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# THE AFRICANIST

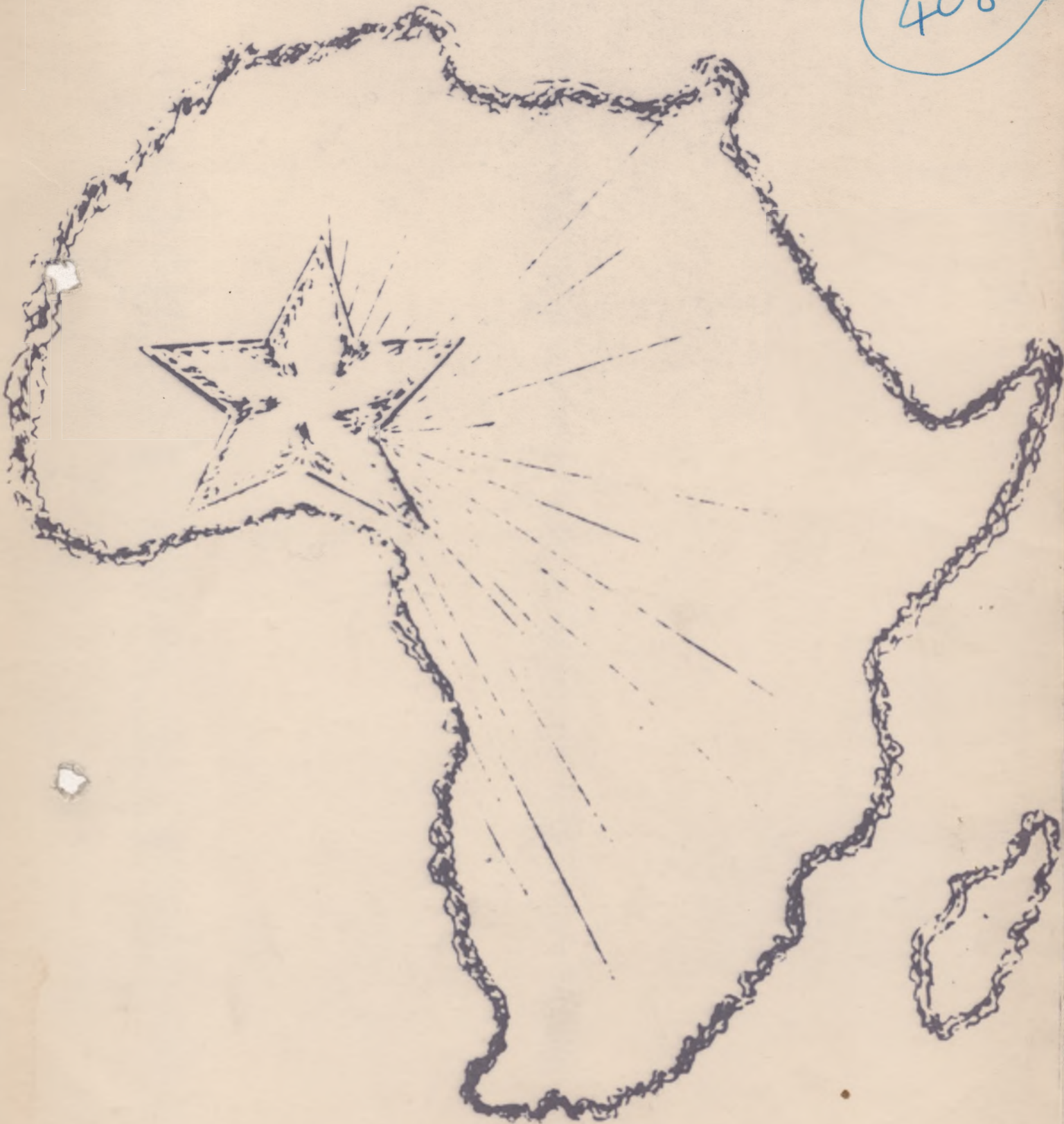
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THE EDITOR.

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THE EDITOR SPEAKS -SIFIKILE !

On the 19th and 20th December, in the historic Communal Hall of Orlando in Johannesburg, the Pan Africanist Congress will hold its first annual National Conference, just nine months after its birth. And the signs are that this annual Conference will be as historic as the P.A.C.'s Inaugural Convention of the 6th April, 1959.

Intellectual Phase: During the past nine months our task has been primarily to unleash a principled, programmatic and dynamic theoretical analysis and synthesis of our struggle, focus the attention of our masses on the historical goals of the national liberatory movement, reconcile their immediate with their ultimate objectives and restore to the disillusioned and frustrated masses of Afrika the vision resplendant and glorious of a free, democratic United States of Afrika.

Our impact has been revolutionary. The youth of our land has blossomed and matured in an incredibly short time and in an amazing fashion. Not only have they grasped the principles, programme and policies of P.A.C., but also they have readily assimilated the general lessons of history and, in particular, the lessons of the history of the political struggle in this country. Our people can distinguish quite clearly between the immediate and the ultimate objectives, the apparent and the real interests.

New Climate: A new climate of thought exists in the country, and there is overwhelming evidence that our people today are ready to achieve the unachieved but not unachievable, to rise to unprecedented heights of self-sacrifice and heroism, to throw out their imagination into the future and stretch out their hands to grasp the ship of their destiny. Our people are awake: awake to their role, the magnificent role of creators of history. Indeed, Sifikile ! We have won the intellectual and theoretical battle. And nobody will ever extinguish the flame of freedom kindled in the hearts of our people by the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress. Sons and Daughters of Afrika, we have arrived - SIFIKILE !!!

Reaction/Page two .....



Reaction: In the field of African politics, the multi-racial liberalists and the liberal multi-racialists have been unmasked and exposed to the people as the instruments of our oppression. Their political bankruptcy has been exposed in all its Saharan bareness. In an attitude of "me-tooism" the multi-racialists have attempted to approximate to the Pan Africanist Congress programme and policy, unashamedly pilfering even the terminology of the P.A.C. In a word, the P.A.C. has emerged as the unchallenged and only organisation that can and does provide a political home to the oppressed masses.

In the ranks of the foreign ruling minority the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress has resulted in a number of splinter organisations desperately making a bid to impede the forward march of the forces of progress and history. These white organisations vie with one another in the concessions they are prepared to make in order to corrupt and emasculate the liberatory movement.

Saracens: The government has reacted in a truly fascist manner. Eager to assure anxious industrialists that it can protect their interests, and to intimidate the Africans, the government has ordered 80 saracens, and spoke in highly provocative language about anticipated internal disturbances of an "Algerian" nature. We are, of course, not intimidated.

Status Campaign: In line with its unfolding programme, the Pan Africanist Congress gave warning that it would launch a STATUS CAMPAIGN to assert the African personality. Immediately, a certain Mr. Boyd launched what he termed a "courtesy campaign" designed to obtain "courteous" treatment of Africans in European shops. THAT IS NOT OUR STATUS CAMPAIGN. We have not yet launched our Status Campaign. But be sure we will.

The Future: We are meeting on the 19th and 20th December. A lot of speculation centres round our Conference. There is already talk of a master PLAN by the Pan Africanist Congress. We are not exhibitionists nor do we believe in flag-waving, drum-beating tactics. The Pan Africanist Congress will stick to its predetermined course; it will pursue its unfolding, dynamic programme honestly and fearlessly, and will lead the African people to freedom - in 1963 !

On the 19th and 20th December, Sons and Daughters of Afrika, we will be knocking at the door of history !!  
 IZWE LETHU : FORWARD TO OUR FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE !!!

DO NOT FAIL to attend the NATIONAL RALLY at ORLANDO COMMUNAL HALL 20th December, 1959.	WANTED 100,000 members Join immediately Reward: FREEDOM
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See Page 3

WHO IS MAURICE HOMMEL ?  
 MAURICE HOMMEL IS THE MAN  
 WHO WROTE VICIOUS AND MIS-

LEADING REPORTS ABOUT GHANA. HE HAS NOW BEEN EXPOSED TO BE WHAT HE IS.



WHO IS MAURICE HOMMEL ? Below we reproduce in full a letter from the Bureau of African Affairs, Accra, Ghana, addressed to the National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. Potlako K. Leballo. The letter speaks for itself. It is noteworthy to mention that the imperialist Press of South-Africa, white and non-white, refused to publish excerpts from this letter. THE AFRICANIST is therefore the first and only paper in this country to tell the world WHO THIS MAURICE HOMMEL really is. Now read on ..... Ed.

BAA/1

Dear Son of Afrika Leballo,

I wish to acknowledge with thanks your letter of the 14th October, 1959. We are delighted to hear that in order to-perpetuate the memory of the late Mr. George Padmore his name has been added to the list of your National Heroes. Well done.

We are indeed very grateful to you for the information you gave us concerning the vicious and misleading reports about Ghana, being propagated in South Africa by the stooge and imperialist-paid agent MAURICE HOMMEL. In order to enable you to expose the lies of this opportunist, I feel you should be given a detailed and accurate information concerning his short stay in Ghana.

As you are no doubt aware, it is the declared policy of our Prime Minister to give political asylum to all persecuted Africans regardless of wherever he comes from. In pursuance of this policy, Mr. HOMMEL was allowed to enter Ghana and given every hospitality. It is worthwhile mentioning here that the object of his coming to Ghana was to seek for employment as a teacher. Every arrangement was made to find him a place as a teacher in one of the Secondary Schools here.

The basic qualification of a teacher in a Secondary School in Ghana is a degree in a recognised University. However, in the normal process of things, we found that he was an impostor since all the certificates which he presented and which he alleged were equivalent to a degree level in South Africa were after rigid investigations proved to be nothing but Journalistic Diplomas. He therefore began to realise that the "Diamond Mine" which he dreamt he would strike in Ghana by means of these journalistic Diplomas were shattered into the abyss.

Realizing that his plans had failed, he bolted away from Ghana and never even had the courtesy to thank us for what we did for him. We are not in the least surprised by the stand he has taken, since we told him in the face that as he was a "half breed" and has no country or land to defend we would not be of any assistance to him. I think this brief information will suffice.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to wish your organisation every success in its noble efforts to liquidate reactionary forces in that part of our continent.

With all fraternal regards,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

Mr. P.K. Leballo,  
P.O. Box 1610,  
JOHANNESBURG.  
SOUTH AFRICA.

SECRETARY,  
BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, ACCRA.  
GHANA.

NOW YOU KNOW WHO MAURICE HOMMEL IS - THE ABOVE TELLS.



In a New Year message, the National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress declares that the forthcoming year shall be decisive in the history of our struggle for political freedom. He calls upon the African people to rally round the P.A.C. and contribute their share to facilitate this momentum. "The ferment of Africanism is sweeping the continent like an avalanche force, and none can stem any longer its tide", he concludes.

THE FOLLOWING "SHOULD BE AN INTERESTING ARTICLE - ESPECIALLY TO CONGRESSITES OF THE CONGRESS ALLIANCE".

Now read on.....Ed.

HAS P.A.C. COME TO STAY ?  
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This should be an interesting article, especially to Congressites of the Congress Alliance. They seem to take it for granted that P.A.C. has already failed, that P.A.C. has no chance of replacing the A.N.C. as the major African national organisation, that P.A.C. is doomed to an early death like all "splinter" organisations that in the past tried to set themselves against the A.N.C., e.g. the African Democratic Party of Paul Mosaka and the National Minded Bloc of Selope Thema. This general view was at least trenchantly expressed not only by Walter Sisulu in "Africa South", but also by Joe Matthews in "Liberation". One and all, Congressites seem to believe that by some miracle the A.N.C., is destined to immortality. Theirs appears to be a "mystical belief" in the inevitability of P.A.C. 's collapse, sooner or later.

One does not need to emphasize the fact that the Pan Africanist Congress, ofcourse, never really did set out either to destroy or to replace the A.N.C. From the very word go the Pan Africanist Congress came out with its own clear policy which, at vital levels, was in sharp conflict with the current policies, strategies and tactics of the A.N.C. The Pan Africanist Congress made no bones about its being the only authentic voice of the oppressed dark millions of the land. Nevertheless the Pan Africanist Congress did not adopt an anti-A.N.C. Plank as such, despite its criticism of the A.N.C. leadership.

The reasons for that were twofold. Firstly P.A.C. is more interested in the liberation of the African people than in fruitless wrangles with other organisations, and that is so because P.A.C. has a powerful message for the Africans, and also because P.A.C. has a positive programme of struggle. Secondly, by the very logic of P.A.C. 's stand, it could not conceivably fight the A.N.C., an organisation which traditionally has been the political home of the African people. The positive programme of Pan Africanism envisages the drawing of the African millions into a principled, disciplined mass struggle, and that includes not only the thousands of P.A.C. members, not only the millions of unorganised, uncommitted masses of the African people, but also the hundreds of members of both the A.N.C. and the Pan Africanist Congress.

So that P.A.C. has no quarrel with the rank and file of A.N.C. members, precisely because P.A.C. is the clearest champion of their fundamental aspirations and interests. But then P.A.C. has every quarrel with the bureaucratic leadership of the A.N.C. who in ten years - (not by accident



or misfortune, but as a result of theoretical confusion and ideological poverty) - have failed to focalise and canalise the African liberation struggle on the basis of a powerful and principled Liberatory Programme, and under a politically clear and disciplined leadership which sets the Movement clear perspectives and clear objectives in the course of a sustained, unfolding struggle. What is worse, they have learnt nothing in those ten years, so that if they have their way, we shall have the same old mistakes repeated again and again, and soon enough we shall have a Fascist dictatorship upon us, and the leaders will be shipped to Robben Island. Perhaps when they are there they will have time for proper reflection. Only then ..... it will be too late. Future generations will mock and curse us for omitting to build the only forces on the basis of the only programme that could ensure the foiling of the schemes of the Baaskapists and the machinations of the Fascist tyrants.

This brings me to another consideration. As I have already indicated, there is a current belief in Congress circles. It might, of course, even be a pretence, that the Pan Africanist Congress has already totally failed. Significantly none of the Congress high-ups are able to say what it has failed in. P.A.C. could not have failed "to die" because it never was its intention to have a still-birth. P.A.C. could not have failed to capture the A.N.C. because it never set out to do so. All that the Africanists in Congress wanted was to bring pressure to bear upon the A.N.C., so that the latter might abandon the arena of the parliamentary politics of the ruling class Parties; abandon its opportunist, adventurist, unprogrammatic, unprincipled and futile approach to the liberation struggle, and swing back to the path of a true liberatory programme, to the path of building the fighting capacity of the people on the basis of an unfolding, principled Programme, to the path of crystallising the African mass Front into a disciplined army of Freedom, capable of winning freedom in our life time by the use of correct, disciplined mass methods.

That is what the Africanists wanted. They were not interested in the mere name "Congress". They were interested in principles and policies which could truly unite our people for freedom. When the A.N.C. leadership showed itself as being more interested in their own tenure of office

than in the freedom of the African people, the Africanists walked out and formed the Pan Africanist Congress, which is the only truly National Liberatory Movement of the African people, and the only organisation which, on the basis of its programme and its leadership, is capable of saving South Africa from the imminent scourge of a Fascist dictatorship, and winning freedom and democracy for the oppressed.

Lastly, P.A.C. could not have failed to lead in the struggle. P.A.C. was only formed in April this year. Already P.A.C. has registered phenomenal achievements - a mass membership of more than 24,000, and a Programme of Liberation, which has already been put before the P.A.C. branches. A positive lead on a principled, disciplined, peaceful basis can be expected from P.A.C. in the near future.

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THE AFRICANIST

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E D I T O R

P.O. Box 1610, Joh'burg.



The opportunistic, barren and unimaginative A.N.C. leadership who are temporarily committed to the boycott of "Nationalist Products", and have recently hastily abandoned the Potato Boycott, are "copyists" and "ape-ists" true to type. Following upon P.A.C.'s principled and democratic throwing of its programme to the rank-and-file membership, the A.N.C. is already talking of throwing its newest programme of "Boycotting the Post Office Savings Banks" to its membership. This newest programme alone shows, in the clearest possible way, that the A.N.C. has reached the end of its tether. What a sharp contrast to the dynamic, imaginative, fertile, creative, many-sided, nation-building programme of the Pan Africanist Congress !

Then there is the parallel drawn between P.A.C. and both the African Democratic Party and the National Minded Bloc of R.V. Selope Thema. From this supposed parallel there is drawn the following conclusion, namely, that the P.A.C. as a "splinter" organisation is doomed to a relatively early death. This is linked with the myth of A.N.C. "indestructibility and immortality", to which certain elements in the A.N.C. cling as to a comforting fetish - a salve for guilty conscience ! No parallel can be drawn in this case ..... for several reasons :-

Firstly, no greater mistake can be made than to regard the Pan Africanist Congress as a mere splinter organisation. In fact the view of P.A.C. as a "splinter" completely disregards what has happened. What has happened is that P.A.C. has, on the plane of theory, bodily transported all that happened in Congress since 1944, (and backwards beyond 1944, the implications of the nation-building processes since 1912), from the shell of what used to be an African National Organisation, to the new fertile soil provided by P.A.C.

On the programmatic plane, the Pan Africanist Congress has adopted the 1949 Programme of Action, and incorporated and assimilated what is best in it into its political and nation-building armoury. P.A.C. has gone further, and developed this programme and theory on the basis of African nationalism and Africanism to meet the contemporary conditions of the liberation struggle in South Africa, and lay the foundation for an Africanist Democracy, and to make common cause with the Liberation Forces throughout emergent Afrika. It is too late to regard P.A.C. as a "splinter", for P.A.C. has gone forward to become the voice of the oppressed millions in South Africa, and a vital living sector of the Pan Africanist forces now waging a final struggle for the liberation of the whole of Afrika.

Secondly, both the A.D.P. and the Block had no real Liberatory Programme, because in the case of the A.D.P. even the skeleton programme which the Fourth International of Hosea Jaffe & Co. suggested, was rejected off-hand. P.A.C. has a clear, powerful Liberatory Programme, and a powerful, dynamic, unifying and galvanising liberatory outlook, African nationalism.

Thirdly, it is illuminating to go behind the reasons for the continued existence of the A.N.C. since 1912, in spite of the ups-and-downs and vicissitudes of South African history. One main reason is that, vaguely perhaps most of the time, the Africans regarded the A.N.C. as a symbol of their unity as a people, an expression, in organisational form, of their deep-seated urge to nationhood, and as an instrument for ameliorating their conditions in life and securing their well-being and rights.



Here and There -

NEWS

- Here and There.

Compiled By Monde.

Mr. Potlako K. Leballo, the National secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, has recently returned from a brief tour of the Orange Free State. Mr. Leballo reports a steady but growing support for the P.A.C. by this part of the country. Amongst the places which he touched, and in which he established an extensive scope of influence, were: Bloemfontein, LadyBrand, Welkom and Sasolburg.

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Also just returned from a tour is the National Treasurer, Mr. A.B. Ngcobo of Durban who has been visiting Swaziland. Mr. Ngcobo reports great interest by people of Swaziland in what the Pan Africanist Congress stands for. A number of friends there wish the P.A.C. well.

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The Pan Africanist Congress was amongst organisations invited to send delegates to the All African Trade Unions' talks held in Accra recently. Due to technical difficulties, however, P.A.C. was unable to meet the invitation. Nevertheless, Mr. J.D. Nyaose, the P.A.C. secretary for Labour, dispatched a cablegram of greetings to this historic meeting of leaders of African labour.

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The first National Conference of the Pan Africanist Congress shall end up with a NATIONAL RALLY to be held at the Orlando Communal Hall on Sunday, the 20th of December. The National secretary has called upon the African people to rally round P.A.C. and thus facilitate this great momentum of African upsurge against injustice and foreign domination.

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The Office of the National Secretary has again reiterated that the P.A.C. shall not tolerate any of its members belonging to dummy institutions of political inferiority. Accordingly, and in pursuance of the provisions of the P.A.C. Constitution and Disciplinary Code, Messrs. B. Dladla and O. Tshabalala have been expelled from the Pan Africanist Congress after failing to dissociate themselves with the nefarious system of Advisory Boards of which they are members at White City, Jabavu.

-----O-----

Dr. Hastings Banda continues to be imprisoned by the Wellensky government of the Federation. Indications are that the people of Nyasaland shall not rest content until their leader is released from wrongful detention by foreigners.

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Just on the eve of the A.N.C. annual Conference in Durban, the "Ilanga lase Natal" reports some tremendous discontent within that organisation. Four veteran politicians have consequently left the A.N.C. to join the Pan Africanist Congress which they describe as "the only voice of the millions of oppressed Africans".

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A recent survey shows that THE AFRICANIST reaches as far as Argentina, Ghana, Guinea, London, Kenya, Nigeria & Egypt. The circulation manager reports increase of copies produced.



HAS P.A.C. COME TO STAY ? (Continued from Page 6 )

Organisations came and went, but none of them filled this deep, undefined yearning for self-realisation, self-expression and nationhood. When the A.N.C. became a multi-racial organisation by profession, policy and Constitution, it abdicated its leadership of the African nation. This is not widely realised now, but there is bound to be a growing realisation, for the A.N.C. no longer subscribes to those things which perpetuated its hold upon the Africans during the years. By one of those strange paradoxes of history, the Pan Africanist Congress stepped in, and filled the vacuum created by the A.N.C.'s abdication, as did the new Convention People's Party in Ghana in relation to the old established organisation - the Gold Coast Convention of Dr. Danquah & Co.

A cue can be taken from the role of the Communist Party in South Africa since 1921. The Communist Party was a multi-racial "class" Party, and in spite of its clear-cut, militant programme with appealing slogans (including the slogan of a Black Republic), it did not make much impression on the African people, in spite of its relatively advanced theoretical position. The Communist must have realised, a little later perhaps, the folly of their attempt to build the Party at the expense of the Congress which was then loosely organised, lacking the coherence and the clear-cut purposive militancy of the Party itself. Yet the people clung to Congress, for the reasons given above, and Leftist strategists continued to disregard the signs, and failed to give African nationalism its proper place as a dynamic, democratic liberatory outlook, with a limitless capacity to build and consolidate the ranks of the oppressed. This miscalculation was fatal, as the Communists themselves are the witnesses, for at the time of the ban of the Communist Party in 1950, the people's organisations, in spite of unparalleled opportunities, had not yet mustered a political force of sufficient striking power to turn the course of history. The virtual repudiation (not so much in words as in deeds) of African nationalism robbed the liberation struggle of its life-blood, and delayed the dawn of African Freedom.

The Pan Africanist Congress has learnt from this bitter lesson of history, and hence P.A.C. almost stands now in a position to make up for the loss of 10 years. Its militant programme of African nationalism and of nation-building is due to place it in the vanguard of a disciplined mass struggle of unprecedented striking power. It will be the duty of the masses of Africans, including the African membership of all organisations, to rally round the banner of freedom which the Pan Africanist Congress will unfurl during the Status Campaign. The question of organisations should not come in. It should be all the oppressed joining in in the Freedom struggle under the banner of the Pan Africanist Congress, because P.A.C. has the Programme and the Leadership. Selfish, sectional personal interests must be subordinated to the national interest - to the cause of Freedom "in our life time". Viewed against the above back-ground the idea of the "mystical perpetuity" of any one organisation is arrant nonsense. What matters today are the principles, the programme and the possibility of freedom under the banner of a disciplined, courageous, self-sacrificing leadership.

Those/Page.9 .....

WANTED 100,000 MEMBERS - RALLY ROUND P.A.C. - JOIN IMMEDIATELY.



Those who talk of the imminent collapse of the Pan-Africanist Congress do not only reveal their fears of the inevitable growth of P.A.C. They are actually kidding themselves and misleading the masses of the people, and thus once again stabbing the liberation struggle in the back, and delaying the liberation of Africa. Whether or not we want genuine freedom and democracy will be proved by our readiness to throw in our lot with the Pan Africanist Congress in its disciplined lead.

- By ZWELINZIMA.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON CHIEF A.J. LUTHULI

By Sizwe.

Much has been written on Chief Luthuli of late. The White Press has left no stone unturned in its efforts to give him a high-grade boost-up. Indeed, the boost-up is unparalleled in the history of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa. It is time the Africanists formed ideas about him.

The question that comes uppermost in the mind of a dispassionate observer is whether Chief Luthuli is a true leader of the oppressed, or whether he is a mere mouth-piece of certain elements within the South African society? A further question is whether he is confused or whether he is just being clever?

It is worth noting at the onset that Chief Luthuli is a comparative new-comer in Congress politics. It was J.K. Ngubane's "Inkundla" that built him up politically as against Mr. Champion, and the Youth League of Congress under the leadership of Ngubane and Yengwa gave him its unstinted support. He became Natal A.N.C. president and this groomed him for his greater task as National A.N.C. leader, to which position he was elevated in December 1952.

It is notable that during this formative period he remained singularly immune to African nationalism. He has maintained his Christian liberalism with stubborn consistency. He knows nothing about Lembedism and far less about Africanism. In fact he has used African nationalism as a mere catch-phrase. He has never really grasped its meaning and significance.

Once he came into the saddle Chief Luthuli displayed some sterling qualities which mark him out as a great man. He showed resilience and courage in the face of the mounting fury of apartheid-mad legislators. He showed a dauntless spirit. But is he a great leader of the oppressed? That is the question.

The answer is not far to seek. Chief Luthuli lacks the one thing that distinguishes a great leader of the oppressed. He lacks a strong ideology and political philosophy, such as would enable him to focalise the liberation struggle, and help build a powerful African National Front. From that point of view he stands in sharp contrast to the great leaders of the continent who have a great message for their oppressed masses. Our Chief Luthuli here attempts an impossible task, namely, that of being all things to all men.







a fast one on the White ruling group, one can only remind him that pleas and pleadings have never changed the hearts of a ruling class. It is only the organised pressure of a disciplined African National Front that can split the Whites - if at all. Chief Luthuli's is a wild-goose chase - a mirage - a will-o'the wisp !

Before the coming of the Pan Africanist Congress the struggle was for a multi-racial society - for equality. Mark you, not for independence or self-determination. But after the Accra Conference, after the birth of the Pan Africanist Congress, on Africa Day April 15th and after. Chief Luthuli spoke the language of Nkrumah and Sobukwe: he was all for self-determination. Congress itself was for "No defence", etc.

In the beginning it was multi-racialism. Nothing about non-racialism. Then P.A.C. came, and Chief Luthuli in a heroic endeavour to reconcile in himself all concepts that have even a faint chance to capture the imagination of the masses, made "Non" and "Multi" mean the same thing. Says in the "Golden City Post" of October 11th 1959:

"In Congress we work for a united South Africa where the State shall be a free non-racial democracy". It is news that Congress now embraces the Pan Africanist stand on non-racialism ! If Congress goes on at that rate one fears that it will end up by exclaiming "Africa for the Africans, from Cape to Cairo, from Morocco to Madagascar". But wait and hear what our Chief has to say in the "Post" of the 18th October 1959. He talks of "the realisation of a united South-Africa, and a South Africanism and an Africanism that embraces all racial groups". Note the word "Africanism". It was actually used by Chief Albert John Luthuli !! We ask again, "Is he confused or is he just being clever ?"

We come again to the question we have already asked: Is Chief the mere voice of other elements within the South African society ? His tongue-twisting can perhaps be explained on the theory that our Chief is over-reaching himself. He has a definite role to play, and it is set for the particular phase through which we are passing. He must act as a bridge to span the gulf between the oppressors and the oppressed. He is a make-shift, and he is paving the way for a deal between the rulers and the ruled. It is difficult to come to any other conclusion, simply because one finds it hard to see how a Liberation leader can concentrate so heavily on attempting to convert the rulers, to the almost total exclusion of giving the oppressed a formula for winning their freedom through disciplined, principled mass organised pressure.

The only other possible conclusion is that the real bosses of Congress have not said their say. They are making him pave their way. From that angle it may well be that Luthulism is a passing phase, and if so, it may well be that those of the rulers who have become fond of regarding Luthuli as the best spokesman of the New Africa (a Christian gentleman) are clutching a shadow.

The leaders of the New Afrika have not said their say, and their language will leave nobody with any illusions.



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 PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS ON GUARD  
 IN DEFENCE OF P.A.C. POLICY AND PROGRAMME.  
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Mr. Joe Matthew's article in the journal "Liberation" for the month of July, 1959 merits serious attention. The article bears the caption "Africanism under the Microscope". In this case it is desirable to start off from the end of the article, and to tear it up backwards from the tail to the head.

Plan of Africanists for People now:

Mr. Joe Matthews ends his articles on a note of challenge and accusation. He challenges P.A.C. to show its hand, and to indicate its plan for the people NOW, and he goes so far as to suggest that perhaps P.A.C. is afraid of the risks involved in embarking upon positive action. He accuses our President, Mr. Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, though not in so many words, of indulging in oratory or rhetoric, and of failing to give a clue to his programme of action.

It is necessary to point out, in the first place, that Mr. Joe Matthews has apparently no idea of the implications of a nation-building, liberatory programme, as applicable to a people composed of diverse elements ranging from intellectuals, peasants, farmers and business-men, to workers in the factories, mines and industries, labourers in European-owned farms, etc., all in varying stages of development, diverse levels of backwardness, and differing degrees of national and political consciousness, and mostly still labouring under a fatalistic resignation to their present plight: a legacy of 300 years of oppression !

The very essence of such a Programme is its having a principled basis, as also a capacity to build the people's fighting power in a sustained, expanding struggle, in the course of which the ranks of the people as a whole are seasoned, steeled, hardened and consolidated into a powerful centrally directed, disciplined front. The value of such a programme should also lie in its capacity to give the vast masses clear perspectives, as also to unfolding to the masses their own developing, potential power.

Mr. Joe Matthews apparently still clings to the worn-out idea of protests, demonstrations and strikes as being ends in themselves, and not as related parts of a conscious, purposive developing programme.

He probably abhors a principled programme, precisely because it commits the movement to clear, disciplined, mass action, and he probably prefers flexibility and the liberty to take any adventurist action, any time it suits him. Viewed from that angle his cry for Action - any action - Now, can easily be construed as a cry of despair and desperation, and a call to alarmist, last-ditch tactics. Yet the last few years have not lacked in desperate activity of the "Congress Alliance" trade mark, and yet we have not seen the maturation and ripening of a powerful, disciplined African National Front which alone could spell freedom in our time. This in itself was by no means accidental. The incapacity of the "Congress Alliance" to cash in on the popular upsurge generated by the Programme of 1949, and to build up such a front, flowed directly from its unco-ordinated, unprogrammatically, confusionist and sometimes even opportunistic adventures-cum-stunts, which delayed and even frustrated the growth of such a front.



The adoption of the Kliptown Charter did nothing to save the Congress Movement from adventurism and sheer desperation.

If, therefore, Mr. Joe Matthews' challenge is for P.A.C. to produce a bag of tricks of the Congress Movement type, then he, and his like, are in for a big disappointment. The Pan Africanist Congress has turned its back firmly on stunts, adventurist heroics and other such doubtful courses.

If, however, Mr. Joe Matthews wants to know how P.A.C. proposes to lead the African people forward to freedom, then he will be told .... in good time. In due course of time, the Pan Africanist Congress will unfurl its battle standard, and launch a Status Campaign, which will carry us forward on the road to freedom, and the effect will be there for all to see.

#### Rule by Africans:

Mr. Joe Matthews quarrels with what he calls a new definition of an African. It must be confessed at once that the Africanist view of democracy must be startling and upsetting to all those who have been bred and fed on the liberal idea of an African elite being gradually trained, brain-washed, fathered and absorbed into a so-called South African Multi-racial Nationhood, whilst the vast masses of Africans are being exploited and denied democratic rights on the ground of their unreadiness, backwardness and illiteracy.

Mr. Sobukwe has made no new definition of an African. He was not called upon to do so, and he did not even attempt to do so, precisely because Africans are there, and have been there, for all the world to know and see. It is only hair-splitters with a metaphysical twist of mind who can pretend that an African is not an African. All that Mr. Sobukwe did, and all that he was required to do as a democratic African leader, was to indicate the basis on which all those people in South Africa who are of European or Indian origin could or would qualify for complete identification with the dusky millions of Africa, so as to share in their destiny, their democracy and their future well-being, civilisation and culture as free beings with a full human stature.

Mr. Sobukwe said: "We aim politically at government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Afrika, and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African.

The only question is whether rule by an African majority would be democratic or whether it would amount to oppression of the non-African minorities. Not infrequently political commentators tend to run away from this question, or to beg it. Mr. Matthews is no tremendous exception. The fact of the matter is that there are upward of 10,000,000 Africans in the Union with minority national groups ranging from 3,000,000 whites to a few hundred thousand peoples of Asian origin. There can thus be no democracy in South Africa without the reality of an African majority rule. This fact may be unpalatable to certain backward-looking, reactionary sections, and the Pan Africanist Congress has certainly not made it more savoury by stating it bluntly. Yet it is high time we in South Africa got accustomed to blunt truths.

But would an African majority necessarily oppress the minority groups? Certainly not, at least as far as P.A.C. is concerned. P.A.C. has adopted the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights on the basis of which all in South Africa



are guaranteed full democratic and human rights. That is the highest guarantee that any group, that knows what it is talking about, can give in the circumstances. The Pan Africanist Congress refuses to guarantee minority rights. WHY? Precisely because the ruling white minority has certain rights and privileges which it enjoys, and which are incompatible with P.A.C.'s view of human equality and non-racial democracy. The Pan Africanist Congress cannot guarantee the minorities their present rights which have been acquired by conquest and forcible dispossession or trickery over the past centuries. P.A.C. cannot guarantee any group, including the Africans themselves, any special privileges over and above any other group. P.A.C. can only guarantee individual rights to all human beings in Afrika who have democratically qualified for Africanhood - individual rights with all the freedom, they imply, including the right to a full and free development of the human personality.

Now, Mr. Matthews puts a ceiling to the scope of minority rights to be guaranteed, and he mentions the languages, customs and cultures of the national minorities.

But he forgets that a mere paper guarantee of these may well be meaningless if it is not accompanied by other things such as political philosophy and a social system which can, in the very nature of things, give meaning and content to the languages, customs and cultures of the people. Pray, Joe, what would have been the value of a paper guarantee of the rights of the Jewish minority in Hitlerite Germany if, as was the case in fact, the whole philosophy of Nazism and the whole Fascistic social order was a negation and denial of everyone of those rights? Mr. Matthews cannot solve human problems by merely being clever.

AFRICA MUST BE FREE  
From Cape to Cairo  
Madagascar to Morocco

The Pan Africanist Congress has declared for full democracy, not only in the political sense, but also in the economic and cultural sense, so that under its socialist production, those conditions will be created which will make possible the liquidation of individual, sectional or group privilege, the development of Africanist socio-economic democracy, the flowering of the languages, creative customs and cultures of the people, and the gradual synthesis of the latter into a rich, creative, dynamic, virile Africanist Socialist Democratic Culture in a new, great, free, united, happy, peace-loving Afrika.

Under such a state of affairs colour will have no importance, value or significance whatsoever. Mr. Sobukwe has openly stated that, then, a predominantly black constituency will be able to elect a white representative to the legislature or other organ of government power. Alongside such a view of non-racial Africanist Democracy, the Multi-racialism of the Congress Movement becomes a grotesque caricature.

#### South African Exceptionalism:

One cannot help feeling that Mr. Matthews has certain orthodox ideas in his head, and then he tries to interpret statements and views in the light of his pet, pre-conceived theories. For example, Mr. Sobukwe did not even refer to the idea of class struggle in his inaugural speech. Mr. Sobukwe talked of a South African Exceptionalism with reference to some leading Congress Movement spokesmen who are fond of stating that the conditions in South Africa are different from those obtaining, say, in Kenya, Rhodesia, Nyasaland or Ghana, so that



African nationalism as a liberatory outlook cannot be as significant here as it is in such countries. Mr. Sobukwe has rejected this type of South African exceptionalism in no uncertain terms. He has added:

"Our contention is that South Africa is an integral part of an indivisible whole that is Afrika. 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".

Yet Mr. Joe Matthews finds it possible to discourse on a class struggle, and to drag the issue of the class struggle into his critique of Africanism. Hence we shall be fully justified in presuming that although Joe had meant to use his microscope, he in fact only employed his goggles. Or was it perhaps his magnifying lens or even his telescope, if not a telescope?

Nevertheless even on the question of the class struggle the Africanist position is clear and unchallengeable. The Africanists hold that the whites as a whole, generally speaking are steeped in the prevailing Herrenvolk ideology, so much so that the idea of a class struggle in which it is sought to bring African workers alongside white workers in a common struggle against the capitalists can be escapist, illusory and dangerously dilatory. The fact of the matter is that the white workers do not only share the spoils of white domination with their white capitalist brothers, but they also, as indicated above, belong ideologically to the camp of the oppressors. It could not be otherwise, for their economic and cultural interests lie in the white camp as a whole. Hence the consistent opposition by the overwhelming majority of them to the abolition of the industrial colour bar, which abolition they oppose in order to protect their living standards, which remain high because they are indirectly subsidised by the cheap labour of the Africans.

It does not assist the present struggle to say that the white workers are being misled by the capitalists, and it is nothing to alter the stark facts. In other words it is irrelevant to say so because apart from any question of deception, the white workers only answer to an understandable human urge if they act to defend their economic interests in the light of their group ideology. Human beings will hold and defend what they have in spite of the theorisings, moralisings and philosophisings of would-be social reformers.

The thesis of the Africanists is thus completely justified by the objective facts of the South African situation. The Africanists state that the issue of a class struggle in South Africa is so insignificant as to play no part at all in the concrete, actual struggle for national freedom. Viewed from that angle it is indeed virtually non-existent, and should form no part of our consideration when we formulate our policy, programme and tactics to achieve the national emancipation of our people in our time.

The Africanist thesis is clearly this: That as long as white domination, which goes hand in hand with national oppression and economic exploitation in one form or another, exists, so long will talk of democracy and human equality and solidarity remain an airy dream and a cruel, hollow mockery. The Pan Africanist Congress programme is directed at



the ending of white domination to begin with, and secondly at the opening of the road towards full democracy in a New Afrika, in which all matters pertaining to workers, irrespective of colour, will take a leading place in society. Hence the Africanist thesis for the present phase of our struggle is that African workers must be organised into All-African workers' body to cater for their two-fold interests, namely,

- (i) their interests as African workers, pure and simple, and
- (ii) their interests as members of an oppressed nation struggling for its independence and freedom.

#### A National Movement :

Mr. Joe Matthews complains that Mr. Sobukwe has not described what a national movement is, and how it differs from political party. True enough, Mr. Sobukwe did not make such a description. But was it necessary that he should do so? Certainly not. Mr. Sobukwe was concerned with pointing the general direction and goal towards which Africa is moving, as well as the role of African Nationalist Movements, throughout the continent of Afrika, in bringing nearer the dawn of Afrika's complete liberation. It is clear also from the whole inaugural address that Mr. Sobukwe meant to make it abundantly plain that the Pan Africanist Congress identified itself unequivocally with the far-reaching transformations taking place in Afrika today, and that P.A.C. herself was the only organisation in South Africa that was in line with the rest of the continent.

The point that Mr. Matthews wanted to make was not so much the so-called lack of description of a national movement, as the emphasis, in the P.A.C. attack, on the ideological aspect - to be plain, on the "Charterist" leadership.

But Mr. Matthews seems to forget that it was the A.N.C. itself, by cold-shouldering the 1949 Programme of Action, which abandoned the broad road of an African National Movement, in favour of the rigid straight-jacket of a party machine. It was the A.N.C. itself which launched out as a strictly political party. The adoption of the Freedom Charter as one of the Aims and Objects in the new A.N.C. multi-racial constitution made the A.N.C. a full-fledged political party, so that those who, like the Liberals, do not subscribe to the Freedom Charter cannot be members of the A.N.C. today - strictly speaking.

So, before Mr. Matthews rushes out to blame the Pan - Africanist Congress for coming out blatantly on the liberatory plank of African Nationalism he should pause to reflect on how Congress, by assuming a party structure and role, removed the chances of retaining within its ranks those who disagreed with its party policy.

The Pan Africanist Congress criticism of the Charterist leadership and of its policy and tactics does not amount to a mere witch-hunt or to disruption as alleged by Mr. Matthews. The Pan Africanist Congress attack is dictated by the pressing needs of our present struggle, precisely because it is only the P.A.C. line and policy that can ensure freedom for our people in the measurable future.



"Political Democracy as understood in the West":

Mr. Joe Matthews heavily attacks Mr. Sobukwe's statement that Africanists believe in political democracy as understood in the West. Mr. Sobukwe's statement is to be correctly assessed and appraised against the background of the Pan - African struggle against Western imperialism, colonialism and white domination. The African nationalist forces throughout the continent are the only major factor of any significance engaged in the struggle against imperialism on a continental scale. African nationalism represents a progressive force, the only progressive force of any significance in the present phase of the African liberation struggle. Mr. Sobukwe's thesis is to be evaluated within the context of an actual, present struggle against Western imperialism and foreign domination by Westerners. Therefore Mr. Matthews' allegation that Mr. Sobukwe avoids stating that Africa suffers from the ravages of the Western imperialist powers such as Britain, Belgium, France and so on, more than begs the question. It amounts to an effort at dictating to Mr. Sobukwe the way he should set forth his ideas. It amounts to the dragging in or particulars which were obvious in the circumstances. From that point of view it raises the fear that Mr. Matthews is book-ridden and incorrigibly dogmatist.

Mr. Sobukwe rejects totalitarianism and chooses political democracy on the Western (E.g. British) pattern. What does all this mean? This means:-

- (i) the form of political democracy under which every person of the right age has a right to elect or be elected to the legislature and other organs of state power,
- (ii) the full democratic participation by the whole people in the exercise of political power and in the processes of law-making and government - which is the criterion of the people's right to control and shape their destiny, and to determine the course and rate of their social and economic development. In that respect the form of, say, the British political democracy is a model,
- (iii) that nevertheless the form of political democracy as copied in the West will not be planned arbitrarily and artificially on African soil. It will be creatively assimilated, in its whole or in its aspects, and dialectically grafted on to the developing structure of Africanist democracy as it will sprout from African socio-economic bases. "The political democracy as understood in the West" should be understood to indicate a formal pattern or model for a developing Africanist democracy, itself rooted in and developing from the local conditions and circumstances peculiar to Afrika, but stream-lined to meet the exigencies of a vast complex, modern state and society.

But does that mean that Mr. Sobukwe accepts the Western capitalist system? Not by a long chalk.

Western democracy is admittedly a product of capitalistic liberalism. The Africanists take the best in the system and discard the out-moded, useless and anti-popular. They borrow the form of political democracy at its best and reject and discard its capitalist base, its background, content and antecedents.



The Africanists are aware that in the Western Democracies the state is the instrument of capitalist classes, wielding the decisive economic power, which determines the control of the state and governmental machinery. Hence the masses in the West, although possessed of political power in theory, are, relatively to the capitalists, denied those economic, social and cultural benefits which should flow from the exercise of a universal franchise, precisely because the theoretical political democracy is not grounded on a corresponding socio-economic democracy. The decisive means of production and the control of the wealth and means of life are in the hands of the capitalists.

In Africanist political economy the political democracy is grounded on an economic base of socialist production, and the toiling masses will take a leading part in building an Africanist socialist non-racial democratic order.

Following their thesis of borrowing the best from the East and the West the Africanists favour a planned socialist economy - a field in which the Soviet Union has pioneered, to be followed by Mao Tse Tung's China. The Africanists believe in scientific objectivity, consummate and non-partisan, and they will learn the best that can be learned and assimilated from the East. But so much of what is best will be borrowed or copied as will, in the view of Africa, and in the light of her peculiar situation, advance her cause, as she understands it, and her own struggle for a new democratic Afrika in which the masses of the people will have a rising standard of living, and finally a full, abundant life.

What is not good for Africa will definitely be rejected, whether it is from the East or the West. Hence the Africanists reject the totalitarianism which has become manifest in some of the states of the East, in favour of full political democracy including freedom of expression and constructive criticism.

"Africans riding astride two horses?";

Mr. Joe Matthews derides the idea of borrowing the best from all systems. He says that Mr. Sobukwe "is inviting the Africans to ride astride two horses going in opposite directions". But Mr. Matthews has missed the whole point of Mr. Sobukwe's thesis. Apart from the form of political democracy and representative government which has developed in the West, the West made phenomenal progress during the capitalist era in the fields of scientific discoveries, development of industrial techniques, advances in technology, achievements in art, law, literature and so on. Some of these achievements are a permanent heritage of all mankind. They will survive the destruction of the capitalist system in itself. Africanism envisages the assimilation of the permanent achievements of the capitalist era, so as to make them the basis or part of a basis for further developments and achievements in the course of building a New Afrika. Mr. Matthews could perhaps comprehend this without being puerile, naive and contemptuous.

Says Mr. Joe Matthews: "Mr. Sobukwe knows nothing of the Socialist countries except what he hears from the capitalists". Mr. Matthews here shows a degree of arrogant conceit which is hard to understand. Presumably he is the only one who knows anything at all. Other people have been told by the capitalists. He himself is not known to have visited any



of the Socialist countries, so that what he knows he has read from books, among other sources. Mr. Matthews is thus the only man who can read books with any amount of intelligence. One rather fears that he has an exaggerated opinion of himself.

It is nonsense to deny the existence of totalitarianism, say, in Russia. As Mr. Matthews seems to deny that, he must also say that Kruschov told a lie at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party when he exposed and denounced Stalin's totalitarian policies and practices. That is only one of the things that can be cited in support of the charge of totalitarianism.

Mr. Matthews should not have employed cheap propagandist stunts. He should have faced the question honestly, and merely sought to justify the totalitarian regimes, say, on the ground of contemporary historical circumstances bearing upon the origin, development and consolidation of Socialism in the present world setting.

Attacking Mr. Sobukwe's thesis on the position of Africanism in the present world setting, Mr. Matthews declares: "The whole world is marching to Socialism, and the only argument is on how to carry out the re-organisation of society on the basis of Socialism".

This statement is meant to be a repudiation of Mr. Sobukwe's stand, and a disclaimer of his idea of an Africanist Socialist Democracy. Nevertheless, Mr. Matthews' statement does nothing to remove the reality of imperialist-colonialist domination of Afrika, against which the forces of African nationalism are now locked in mortal combat throughout the continent. It does nothing to remove the reality of the emergence of new African States which will move along one road or along different roads towards the realisation of their aspirations for a full life of freedom and plenty for all. What is implicit in the statement is the indication, by Mr. Matthews, of a pre-determined, orthodox, fixed, text-book road, which must be prescribed for Afrika, and to which we must be inexorably committed beforehand, irrespective of the wishes of the people of Afrika or the needs or circumstances characteristic of the African situation. Implicit in it is a slavish adherence, chapter and verse and line, sinker and hook, to the development of socialism as depicted in the Marxian text-books.

To that type of thing the Africanists are totally opposed. The Africanists favour a road of development towards an Africanist society which will take account of the unique conditions and circumstances in Afrika, as also the people's peculiar capacity for social construction in an African setting. This thesis, in its fundamentals, recognises the need for learning from both the East and the West, and for taking the very best from all the peoples of the earth, and building forward and upward:

On the basis of what the Africans themselves achieved in the past,  
on the basis of what they desire for themselves in the future,  
on the basis of their capacity to build with their own hands, harnessing their own talent and creative genius.

That is the road to which the Africans are committed. It is a great road, and it implies and involves stupendous



sacrifices and great leadership. But it is a road which the masses of Africa will increasingly understand, and which they will inevitably follow. After all, Africa will be the last continent to be free from the yoke of imperialism. Afrika will have the whole world to learn from. She will have no excuse for repeating the mistakes made by other continents. She will have no excuse for failing to adopt the best that she will require to build her new society. Essentially, however, she must be free to take what she wants, and to discard what she does not want. Any attempt to bludgeon Afrika into necessarily swallowing what other countries have had to do, must be rejected in a clear and decisive way. Africa claims complete freedom to shape her destiny in her own way, and the machinations of schemers, plotters and agents of foreign powers must be completely exposed and discredited.

"Africa wooed by Soviet - American Blocs?":

Mr. Matthews charges:

- (i) that Mr. Sobukwe pretends that Africa is somehow exempt from the inevitable historical processes that are at work in the rest of the world,
- (ii) that Mr. Sobukwe gives the impression that the Soviet Union is somehow trying to gain control of Afrika.

As regard (i) above, Mr. Matthews' conclusion is far-fetched and one-sided. The historical processes throughout the world impel the dynamic movement of oppressed peoples and classes towards independence and freedom, and in some countries towards socialism.

In Africa the vanguard of the struggle for independence and freedom are the African nationalist movements. Mr. Sobukwe has condemned the idea of a South African Exceptionalism, and he has indicated that the historical processes motivating the freedom struggle in the rest of Afrika must necessarily not leave South Africa untouched, because objectively South Africa is part of a whole that is Afrika. Mr. Sobukwe's point is precisely this: That the freedom struggle in South Africa should be on the basis of African nationalism, and that it should be regarded as part of a Pan African, trans-continental emancipatory struggle. It is thus Mr. Joe Matthews himself an enemy of African nationalism and Africanism, who tries to be blind to the historical trends in Africa, and "to pretend that South Africa is somehow exempt from the inevitable historical processes that are at work in the rest of Afrika".

Said Mr. Sobukwe: "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 no doubt that the Americans have no troops in Africa like the other imperialist powers such as Britain and Belgium and France, but the reality of American dollar imperialism can, all the same, not be denied. America is making a big bid to win over the emergent African states into the Western camp. An attempt is thus being made to draw Africa into the arena of "cold war" against the socialist camp - in particular against the Soviet Bloc. Mr. Sobukwe thus felt compelled to sound a sharp warning that Africa will not



align herself against the Soviet Bloc, and that she will adopt a policy of Positive Neutrality. Mark you, not neutrality in the struggle against imperialism. But neutrality in the "cold war" struggle of the Blocs, in so far as this does not touch the destiny of Afrika. The double mission of emergent Afrika, namely, to liquidate colonialism and imperialism, and to secure her complete independence from all powers, be they of the East or of the West, is thus underlined.

There is also no doubt that "there is not one single private of the Red Army on African soil". But that does not mean that present day Russia, in terms of the economic and ideological cold war, is not keen, desperately keen, to compete with America and the West in giving financial, technical and economic aid to the African states, with a view amongst others to gaining a vantage point in the world-wide "cold war" struggle of the main power blocs.

There is no doubt that Russia is keen to win the friendship of emergent Afrika, and where possible to draw Afrika into her orbit in the global "cold war" struggle. Mr. Sobukwe thus felt compelled at this stage, and rightly so, to warn sternly that "it is not the intention of African states to change one master (Western imperialism) for another (Soviet tutelage)".

That surely does not mean, as Mr. Matthews seems to understand it, that there are Soviet troops in Africa, or that there is a threat of Soviet (imperialist) invasion of Africa. The warning relates both to the present and the future, and it is meant to be understood as meaning:-

(a) That however much friendly aid from Russia will be welcome in the New Africa, it will not and should not mean that Africa will thus place herself under Soviet influence, ideological or otherwise, or align herself necessarily against the Western European nations and peoples,

(b) That in the struggle against imperialism the Africans believe in their capacity to achieve their freedom themselves in their own way, using their own methods, and that they reject the idea of their being liberated, for therein lie the seeds of their domination by, and vassalage to, another power or other powers, in place of the Western imperialists.

(c) That when Africa shall have been free from Western imperialism and white domination, when she shall have been free, she will maintain a policy of friendship and co-operation with the freedom-longing peoples of the East and the West, on a basis of equality. But that she will jealously and vigorously guard her independence and her freedom to build her society in her own way, without any power or power-bloc whatsoever trying to ram a particular brand of ideology or system down the throats of the peoples of Africa.

It would be most surprising if Mr. Matthews quarrelled with this view, and went out of his way to advocate the vassalage of Africa either to America or Russia, or any other foreign power. Yet it is precisely such an eventuality that Mr. Sobukwe warned against. Independent-thinking Africans throughout the continent, no doubt endorsed Mr. Sobukwe's thesis.



"The Capitalist System by 1913".

It is quite true, as Mr. Joe Matthews says, that "imperialism reduced the whole world of Africa into a colonial hunting-ground of capitalist exploitation". Mr. Sobukwe does not deny this. His reference to the liquidation of imperialism in the East and the transformation of Africa into a last battle-ground in the colonial world did not mean that that marked the beginning of the struggle against imperialism in Afrika. It merely meant that the scene of battle has become concentrated in Africa, and, by implication, that the forces ranged against imperialism have a much more difficult historic task to perform, namely, the complete routing of imperialism and colonialism in Africa.

Mr. Joe Matthews further says: "It is then (i.e. in 1913) that the problem of African freedom from imperialism and colonialism arose". Yes in a strictly "technical" restricted sense the struggle of the oppressed African people became anti-imperialist in addition to being anti-colonialist, just about the era preceding the first world war.

Yet in a broad sense we in South Africa had to contend with the might of the British Empire long before 1913 - long before the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) even.

I am not suggesting that Mr. Matthews meant that the African Struggle for freedom began in 1913. But an unformed person reading his critique of Africanism would gain that impression.

The fact of the matter is that the struggle of the Africans for freedom and independence in Southern Africa began three hundred or more years ago, when the whites first set foot on our part of the continent, and when our forefathers fought the heroic wars of resistance, e.g. in Xhosaland, Zululand, Basutoland, Pediland and so on. Then the struggle took a military form. After the conquest of our territories, the struggle was continued, but by other forms, such as the political forms.

Colonialism did not begin in 1913. During the era of capitalist imperialism, colonialism became linked with imperialism in adopting higher techniques of domination and exploitation with world-wide, international ramifications.

When our Xhosa forces first clashed with the British forces in the historic Eastern Frontier they were challenging the forces of British colonialism, just as, before, they had locked in grim, bloody battle with the forces of Dutch colonialism.

The Africanists believe that our present struggles are a continuation of our past struggles, that the forces ranged against us have become more powerful, more complicated, and with international ramifications, and that the struggle against imperialism in the whole of Africa (including South Africa), like the struggles against colonialism and foreign white conquest in past times, will be fought and won on the basis of African nationalism and Pan Africanism. Forward then to independence! To independence now, and tomorrow the United States of Afrika !!

Conclusion :

This is a reply to Mr. Matthews' article in "Liberation". The reply as such is meant for the African people as a whole.



But to an even greater extent it is meant for the Youth of South Africa - in particular the Africanist Youth who are the leaders and people's teachers of tomorrow.

If Mr. Matthews' attack on Mr. Sobukwe's inaugural address, and this reply to the attack, can help to focus attention on the issues involved, evoke a deeper, more scientific approach to the problems of Afrika, whilst helping to clarify our thinking on the same, then a useful purpose will have been served by the ensuing polemical war.

- By Pan Afrika.

x-----x

Here and There - NEWS - Here and There.

Compiled by Monde.

The 1959 annual Conference of the A.N.C. has come and gone. Most of Conference time was occupied by a multi-racial meeting of all charterists, presided over by Naicker. It is reported that a resolution of mass demonstrations against the Union Festival of 1960 was passed by Conference. Surprise of the Charterists at this Conference was the failure by Professor Z.K. Matthews, who had been billed to open it, to make an appearance. He was later traced to King William's Town in the Cape, where he was reported to be attending a party of the "Invo Zabantsundu".

Some quarters consider it significant that Mr. Stephen Sebale should start realising now that "the aims and objects of our struggle cannot be attained through the courts of law". Perhaps the strain and futility of dragging a court sentence through to the Appellate Division, without success, is the only means capable of making him realise his miscalculation.

Mr. N. Mahomo, Secretary for Cultural Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress, has arrived in Johannesburg from Cape Town where he is studying. Mr. Mahomo reports increased activity in the Western Cape for the cause of P.A.C.

"P.A.C. on Guard - In defence of P.A.C. Policy and Programme" is the title of a pamphlet soon to be published by the Pan Africanist Congress. Extracts from this pamphlet appear elsewhere in this issue of THE AFRICANIST. Readers are urged to make sure they obtain a copy of the pamphlet itself by placing an order with the Editor of THE AFRICANIST, P.O. Box 1610, Johannesburg. Limited copies available. Place your order now. The cost is only one-shilling. Post free.

Mr. P.K. Leballo, national Secretary of the P.A.C., has expressed concern at the unjustified provocation of Windhoek Africans by the authorities there. In an exclusive interview with THE AFRICANIST, Mr. Leballo strongly deplored the continued display of ruthless force by the imperialists on innocent and unarmed Africans. "Let the colonialists take heed that Afrika shall no longer tolerate the unjust molestation of the African People in their rightful continent", he concluded.



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