converted to our cause, but because of their position materially, they cannot fully identify themselves with the struggle of the African people. They want safeguards and check-points all along the way, with the result that the struggle of the people is blunted, stultified and crushed.

Q: Do you include white leftists in your indictment?

A. There are NONE! And there have never been any in South Africa—white or black. All we have had are quacks. In fact, like Christianity, Communism in South Africa has been extremely unfortunate in its choice of representatives.

Q: Do you think the Africanist Movement will last?

A. Not only will it last, it will nourish. History is already vindicating our stand as far as the continent is concerned. We are in step with the continent. And the reason is that we correctly interpret the aspirations of the African people. We are not exaggerating when we say that the demand for membership is more than we can cope with.

Q: Why can't you cope with the demand?

A. Because we lack funds. You see we do not want a blind following. We want an intelligent, informed and politically educated membership. We, therefore, require a full-time information service, full-time organisers and above all, well-run offices. We don't want undisciplined branches mushrooming all over the country. And to maintain the necessary contact, discipline and co-ordination, we need funds.

Q: Do you think the African people will tolerate a splinter movement at this stage?

A. The African people want freedom and they are extremely anxious to find themselves as a Nation. They are aware of the futility of the post-1949 struggles of the A.N.C. with more and more emphasis on spectacular activity as distinct from principled programmatic action. That is why they have welcomed our emergence.

Q: What is your attitude to the A.N.C?

A. We say, "Let the best man win." If the A.N.C launches campaigns, which we believe, are for the good of our people, we will support them wholeheartedly. But we are not going to get ourselves involved in muddled, clumsy, senseless activity. We have the 1949 Programme to implement, and as it unfolds and its dynamism is revealed, the A.N.C. will cease to exist. Perhaps the Congress alliance may eke out a precarious existence for some time. But there will be only one organisation for the African people—and that will be the Africanist Movement.

Q: Have you decided on a Name yet?

A. No—not on a national level. Such matters as a name, policy, the Constitution, etc., will be finalised at the National Convention which we hope to hold in April. From then onwards we shall operate on a National level. And from then onwards we will sweep the country.

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"THE STATE OF THE NATION"

[ADDRESS BY R. M. SOBUKWE, ON "NATIONAL HEROES' DAY," AUGUST 2, 1959]

Mr Speaker Sir, sons and daughters of Africa. Just over three months ago, on the 6th April, we met in the Communal Hall in Orlando, Johannesburg, to launch the ship of freedom, the Pan-Africanist Congress. On that historic day the African people declared total war against white domination, not only in South Africa but throughout the continent. On that day there entered into the maelstrom of South African politics an organisation dedicated to the cause of African emancipation and independence; an organisation committed to the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

OPPRESSED VERSUS OPPRESSOR

It is just over three months that the Pan Africanist Congress has been born, but within that short space of time she has successfully pinpointed the basic assumptions in our struggle, namely that:

1. The illiterate and semi-literate masses of the African people are the key to, the core and cornerstone of the struggle for democracy in this country.
2. African nationalism is the only liberatory creed that can weld these masses who are members of heterogeneous tribes into a solid, disciplined and united fighting force; provide them with loyalty higher than that of the tribe and give formal expression to their desire to be a nation.
3. The struggle in South Africa is part of the greater struggle throughout the continent for the restoration to the African people of the effective control of their land. The ultimate goal of our struggle, therefore, is the formation of a United States of Africa. These pronouncements have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the Sons and Daughters of the land, and awakened the imagination of the youth of our land while giving hope to the aged who for years have lived in the trough of despair. Indeed, the aged can now truly say:

*"Lord now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy will:
For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation."*

The issues are clear-cut. The Pan-Africanist Congress has done away with equivocation and clever talk. The decks are cleared, and in the arena of South African politics there are today only two adversaries: the oppressor and the oppressed; the master and the slave. We are on the eve of a continental showdown between the forces of evil and the forces of righteousness; the champions of oppression and the champions of freedom. Realising this, the oppressor is panic-stricken and is making feverish preparations for a last-ditch stand in defence of white supremacy. On the other hand, the forces of freedom are gathering strength from day to day, disciplining, nerving and steeling themselves for the imminent struggle.

AFRICA FOR AFRICANS

Once again, as in 1949, the African people are waiting expectantly and eagerly the emergence of a bold and courageous programme from the Pan Africanist Congress, an organisation that has its roots among the masses, and whose leadership comes from their loins. Not only has the Pan Africanist Congress succeeded in raising the eyes of our people above the dust of immediate conflict to the genuine democracy that lies beyond the stormy sea of struggle, but it has imparted a meaning and a purpose to their struggle. The African people, therefore, are awake! They are waiting, waiting eagerly and expectantly, waiting for the call, the call to battle, to battle for the reconquest of the continent of Africa which for over 300 years has been the prostitute of the philanderers and rakes of western capitalism. **I ZWE LETHU I AFRIKA** (Africa must come back) that is the cry

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ringing throughout the continent. Africa for the Africans. (A democratic rule of an African majority.) **IZWE LETHU I AFRIKA!** Those are the words that spell the doom of white supremacy in Africa.

POSITION IN THE CONTINENT

Throughout the continent of Africa the struggle is being relentlessly waged against the historical anachronisms of imperialism, colonialism and white supremacy. Precious African blood is flowing in Algeria, where the Sons and Daughters of Africa, under the courageous leadership of Ferhat Abbas of the government of Free Algeria are paying the supreme sacrifice for the recovery of the destroyed shrines.

Greater and greater efforts are being made by the independent countries of Africa to mould, shape and assert the African personality, and to lay the foundations for a United States of Africa. Just recently the heads of the States of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia met in conference to discuss methods of furthering the cause of Pan Africanism.

In Tanganyika, Nyerere is fighting for the revision of the multi-racial constitution imposed on the African people by imperialist Britain, and is pressing for the practical application of a non-racial democratic principle of "one man one vote". In Uganda, as our Bulletin stated, "British imperialism is locked in mortal combat with African nationalism." In Central Africa tension is going high, and there is clear evidence that in the struggle between Kamuzu Banda and Roy Welensky, Banda will emerge triumphant. In fact, the signs are that not only Nyasaland but also Northern Rhodesia as well, will secede from the unholy federation of Welensky and Lennox-Boyd.

SOUTH AFRICA

Throughout Africa, then, the forces of white supremacy are in retreat before the irresistible march of African nationalism. This is the era of African emancipation. Africa holds the stage today. For the first time, positive action is being taken by the world against the inhuman policies of South Africa's white settler foreign minority governments. And the countries that have taken the lead in this worldwide boycott of South African goods are the countries of Africa and those governed by people of African descent. And in South Africa, what is the position? Well you all know that there has been talk from certain quarters of "hitting the nationalists in the stomach." We would have used the word "belly", but responsible, moderate leaders, you see, do not use such ugly words. There was such talk then, and lists were prepared. But immediately one so-called "nationalist concern" made certain sectional trade union concessions, it was no longer a nationalist controlled firm, and its products were no longer nationalist products. The old meaningless stunts are still being used by certain quarters. But there is a boycott of beer-halls launched by the courageous women of Durban, a movement originating from the masses and controlled by them. Nobody doubts its success. The evidence is there for all to see. If their "friends" do not interfere with the Durban women they will undoubtedly achieve their goal acquiring for the African in Durban the status of human beings. There is also the potato boycott which, while commanding the active support of all persons because of the atrocities perpetrated by white farmers against African convict labourers, has unfortunately been handled by the quarters aforementioned. The result has been that these quarters which fear the militancy of the African people more than they loathe oppression, are hoping and praying that the boycott will fizzle out before they are compelled to call it off.

WHAT OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS?

We are met here today to commemorate our national Heroes' Day. We are, today, going down the corridor of time and renewing acquaintance with the heroes of Africa's past, those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great Sons and Daughters of Africa who died in order that we may be free in the land of our birth. We are met here, today, to rededicate our lives to the cause of Africa, to establish contact, beyond the grave, with the great African Heroes and to assure them that their struggle was not in vain. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of our beloved land, to drink from

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the fountain of African achievement, to remember the men and women who begot us, to remind ourselves of where we come from and to restate our goals. We are here to draw inspiration from the heroes of *Thaba Bosiu*, *Isandlwana*, *Sandile's kop*, *Keiskama Hoek*, Blood River and numerous other battlefields where our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign invader. We are here to draw inspiration from the Sons and Daughters of Africa who gave their all to the cause and were physically broken in the struggle. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of Africa, to take a trowel in our right hand and a shield and sword in our left, to commence the tremendous task of rebuilding the walls of Africa.

We are gathered here, today, to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy. We are here to serve an ultimatum on the forces of oppression. We are here to say Africa must be free. We are here to make an appeal to African intellectuals and businessmen, African urban and rural proletariat, to join forces in a determined, ruthless, relentless and total war against white supremacy. We say to waverers and fence-sitters, choose now, tomorrow may be too late. Choose now, because very soon we shall be saying, with biblical simplicity, that He who is not with us is against us.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS PROGRAMME

The decks are cleared. The battle must be joined. Therefore, Sons and Daughters of the soil, in the name of the National Working Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress, I announce the status campaign, a campaign which once launched will not be called off until our goal is achieved. This is an unfolding and expanding campaign, involving the political, economic and social status of the African. It is all-embracing and multi-frontal, but is itself part of our unfolding and expanding dynamic nation-building Programme. Details of the campaign have already been circulated to all regions, with specific instructions that Branches be encouraged to discuss the campaign freely and frankly. I shall, therefore, not outline the campaign here, but shall deal instead with the objectives of this campaign.

MENTAL REVOLUTION

We have stated in the past, in all our documents, that whatever campaign is launched by any liberatory movement worth the name, must at all times be related to the ultimate objectives and must assist in building the fighting capacity of the masses.

Now for over three hundred years, the white, foreign, ruling minority has used its power to inculcate in the African a feeling of inferiority. This group has educated the African to accept the status quo of white supremacy and Black inferiority as normal.

It is our task to exorcise this slave mentality, and to impart to the African masses that sense of self-reliance which will make them prefer self-government to the good government preferred by the A.N.C.'s leader. It must clearly be understood that we are not begging the foreign minorities to treat our people courteously. We are calling on our people to assert their personality. We are not hoping for a change of heart on the part of the Christian oppressor. We are reminding our people that they are men and women, with children of their own and homes of their own, and that just as much as they resent being called "*kwedini*" or "*mfana*" or "*moshemane*" by us which is what "boy" means, they must equally resent such terms of address by the foreigner. We are reminding our people that acceptance of any indignity, any insult, any humiliation is acceptance of inferiority. They must first think of themselves as men and women before they can demand to be treated as such. The campaign will free the mind of the African and once the mind is free, the body will soon be free. Once white supremacy has become mentally untenable to our people, it will become physically untenable too, and will go. I am absolutely certain that once the STATUS CAMPAIGN is launched, the masses will themselves come forward with suggestions for the extension of the area of assault and once that happens, the twilight of white supremacy and the dawn of African independence in this part of the continent, will have set in.

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SOFT CAMPAIGN

Certain quarters have accused us of being concerned more with our status, with being addressed as "Sirs" and "Mesdames" than with the economic plight of the African people. Our reply is that such accusations can come only from those who think of the African as an economic animal, a thing to be fed and not as a human being. It is only those who have been *herrenvolkenised* by their *herrenvolk* environment, people who have no idea whatsoever of the African personality, who can expect us to be lick-spittles in order to get more crumbs from the oppressor. Others again, have said that we have chosen a soft campaign, without any risks, because we fear to challenge apartheid totally. Let it be clear that we are not fighting just apartheid. We are fighting the whole concept of white supremacy. And we are fully aware of the nature and size of our task. And we will not shirk it. Right from the beginning of the campaign, the leaders will be in front. They will picket the concerns that are to be boycotted. And they will do so under our slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine." And that slogan will not be changed until we land on the shores of freedom and independence.

CLARION CALL

We therefore call first of all on the members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who are the hard core, the advance guard that must lead the struggle and on the African people in general. All of them, without exception, must wait for the call. They will be kept informed of every step we take. And when the call comes, we expect them to respond like a disciplined people. There is plenty of suffering ahead. There is plenty of suffering ahead; [sic] the oppressor will not take this lying down. But we are ready. We will not go back; come what may. This campaign will be maintained, unfolded and expanded until Masiza's question is answered: "*Koda kube nini Nkosi zonke izizwe zisinyasha pantsi kweenyawo?*" (Until when, oh Lord, will all nations trample us under foot?) Until we can answer no more. We will go on, Sons and Daughters of Africa, until in every shanty, in every bunk in the compounds, in every hut in the deserted villages, in every valley and on every hill top; the cry of African freedom and independence is heard. We will continue until we walk the streets of our land as free men and free women, our heads held high. We will go on until the day dawns when every person who is in Africa will be African and a man's colour will be as irrelevant as is the shape of his ears. We will go on, steadfastly, relentlessly and determinedly until the cry of "Africa for the Africans, the Africans for humanity and humanity for God" becomes a reality; until government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans is a fait accompli.

We will not look back. We will not deviate, and as the heat of oppression mounts we shall become purer and purer, learning new lessons, and leaving all the dross of racialism and similar evils behind to emerge as a people mentally and physically disciplined, appreciative of the fact that:

There is only one man in the world, and his name is all men. There is only one woman in the world, and her name is all women.

Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are today on the threshold of a historic era. We are about to witness momentous events. We are blazing a new trail, and we invite you to be, with us creators of history. Join us in the march of freedom. March with us to independence. To independence now. Tomorrow the United States of Africa.

IZWE LETHU!!!

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ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE 1972 INTERVIEW BY GAIL GERHARDT

Robert Sobukwe (1924-1978) grew up in Graaff-Reinet, attended Healdtown and graduated in 1949 from Fort Hare where he had a distinguished academic record and showed promise as a public speaker. He became a teacher in Standerton, and later taught African languages at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. In April 1959 he was elected president of the Pan Africanist Congress at its founding. Jailed in the aftermath of the PAC's anti-pass campaign in March 1960, he spent nine years in prison, six of them in solitary confinement on Robben Island. After his release he was denied an exit permit to take up employment offered to him in the United States.

Following his release from prison in 1969, Sobukwe was restricted to the town of Kimberley, banned from meeting with more than one person at a time and from contributing to the preparation of any publication. This interview was conducted by Gail M. Gerhart, a graduate student at Columbia University, USA. It took place during the mornings of August 8 and 9, 1970, in a rental car on the outskirts of Kimberley. Because of police surveillance and Sobukwe's banning order, no notes were made until after Sobukwe was no longer present, when the notes below were spoken onto a tape recorder by the interviewer. The notes are verbatim only where indicated by quotation marks, and otherwise reflect the interviewer's best recollection of what was said.

WHEN DID YOU FIRST BECOME INTERESTED IN POLITICS?

My first awareness of politics was in 1948 at Fort Hare when I took a course in Native Administration. This course was taught by Ntloko, and there was a text by Hanley (?). I had always known most of the facts as such, for example that Africans had three representatives in Parliament, but up to then I had merely accepted these as facts which one had to learn, to memorize, without thinking of their implications. During this course I began to realize what the reality was, for example that these white MPs had no effect on policy, in spite of the fact that they were eloquent speakers. Ntloko was an AAC [All African Convention] man, and the AAC was very influential at Fort Hare in those days. Most of us agreed with what the AAC stood for, except we didn't like the fact that they were not African nationalists. The [Afrikaner] Nationalists' victory in 1948 helped politicize me. G. M. Pitje and I started the Youth League at Fort Hare. Pitje was the one who had had a connection with the early Youth League in the Transvaal. He was our link. He had known [Anton] Lembede.

DID PITJE GIVE YOU DOCUMENTS DRAWN UP BY THE EARLY YOUTH LEAGUE, OR STATEMENTS OF LEMBEDE?

No, we never saw these. We drew up our own documents. It was all conveyed to us through conversation and discussion.

DID YOU FAVOR THE EFFORTS IN THE LATE 1940s TO REUNITE THE AAC WITH ANC?

Yes, very strongly. We wanted total unity, though; not a federation. We always felt that federations were inherently weak. This was also the case with the Africanists later when [Josias] Madzunya's group wanted to federate with us. We wanted unity, not a federation. The ideas of the AAC were good, but we knew they could never be counted upon to act. They believed that no action could be launched until the people had been "properly educated." Only they could say when this had been achieved. We felt this would take forever and anyway that it was only through action itself that the people would come to understand fully the nature of the struggle.

WHAT WAS YOUR ROLE AT THE TIME OF THE 1949 PROGRAM OF ACTION?

The Program of Action was drawn up "at Fort Hare by Pitje and myself." Of course Z. K. Matthews was also there and was consulted. Our draft was then taken to the Cape ANC provincial annual conference in Queenstown in June 1949 where it was approved by the conference. The province was then under the

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leadership of [Rev. James] Calata and Matthews. Both at Queenstown and at Bloemfontein I spoke in favor of the program as we had drafted it.

DID PEOPLE COME TO BLOEMFONTEIN FROM THE TRANSVAAL AND OTHER PROVINCES WITH OTHER DRAFTS FOR CONSIDERATION?

Not as far as I can remember. I don't recall any other versions offered, from the Transvaal or elsewhere. The final version adopted was ours, except for one clause which was inserted at Bloemfontein, the clause calling for a one-day strike. Ironically, I think Calata proposed this clause. We went to Bloemfontein from Fort Hare feeling that [ANC president, Dr. A. B.] Xuma was still our man. We thought he was a good leader and could be kept if he could be "tied" to a program. He was in the habit of acting very independently, on his own judgment. We went there prepared to support him, but found to our surprise that the conference rejected him.

WAS THERE OPPOSITION TO THE PROGRAM FROM THE LEFT?

We went to Bloemfontein expecting that they would oppose it, but in fact they didn't oppose it; they supported it.

DID YOU FEEL THAT THE 1952 DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN FOLLOWED CORRECTLY FROM THE PROGRAM OF ACTION?

No, by this time the Program was already being compromised. The struggle was always to bring the ANC back to the Program. During the 1950s it strayed far away. If the Program had been followed we would all be living different lives today. Deviation began with the strikes in 1950. These were concocted by the left wing. We felt that they had nothing to do with us but were merely protests at the banning of the Communist Party. A split was already beginning in our ranks; the Youth League was on the decline. Some were going over to the communists. The main thing we didn't like about the Defiance Campaign was the leadership role taken by Indians and whites. It was a lesson we had learned, that whenever these groups were involved in any action, you had the Africans just "taking a back seat," sitting back and letting these people run things. We felt this had to be overcome and that Africans had to learn to take the initiative, to do things for themselves. I recognized there were some non-Africans who fully identified with us and were prepared to sacrifice, but as a matter of principle we couldn't let these people take any part because of the bad psychological effect this had on our people. One reason some Africans welcomed Indian and white support was that as of the time of the Defiance Campaign it became clear that campaigns would always end in everyone needing a lawyer and money for defense. This increased dependence on non-Africans.

When the split began, we knew that Sisulu had gone over and Mandela had gone over. Tambo, we knew "was resisting." We saw this happening in the Youth League. I myself was national president—no, national secretary. Pitje was president. We were elected in December 1949 at the ANC conference. We saw this split happening, but we were just too weak to prevent it. When J. B. Marks ran for President of the Transvaal, we were opposed to him. We backed [R. V.] Selope Thema. We knew that if Thema became president, we—the nationalists in the Youth League—would be able to use him to promote our line. But Marks was very popular, partly because he was well known from the 1946 mine strike, and he won. It didn't make sense to most people to oppose him simply because he was a communist.

WHAT WAS IT ABOUT COMMUNISM THAT ATTRACTED AFRICANS OF YOUR GENERATION?

First, it was "the militancy" of communists. They had a press that vigorously aired the grievances of Africans, exaggerated them, in fact just as the Post and the World nowadays exaggerate murder and rape. This impressed us. Secondly, we knew that if someone was a communist it meant he had no color prejudice. He accepted you as another human being, this you just knew. A communist would listen and frankly criticize what an African said, treating his arguments on merit, showing where they were weak. The liberals were different.

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They never wanted to risk hurting anyone's feelings, so if they were critical of what an African said, they'd just keep quiet, and that was no help to anyone. But we knew the communists would never accept nationalism, and that is what we held against them.

The split began around 1950, and it centred in a way around the competition between Marks and Thema. It was hard for us to attack Marks. The people didn't care that he was a red; he was popular and a good speaker. He was a strong leader and a very "hard working" man. At this time I was in Standerton but I was coming frequently to Johannesburg, as early as 1950. We had the Bureau of African Nationalism circulating our ideas. I received the Bureau's sheets from Leballo, and I contributed pieces. I don't remember actually meeting Leballo until 1954. Cape people were also involved in the Bureau.

By 1950 the Youth League was declining, being absorbed into the ANC, and the split was starting. The League no longer had the strength it had had in 1949. You had people like Duma Nokwe who had gone over. We knew he was attending communist meetings, of the "Communist youth league." They were operating here and there, and at St. Peter's School. One issue where we differed strongly with the communists was on the question of boycotting the Advisory Boards, parliamentary elections and so on. They opposed the boycott because they were sometimes able to get their people elected. This was in direct contradiction to the Program of Action. Moretsele, for example, was on an Advisory Board. But we had the people with us on this question. They had seen the uselessness of these bodies. But Congress just "dilly-dallied" on the issue. According to [Ntsu] Mokhehle, the communists have used the same type of technique in Lesotho, tactics of infiltration. They've tried to get people into positions of influence, by hard work.

WHY DO YOU THINK SOME AFRICANS WERE ATTRACTED TO THE LEFT WHILE OTHERS WEREN'T? WAS IT CIRCUMSTANCES, PERSONALITY OR WHAT?

*It was mainly a matter of "contact" between these people and communists, in Johannesburg. Firstly, there was the appeal of communist philosophy; it's a doctrine that no one can object to philosophically. It's for the poor, it's against wealth, it's for equality. No one can quarrel with the kind of society communism holds out in theory. We ourselves didn't so much oppose communist philosophy, but we could see in the states that were communist that the ideal couldn't be put into practice, in Russia and China. First you had the party—supposedly the dictatorship of the proletariat, but really the dictatorship of the party. Eventually, as with Stalin, this became the dictatorship of the leader, one man. We could see this was the case. Milovan Djilas confirms it in his book, *The New Class*.*

But it was hard to object to the principles of communism in the abstract. Once a person was invited to the homes of these white communists, he couldn't then raise any objections to communist practice, in Russia for example, because it would have seemed impolite or irrelevant. Such Africans got to know these whites as friends, and participated in their discussions. And one could always be sure that these whites were unprejudiced, and ready to accept Africans on their individual merits. This was the immediate thing; the reality of Russia was far away.

WHEN YOU WERE AT WITS, YOU AND OTHER AFRICANISTS HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO ACCEPT SUCH INVITATIONS. WHY DIDN'T YOU?

We had already seen too many people corrupted; we had their example to learn from. It began as early as 1950. So we declined the invitations, and eventually our sympathies became known and we weren't invited anymore. We were shocked at what had happened to staunch fellows like Mandela, who were so opposed to communism at first. He just went over. We felt he "lacked backbone." In the case of Sisulu, everyone could see what had happened. While he was secretary-general, there was one period of about six months when the ANC was so poor that the phone and electricity were cut off in the office. These communists from the Indian Congress—[Yusuf] Dadoo and [Yusuf] Cachalia—came and supplied the ANC and Sisulu with money. Also

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Sisulu's business was in trouble. You couldn't blame him for being grateful to these men. Sisulu even said this openly himself to us, that what else could he do?

DID YOU CONSIDER SISULU AN INTELLIGENT MAN?

Well, I don't think so really. He was very hard-working and devoted to the ANC, but he lacked education, and this made him defer to the opinions of more educated people. When he got into discussions with more educated people, he would usually just accept their judgments. Mandela was one man I never really knew personally until I was already in prison. We were never friendly, although I had heard him address meetings and had met him. He is a very "arrogant" man. He lacks a common touch. I remember him at one meeting around the time of the Defiance Campaign. People had gone there still undecided if they were going to participate. Mandela got up and said very peremptorily, "All those with us, come forward; all others get out." And most people just got out. They were put off by his manner. Mandela was strong among the leaders, although we always recognized Tambo as superior in intelligence. Mandela had a way of attacking people very viciously if they disagreed with him, and were a "smaller" person than himself. He could reduce them to a "shriveling" mass, then he would "pat them on the head and draw them to him," and thereafter they would be his men, always deferring to him, looking up to him. If he came across any man who wouldn't look up and defer to him and acknowledge his superiority (e.g. myself, implied) then he wouldn't have anything to do with that person. Mandela could always attract weak people; but he could never get on with another strong person. In any relationship, he had to dominate. But he was an engaging person. He could always crack a joke, make you laugh; he always had a story to tell. But I was never friendly with him. Tambo was closer to our point of view, but his loyalty to the ANC was just too strong. Of course he already had a high position in the ANC, from the earliest days, so he felt obliged to defend it. Tambo and Mandela never got on well together. Tambo is a much quieter man, but very intelligent.

IS IT TRUE THAT MANDELA WAS BETRAYED BY THE COMMUNISTS BECAUSE HE CAME BACK FROM HIS AFRICA TOUR REJECTING MULTIRACIALISM?

We could never get a straight answer out of him in prison about this. We did get the idea he had had some falling out with "Ruth First and that group". He was very impressed by what he saw in Africa. He met Oginga Odinga and was impressed by him; he met Kenyatta, waving his flywhisk. These people affected him more than the white leaders he had met. But it was clear that Mandela was a Maoist. We got to know this in prison. I don't know if he finds Mao especially appealing because he is a nonwhite. Mandela was very well read up on Mao. In a sense, though, he is really a Titoist, that is he believes in some reconciliation of communism and national peculiarities. Philosophically, Mandela has always been an "opportunist," going from one theory to the next, taking out what seemed most likely to be impressive to other people, most likely to boost his own prestige. Oddly, he also showed tendencies in jail of being a tribalist. He used to wear a(some article of Xhosa attire?) We used to criticize him for this.

WHAT DID YOU MEAN WHEN YOU SAID THAT ALL COMMUNISTS IN S. AFRICA WERE "QUACKS?"

I meant that they were only intellectual communists. The type of lives they led—the whites and Indians—precluded their being considered practicing communists. They had too many privileges. They were wealthy and they used and enjoyed their wealth. And deep down they actually believed in the perpetuation of these inequalities. Communists in South Africa "have never been really revolutionary." They are merely communists and revolutionaries intellectually. They were always well-read on communist theory and literature, and could recite it back at great length. But none of them were willing to materially come down to our level, or to accept the possibility that roles might someday be reversed.

WOULD MOST COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT AN AFRICAN GOVERNMENT?

No, they would have always opposed it, opposed any nationalistic government. We Africanists made a point of reading Lenin and Marx to learn the vocabulary of communism. Then we used their terminology to support our own arguments. This had a way of really disarming them.

WHAT WAS YOUR ROLE IN THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN?

I had spoken publicly in its favor. Once Tambo came to Standerton and we addressed a meeting together. "I didn't launch." We had received instructions from Johannesburg to wait and we were about to launch within a few weeks at the time when the Campaign was called off. I had in the meantime been dismissed from my post for speaking out. The campaign was called off because the leaders got cold feet. When these laws were passed, it became clear that they weren't actually prepared to make sacrifices.

WHEN YOU FIRST CAME TO JOHANNESBURG FROM STANDERTON, DID YOU WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN POLITICS?

When I got to Johannesburg I met PK [Leballo] and his group. I felt that we were up against strong forces and we shouldn't make ourselves targets until we had built our strength. PK was already getting expelled and so forth. I didn't want to get expelled. But "PK was a fighter!" (said with admiration). He was always for barging ahead. He could never hold his tongue when he was provoked. This group had begun The Africanist and they invited me to be the editor. Peter Molotsi had been the editor up to then. In trying to put our point of view across in Congress we were very frustrated because of the leadership situation in the ANC. By this time the real leaders were banned and couldn't speak openly. Therefore we couldn't directly attack them personally, and there was no way they could personally reply to us in public. We knew however, that it was they who were responsible for the course of events in the ANC. While these banned men were behind the scenes, men of much lesser caliber—total "fools"—were actually in the leadership positions in Congress. We had no respect for any of these people; yet there was no point in personally attacking them, because they were simply carrying out instructions from the banned leaders, saying what they'd been told to say by the big boys. They tended to be dogmatic and there was no point in trying to engage them in argument. Our tactics in the face of this were to try to use every meeting and conference to speak directly to the people, to "hammer home" our "line" with all the persuasiveness we could. Pretty soon they got wise to this and began to exclude us from conferences. But we were up against a situation that has always existed in South Africa, namely that the masses will automatically follow a leader or organization that they have a loyalty to, without thinking about the wisdom or weakness of particular policies they are told to support. This is particularly true of the women. Oh, the women! "We knew that our numbers were small" and that it would be hard to put our views across. I was ANC chairman in Mofolo [in Soweto], and their tactic there was to have their own man with a rival branch, and when conferences came they would recognize him as a delegate instead of me.

We didn't put much faith in [ANC president Albert] Lutuli. He was a gentle old man, but he didn't have much political sense. He was politically naïve. I don't suppose there was ever a speech of Lutuli's delivered at a conference that was in the original form in which Lutuli had drafted it. Leaders like Mandela had a "cynical" attitude to Lutuli. At one ANC annual conference—probably 1955 where the Freedom Charter was debated—there was a violent fracas. Calata was presiding. The Charter was finally shelved on the grounds that it was contrary to the constitution of the ANC to adopt it. They postponed it and then called a special conference the following April to adopt it. The conference was actually meant to consider another issue—passes for women—but this wasn't discussed. People were just brought there to ratify the Charter. The people running the ANC by this time were a very mediocre lot. One couldn't engage them in argument because they didn't themselves understand the policies they were supposed to defend. Just as in the earlier days, we felt the ANC was only reacting to moves made by the government. It had abandoned the Program of 1949 altogether. Our aim was

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always to bring the ANC back to the Program of Action. We would be living different lives today if the ANC had stuck to that Program.

DO YOU THINK THERE WAS ANY ELEMENT OF CYNICISM IN THE ANC REGARDING THE ALLIANCE? A BELIEF THAT IT WAS TACTICALLY WISE, PRACTICAL IN TERMS OF GETTING MONEY AND ORGANIZATIONAL HELP? (WHILE LEADERS WERE ACTUALLY NATIONALISTS AT HEART)

No, they were actually convinced of the correctness of multiracialism.

WAS THE FREEDOM CHARTER ATTACKED MORE AS A SYMBOL OF THE ALLIANCE OR BECAUSE OF WHAT IT ACTUALLY SAID?

We objected to the whole thing. Raboroko wrote an excellent rebuttal to it, emphasizing the impossibility of whites and Africans being considered "brothers" in South Africa. We knew that every white person—no matter how sympathetic he was to us—benefited from the South African set-up and enjoyed privileges based only on color. Whites would say to us, "What can I do? Give up my salary? My house?" And what could we say to them? We had no answer for them, but we knew they could never be seen apart from the material situation. The Freedom Charter said something ridiculous about how the land has been taken from us, we blacks and whites together. But how could they try to avoid the issue of whose land had been taken by whom? They were trying to gloss it over. Sometimes when I discussed these problems with Benjie [Pogrund] and Patrick Duncan [anti-communist white sympathizers] we tried to come up with another word, some new term that would crystallize the idea of non-racialism as opposed to multiracialism. We could never think of a good word, other than "nonracialism" itself. We hated the word "multiracialism." We knew that the Freedom Charter wasn't actually drafted at the Congress of the People. It had been drafted by "Slovo and his circle." People just arrived there and found the thing already printed up.

WHY DID YOU BELIEVE THE AFRICANISTS WOULD BE ABLE TO PREVAIL EVENTUALLY?

We thought this for a long time. At the time I came to Johannesburg there was still no feeling that there might have to be a break and a separate movement. Another thing about the ANC that we objected to strongly was the Consultative Committee [of the Congress Alliance] with its system of representation. Only two from the ANC and two from each of the other, much smaller, groups. In any arrangement like this we knew the ANC would be taking a back seat even though it represented millions.

WHY DID THE AFRICANISTS TRY TO RUN MADZUNYA FOR TRANSVAAL PRESIDENT IN 1958?

I don't recall the exact sequence of events here. Madzunya was never part of the inner group in the Africanist movement. He had a following of his own. He had been important at the time of the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra, and he was a critic of the ANC. He wanted to be with us. But he was uncontrollable, like a "wild steer." He was actually backed for this election by an odd collection of people like the late P. Q. Vundla and [journalist] B. Legwate, people who sympathized with us but were only on the periphery of our movement. We didn't accept them as members, but they suggested that Madzunya run, and we thought he could be "used." We thought we could let him draw the fire of the enemy, and use him to test our strength. Madzunya was not an educated man. He probably didn't grasp the full import of our philosophy. His thinking was rather "primitive"—he wanted to put spears and shields on our flag! (laughter). He didn't trust middle class educated people like the rest of us. He said such people would never be able to suffer and sacrifice.

WHAT WAS MDA'S POSITION DURING THIS TIME?

Mda was one man we have always admired for his "brilliance" and clarity of thought. He has a great gift for language, a way of using words to express ideas with complete clarity, He can "untie mental knots." One could go to him with any problem, and he would analyze it for you, untie it. We tended to always accept his advice on

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any subject. Compared to Mda, all of us were "political babies." He had been around much longer. He had more knowledge of the South African situation than anyone. He had read very widely. He knew much more about communism than we did, for example. We could always go to him and get a clear "analysis of the situation." That was his great strength. He could also advise on action and organization. He advised us to organize secretly, through cells, to "build up our strength before coming out in the open." He was very much influenced by the writings of Lenin.

DID HE ACTUALLY CITE LENIN?

Yes. We were always amused at how he could oppose communism so strongly, yet use the principles of Marxism to prove his case for nationalism (laughter). In the fights with the AAC [All African Convention] it was always AP who could outline to us the line of argument. I first met him when I was at Fort Hare. But AP was bitterly against the breakaway. He told us how all the other breakaways had failed—[Paul] Mosaka's ADP [African Democratic Party] and so on. He also disagreed with us when we decided to launch. He wrote me a critical letter, saying that our view of the situation was too "apocalyptic." In the days of the Africanist movement our nationalism was mainly "emotional." We needed AP to help us intellectually to work out our position. [NB he later uses identical terms to explain his own position vis-à-vis Leballo in 1954-55].

MANY PEOPLE SEEMED TO HAVE HERO-WORSHIPPED MDA. DID YOU SHARE THIS FEELING TOWARD HIM?

This was certainly the case. Even PK felt this way toward Mda. Myself? Well, I don't know. AP is a great student of revolution. At our conference of September 1959 he kept pointing out how Mao hadn't done such and such a thing in China. Around the time of the break I was going down to the Cape—was I going to Grahamstown to work on my riddles?—and I went by Engcobo to look for Mda. I forget who was accompanying me. We didn't find him home. I don't recall exactly when this was. But we decided we would just have to go ahead with what we were doing without consulting him. Even PK said this, and he was a great admirer of Mda. But AP wrote us to say he disapproved of the break.

HOW DID YOU FEEL ABOUT THE FACT THAT BY 1959 PATHS HAD DIVERGED WITH MDA?

I suppose we regretted it, but by this time the situation had changed. The younger men didn't know AP; he wasn't widely known. He was only known to the early Youth League men. So it wasn't so widely discussed. We knew AP was busy doing his law, and that physically he was not strong. And we knew that he himself would never go to jail.