

THE AFRICANIST

Official Organ of the Pan Africanist Congress,

Published and issued through

THE EDITOR

P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG. S.A.

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1960.

THE EDITOR SPEAKS

P.A.C. LAUNCHES :

The Pan Africanist Congress is about to take the first step in its grand march to African independence. At any moment now the President will call upon the African people to go into positive action against the Pass Laws, and P.A.C. will have crossed its historical Rubicon.

Period of Strategy :

We have all but won the ideological battle. There is just no ideological opposition to the P.A.C. Our ideas have been readily accepted by the African masses. And the reason is not far to seek: Ours is the only real alternative to White supremacist tyranny. Ours is the only real and lasting solution to Africa's problems. Ours is the only genuinely democratic solution! We have hitched our wagon to the highest and noblest human ideals. To the single racialism of the White minority and the multi-racialism of the "Congress Alliance" we posit non-racialism. To the tyrannical rule of the foreign White minority we pose a common society laying stress on the material and spiritual interests of the individual. To the shameless exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few we pose a planned economy and the most equitable distribution of wealth. And that the African people have accepted.

We now pass on to the phase of strategy and tactics. Having delineated our goals in the clearest terms we now have to guide the masses towards those objectives. And this is the period that is going to test the mettle of our leadership. The Pan Africanist Congress has decided to secure the total abolition of the Pass Laws. This means that not only the dom pass must go, but also the Labour Bureaux and influx control regulations must go with it. And the question is how best can we achieve that.

The Pan Africanist Congress will have to make it clear to the people that the first essential is a mental divorce from the Pass Laws. Our people have been so conditioned to the dom pass that they have been known to risk death in an attempt to salvage it from a burning building. In fact an African does not feel that he is himself if he does not feel the weight of the dom pass in his pocket. What is necessary, then, is for every African to make up his mind that FROM THE DAY THE PRESIDENT MAKES THE CALL, HE (the African) WILL NEVER AGAIN CARRY THE DOM PASS !!!

Nature of Campaign :

It must be made clear to our people that this campaign

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is going to be carried out on the basis of absolute non-violence. We are not pacifists. We do not believe in giving the other cheek. But we are realists. We know that the fascist government, put in power by White South Africa, is at present itching for an opportunity to demonstrate its strength; its ability to meet any situation. And it will not hesitate to mow down hundreds of our people. That is the accepted morality of a large section of White South Africa. In fact, in Durban, a high-ranking police officer has stated that they are out for revenge. Our task and sacred duty is TO DENY THE POLICE THE EXCUSE AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHOOT ! Not because we are cowards, but because the only person to benefit from such shooting is the oppressor.

No diversion :

Once shooting takes place, Sons and Daughters of the Soil, what we had set out to achieve will be forgotten. The initiative will have passed on to the government and the police. There will be confusion and our ranks will be broken. We can achieve our objective only if we carry out FAITHFULLY the directives of the President. In that way we retain the initiative.

Of course, the police will provoke the people. They will murmur impossible commands. But we must remain calm in the face of police provocation. There might very well be paid agents among us who will throw stones at the police, or attempt to incite the people to violence. Anyone who does that is a traitor to our cause. We say so, because our immediate objective is to bring about the total abolition of the Pass Laws. And how can a running battle between the police and the people achieve that ? We do not want any African to die from police bullets in this campaign. Above anything else, we require DISCIPLINE in this campaign. We do not want mob hysteria or pseudo-revolutionarism. Let us leave stunts and spectacular exhibitionism to the quarters that are expert at them.

Sabotage :

It is quite clear that there already are attempts to sabotage our campaign. Certain Rip van Winkles have suddenly become aware that, like P.A.C., they must give "top priority" to the Pass issue. They cannot even use original phrases. Must they steal even our phraseology really ? Somewhere in this issue, one writer pleads for unity of action on the Pass issue, and is quite emphatic that P.A.C. will always place the interests of the African people first. We thank this Daughter of Afrika for her faith in P.A.C. leadership and we wish to assure her, here and now, that WE DO NOT CARE WHO CALLS FOR ACTION BEFORE US ON THIS ISSUE. P.A.C. will enter fully and unreservedly into any genuine campaign against the Pass Laws provided: (a) the leaders go in front and (b) they launch under the slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine". To us that is the only genuine campaign. The African people have done away with protests and "mass demonstrations" that serve merely to dissipate our energies. And they have done away with the "cautious"; middle-class leadership that believes that suffering is meant for the masses only.

Our leaders will be in front, where leaders should be. They will lead under the slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine". And the masses of the African people, whose lives are rendered desperate and bleak by the devilish Pass Laws, will follow the leaders. TO JAIL !

In 1960, then, Sons and Daughters of Afrika, we take the first step in the march towards freedom. In 1963 we take the last. We have fashioned a key to open the gates of heaven. Our key may probably be crude, but we will improve it and very soon, by 1963 to be precise, we shall open the gates to a full, clean, pure and genuinely democratic life in a United States of Afrika. Forward then to Independence ! To independence now !! Tomorrow the United States of Afrika !!!

IZWE LETHU ! i-AFRIKA !!

<p>In a letter addressed to Mr. Potlako K. Leballo, national secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, Dr. Tom Mboya's private secretary concludes: "may we assure you of continued support and interest in your struggle against the Boer savages and that we will not rest until the whole of Africa is free".</p>	<p>Pass this Copy of THE AFRICANIST to your next friend</p>
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PRESS REACTION TO P.A.C. CONFERENCE

By "Observer".

The Pan Africanist Congress stands for the ending of white domination, the attainment of African national freedom self-determination, and the establishment of lasting relations of human brotherhood and equality in our land. To what extent do other national groups and other ideological camps subscribe to or reject the Africanist stand-point ? This question is answered, to some extent, by the attitude of the Press towards the recent P.A.C. conference at Orlando on the 19th and 20th December, 1959.

On the whole there was a general conspiracy of silence about the P.A.C. conference. Where there was mention of it, a deliberate attempt was made to belittle it and to poohpooh its decisions. In some cases the Press went out of way to indulge in bare-faced mendacity and unabashed falsification. The more stupid of the papers went so far as to pretend that the conference did not take place at all. The clear aim was to keep P.A.C. ideas and P.A.C. resolutions from the masses of the people.

The most openly blatant enemy of the P.A.C., of course, is the "Golden City Post". Long before the conference this paper was already accusing P.A.C. of "talking big". It was the same "Golden City Post" which first peddled the fabrication that P.A.C. has a "master-plan" (to overthrow the state). A few days thereafter, the Special Branch Police visited the P.A.C. National Secretary and asked about the "plan". The open incitement of the police to act against P.A.C., which the "Golden City Post" has been recklessly indulging in, must be carefully noted by all P.A.C. members in particular, and by the African people as a whole. Although the P.A.C. leadership gave the Press no details of its contemplated campaign against the passes the "Golden City Post", with its usual officiousness and brazen effrontery, sold the public a story that P.A.C. had decided on a Defiance Campaign against the passes.

The question is why "Post" chooses to behave like this towards the P.A.C. ? Firstly, it must be borne in mind that

during the days of the break-away from the African National Congress, the "Golden City Post" handled the Africanists with tact, and it frequently talked of "moderate elements" among the Africanists. It still hoped then either to divide the Africanists or to lead them as a whole towards the cul de sac of political futility. Once it became clear that the Africanists could no longer be broken, and that they had declared for a policy of genuine non-racialism and self-determination for the masses of Africa, the "Golden City Post" took fright. It began, then, casting about for a new way to side-track the Charterist Congress, and at the same time to steal the thunder from the Pan Africanist Congress. "Our" "resourceful" "Post", then and there, came forward with the brand-new idea of an all-in non-racial Party which could swallow up the existing organisations. The Charterist top leadership shrewdly saw through "Post's" torrent of honeyed words and kite-flying.

It was clear, for instance, that "Post" was not enamoured of the Congress of Democrats, and that it disliked the idea of the Freedom Charter being the basis of the alliance of the so-called Congress organisations. The whole idea of a "non-racial" Party (for "non" read "multi") was, of course, to bypass the Freedom Charter, seek a new basis for merging, and launch out a programme skilfully shorn of all or any leftist undertones.

When this wild, desperate "Post" adventure received a set-back, then that paper began the new "Luthuli cult of personality" in dead earnest. The big idea was to groom and condition Chief Luthuli for a new role as a future South African leader of all the people, both black and white, so that when the political climate became more favourable, at some future time, for the re-introduction of the idea of a non-racial (all-South African) Party, Chief Luthuli should assume the lead.

Thus poor "Post" still continues to labour under a delusion. The poor paper forgets that Chief Luthuli is not the A.N.C., and that the men who control the A.N.C. and shape its policy have nothing in common with "Post's" type of swash-buckling, drum-beating and trumpet-blowing, mingled with veritable sheepish bleating.

All this, of course, was long after someone in the columns of "New Age" had administered a sharp rebuke to "Post", for daring to command a Liberation Movement, and telling the people's leaders what to do and what not to do. That paper blatantly advised the "City Post" to give orders to the prostitutes and thugs whose stories fill the columns of the "Post".

But, then, why does "Post" act in this manner towards the Pan Africanist Congress? Why? That is the question.

Of course the "Golden City Post" is a paper of the big money-bags, the millionaires, and the high-powered tycoons. The triumph of the P.A.C. policy would mean the redemption of the toiling masses on whose exploitation the big money-bags have fattened over the years. The "Post" which represents the liberal wing of the most reactionary capitalist forces of Western Europe, sees Africa as a vast colonial field for Western capital. In fighting P.A.C. the "City Post" is doing its job (as an ideological bridge-head, among the non-Whites, of the capitalist colonialist forces which seek to lay the foundations, in the emergent African states, for reducing the continent into a financial and economic colony of Western imperialism).

Readers should not be bluffed by the loud-mouthed claims of the "Post" to being a non-White (even African) organ.

"Post" frequently harps on "we non-whites", "we Africans" and so on, in a laughable attempt to identify the oppressed people with the big money-bags who have fattened from African cheap labour. "Post" remains a paper of the big money-bags despite its high-sounding pretensions.

f o r w a r d t o
P O S I T I V E A C T I O N

"The Star" and "Rand Daily Mail".

There is no doubting the hostility of the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail" towards African nationalism in general and the Pan Africanist Congress in particular. Yet for all that, the two papers gave a fair, albeit short, report of the Orlando Pan Africanist Congress conference. Both gave an accurate report on the main resolution on the passes, even though the "Mail" tried to minimize the conference by placing the figure of the delegations at a bare 270. On the other hand, the "Star" reported that there were more than 600 delegates at the conference. None of the papers, however, was able to admit that at the opening session, during the Presidential Address, there were anything between 900 and 1,000 people in the packed Communal Hall. It was quite amazing and amusing to note how the newspapermen stupidly imagine themselves to hold the fate of organisations in the hollow of their hands. They do not seem to bother, for instance, to get the correct figures by the simple process of counting or by having the correct figures given them by the proper officials. They arrogate to themselves the right to make sweeping and almost always false estimations. Truly the Press in South Africa is becoming more and more ridiculous. The public are rapidly losing faith in the veracity of the Press.

One Reef journal.

One so-called African Reef Paper, so far feared to report the main resolutions of the conference, and to admit the undoubted success of the conference itself, that it contented itself with publishing at its back page, usually reserved for sports reports, a disjointed version of the Presidential Address. More prominence was given to remarks on Mac Millan, than either the gist of the address or the main decisions of the conference. It is to such low levels of shoddy hypocrisy that the subservient, tamed, so-called non-White Press has sunk in its efforts to keep the ideas of Pan Africanism from the Africans. However it is too late now - too late for its skelm schemes to succeed.

The rest of the White Press in the country contented itself with a short report giving the number of people attending as 400, and referring in brief to fraternal greetings by Premier Dr. Nkrumah and Sekou Toure. Some of the member papers of the Bantu Press, such as the "Imvo", did not even make passing mention of the Pan Africanist Congress conference.

"New Age".

Standing only second to "Post" in its blatant, blind, jaundiced and fanatical hostility to the Pan Africanist Congress is Cape Town's "New Age", a mouth-piece of White "progressive" elements either within or supporting the Congress alliance.

"New Age" was represented by a young African journalist. His report (I presume it was his report), as it appeared in "New Age" was shot through and through with shameless omissions, downright distortions and falsifications, and mendacious lies which only stunted minds could manufacture.

To give only two examples. "New Age" says that a conference attended by over 400 delegates, and at which a historically important decision on the passes was taken, was a "farce" and a "mere publicity stunt".

This is truly amazing, and those who attended the conference must have rubbed their eyes in sheer disbelief and wonder at such crude lying. Then again "New Age" avoids giving the correct version of the decision on the passes, and it mischievously distorts the wording of the crucial resolution of the conference. Where the P.A.C. conference had resolved to take "final and decisive positive action" against the passes, "New Age" report talks of "a final decisive undertaking on the pass laws". The "New Age" report deliberately tries to rob the decision of its meaning, and to make it nonsensical.

Now, why does "New Age" indulge in these cheap anti-P.A.C. stunts? "New Age" is published by a group of white progressives, so-called, who advocate a multi-racial order in South Africa, in which the Africans can have an increasing share, and in which the rights and privileges of the whites can be guaranteed and entrenched in advance.

They see in P.A.C.'s theory of a non-racial Africanist Democracy a serious threat to white hegemony in South Africa, and they dread the idea of a democratic rule by Africans, and abhor the proposition of self-determination for the vast literate and semi-literate masses of South Africa. Hence their declaration of relentless war on P.A.C. and all what P.A.C. stands for.

Now, from the very beginning "New Age" belittled Africanism and represented the Africanists as villains and thugs. "New Age" readers must continue to be fed with the same old myth of wild men, fanatics and starry-eyed young demagogues. In spite of the undeniable growth of P.A.C., and the increasing clarification and popular appeal of its policies, "New Age" finds itself under the necessity of having to keep up appearances even in the face of stark facts which steadily falsify the "New Age" bed-time fairy tales. Because "New Age" had represented the Africanists as a doomed sectarian and splinter clique, it must continue to make believe that the Africanists are either dead or dying. Because "New Age" had told its readers that Africanist policies had been decisively rejected by the people, it must continue making believe that their conferences are "a farce". But in this case, as one can see, "New Age" is in the grip of Nemesis. It can, for instance, not admit the spectacular growth of P.A.C. without exposing or showing up its own miscalculations and sometimes deliberate distortions and half-truths and lies, in the immediate past. It is thus compelled to follow the ostrich policy of hiding the head in the sand, and pretending that what it does not want to see, does not exist.

But this ostrich policy is dangerous, in that it sometimes boomerangs in the most unexpected ways. What would happen, for instance, if "New Age" readers wake up one day to find P.A.C. a really powerful organisation? Would they not feel that "New Age" misled them by deliberate misinformation, misrepresentation and understatement.

Therein lies a real danger to "New Age" - the danger of being found out, and of being classified with the capitalist Press as a purveyor of distortions, falsifications and lies.

Nobody expects "New Age" to support causes in which it does not believe. "New Age" has a full right and in fact a duty to

attack P.A.C. as vehemently and as consistently as it pleases. But "New Age" has just as great a duty (as an organ which professes to champion the cause of liberation) to base its criticism and attacks on an honest evaluation of correctly reported facts in the first instance. "New Age" has a duty as a "progressive paper" (to use its own description) to be honest to its readers who number men and women of all schools of thought, P.A.C. members included. If more and more people came to regard "New Age" as unreliable and cheaply partizan, its editors will only have themselves to blame. But that is a field in which "New Age" reporters themselves might show a lesser degree of subservience and a greater degree of intellectual honesty.

Conclusion :

The over-all result of the Press "virtual boycott" of the P.A.C. conference has been that the most momentous conference of recent times has passed unnoticed. This is nothing short of treachery to the people of South Africa who are entitled to know through the Press what is happening in this land. Here we find the singular example of a Press imposing a mad censorship on itself long before the Fascists have clamped down the steel curtain of suppression of free reportage. This situation gives dramatic poignancy to the Pan Africanist Congress challenge: "No Press has built us up and no Press can destroy us".

The Pan Africanist Congress has shown itself quite capable of building its organisation by the use of advanced methods than which there is very little better. Hence the magnitude of their last conference. One rather feels that the time may not be far off when the Press will be bound to report P.A.C. activities whether it likes it or not.

A MESSAGE FROM GHANA -

The General Secretary of the Convention People's Party in Ghana has written to the National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress as follows :-

forward against Passes

Dear Brave Son of Africa,

I have just received news bearing on the deliberations of the First Annual Conference of the Pan Africanist Congress.

I note with pride the inspired decisions taken by our brother Freedom Fighters of the South and on behalf of my Party, I affirm that the great struggle for redemption of our beloved Africa continues until victory is achieved.

Please convey our hearty congratulations to your organisation and say that we here in the West and the great C.P.P. stand solidly behind you.

Best Wishes, Yours in the service of Africa,

Sgd. Tawia Adamafio.

GENERAL SECRETARY C.P.P.

are YOU playing your role in the POSITIVE AND FINAL ACTION AGAINST THE PASS LAWS ?

are YOU shouldering your share of the burden against the PASS LAWS ?

REMEMBER the millions persecuted daily !

exploited and banished in isolation !!

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Compiled by : Monde.

Recently back from an extensive organisational tour of the Cape Province, is President Mr. Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, National Secretary Mr. Potlako K. Leballo and National Executive member Mr. H. Ngcobo of Durban. From all reports their tour of the Cape was a success, especially in the Peninsula, where more than three thousand people rallied to a mammoth meeting held at Langa township and at which the President and his party outlined the plan of the forthcoming Positive Action by the P.A.C.

Places visited in this tour included, amongst others, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, King William's town, East London, Stutterheim, Queenstown and Aliwal North. In the latter half of their tour, the party was joined by National Organiser Mr. E. Mfaza of the Cape.

Commenting on the tour the President said: "One has to see for himself in order to believe and appreciate the amount of courageous devotion to our noble cause that there is down in the Cape". And, added "P.K." (for Mr. Leballo): "Our pleasant and successful round of that Province has confirmed the fact that the great liberatory creed of African nationalism is sweeping down the continent like an avalanche force - and alas ! it has reached even the shores of the southern-most tip of our great continent". Said Mr. Ngcobo, rather philosophically, "P.A.C. organisers down there have shown themselves to be mature and possessed with purposeful discipline".

Mr. A.J. Luthuli is reported, by a Johannesburg Sunday paper, to have said that his organisation (he is president of the A.N.C.) shall not join hands with the Pan Africanist Congress in the latter's POSITIVE AND FINAL ACTION AGAINST THE PASS LAWS due to be launched very soon. Replying to a question by a reporter of that paper, Mr. Luthuli said: "I don't think it would be advisable to join hands with P.A.C., as my organisation has its own programme and P.A.C. its own".

Me and numerous others, who are unable to indulge in Platonic Discourses, are just beginning to wonder what different kind of oppression is aimed at by the "different kind of programme" of Mr. Luthuli's organisation.

News has reached us that Mr. C. Mlokoti, P.A.C. Regional Chairman of the Western Cape, was arrested at Nyanga township immediately after addressing a crowded meeting recently. Mr. Mlokoti, who is said during his address of the meeting to have appealed to African members of the South African Police to resign because they were being used against their own black people, was charged the following day at the Wynberg Magistrate's Court. Up to the time of going to print no further information is available. Please see stop press. (Last page).

"I am launching" has found its way into our everyday vocabulary up here. Recently, as I was going down the street, I noticed a friend amongst a group of men netted in the notorious dawn Pass Raids. Apparently something was amiss with his tax payments. Shouted he to me: "Chum, I am launching, and when will you ?" "I shall launch", I assured him and within me I reflected - by the way the call is still to come.

And 'tis a fact. The call to FINAL AND POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST THE PASS LAWS is coming. Very soon too. And perhaps we shall both ruminate over this last sentence in Jail, but assured that in 1963 we shall come out into a free, democratic S. Africa.

by Chakijana.

The Dilemma of Leadership ? Not so long ago I was in Pietersburg on my way from Zoekmekaar. What was my surprise ? when one African who had every appearance of a peasant said to me, in the course of a discussion on the political situation in the country: "What we common people are interested in are none of the divisions of the top leaderships of the organisations. What interests us is something that can unite us in action".

The man was right. He touched my heart, for I remembered how pleased I was when the Pan Africanist Congress openly declared its support for the A.N.C.'s potato boycott, and also the boycott of goods. I said to myself "here is what we have been waiting for; the unselfish action of unselfish leaders". The truth is that we are sick and tired of pointless and treacherous partizanship among the leaders.

The same could not be said of the past actions of our organisations. I do not intend to throw mud at any particular body. But it will help us to refresh our minds, to mention that during the Defiance Campaign a prominent leader of a Cape organisation was not ashamed to issue a damaging statement against the A.N.C., and against the Defiance Campaign at its very height. Naturally he thereby earned the admiration and gratitude of the rulers. That reminds me of another historical instance in recent times. It was in 1950, and the masses had been put on the ready for concerted mass action by the big decisions of the 1949 A.N.C. conference. But certain elements within the Leftist movement began to exploit the enthusiasm of the people. They staged a series of demonstrations designed to steal the thunder from the A.N.C., to anticipate and distort its programme, stealing some portions of it, and to attempt to put the Leftists at the lead of the popular movement - even if that meant the disruption and deflection of the A.N.C., and the destruction of its mighty, historic programme of 1949. Thus South Africa witnessed the Freedom of Speech Convention demonstrations of March or April 1950, and the Freedom Day demonstrations of May 1st 1950.

Result: When Congress at last swung into action on June 26th 1950, it was not possible to harness the entire mass of the African people. Their militancy and enthusiasm had been blunted by the series of diversionary adventures which preceded June 26th 1950. From that time onward the A.N.C. lost its grasp and meaning of the 1949 Programme, and it sacrificed the building of a powerful African national front at the alter of "multi-racial" agitations and unco-ordinated, unprogrammatic actions.

L O S T

Extremely valuable manuscripts

ABOUT 25 POEMS, AVERAGING 100 LINES EACH, AND 15 "SHORT - STORIES" OF UNUSUAL BEAUTY HAVE BEEN LOST. THEY WERE BEING TYPED AT 52 KING'S CHAMBERS, 49 COMMISSIONER STREET WHEN THEY MYSTERIOUSLY DISAPPEARED UNDER VERY SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES. THE MSS. BELONG TO MR. MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE. BOTH THE POEMS AND THE STORIES HAVE BEEN PRAISED TO THE SKIES BY BOTH LITERARY CRITICS AND RANK-AND-FILE AS OUTSTANDING, UNUSUAL, REALISTIC AND VERY BEAUTIFUL.

The African people have been slow to learn from these decisive events. Indeed one fears that even now some of us Africans have not yet learnt much.

I had hardly arrived in Johannesburg when I learnt that a leading African Congressite had boasted that the Congress Alliance has the funds, so that if they so wished they could "jam" any action that P.A.C. started. This gentleman might have been expressing his

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own particular view. Yet at the same time he might have been expressing a view generally held by certain individuals within the leadership of the Congress Alliance. If this assumption is correct it means

that so soon as P.A.C. starts its campaign, then the Congress Alliance will immediately swing its tremendous propaganda machine into rapid action, in an effort to destroy or deflect the P.A.C. campaign. If this happens, quite a lot of interesting and unexpected things will happen, but none can predict the end-result with any certainty.

On the other hand, the Congress Alliance might decide to anticipate the P.A.C. action, and launch an anti-pass campaign of its own with a hope to steal the thunder from P.A.C. If that happens, then the P.A.C. leadership will have to do some quick thinking, and whatever they decide upon will, of course, be determined not by selfish organisational interests, but by the fundamental interests of the freedom struggle, and more particularly the masses of the Africans themselves.

However, it is known that within the Congress Alliance there are some shrewd African political strategists, who realise that this is not the time for a cheap partisanship, that the situation in the country requires clarity and calmness, and that perhaps the time has come for united, peaceful, disciplined mass action in the course of which the African leaders will willy-nilly be forced by the African masses themselves to find a common platform of unity of action over the Pass issue.

"No bail, no defence, no fine". What does all this amount to? It amounts to this: Once a campaign is launched on the basis of the P.A.C. programme, then the slogan "No bail, no defence, no fine" will be invoked. For example, in the course of the positive action against the Passes, the leaders will be in front under the slogan "No bail, no defence, no fine".

But all this does not mean that where a P.A.C. member is arrested and charged for any reason whatsoever, including a political reason, he will invoke or apply the slogan. There is no need for us to become nonsensical and impossible in these matters. The slogan has, therefore, clear limitations, and it is strictly limited to the field defined for positive action at any given time. Let us take a case like that of Mr. P.K. Leballo. He is charged for failing to show a permit to be in the Union as a Basutoland-born African. This is a matter in which he has to defend himself if he so chooses, because it is not immediately within the field of the action contemplated by the Pan Africanist Congress, because P.A.C. has not launched its action.

Another example is the Treason Trial which has held the stage as the central event in South Africa in the last three years. The legal defence of our fellows in the Treason case must be maintained with unflagging zeal until the end. Whether Positive Action is launched or not, the Treason Trial must go on, and if some of the big leaders of the A.N.C. are tied down by the Trial, they should let others, especially the younger fellows, lead the masses in the programmes which the A.N.C. conference in Durban foreshadowed.

Discipline within Positive Action (see page eleven).

ANYBODY WHO HAS ANY KNOWLEDGE OF THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE MANUSCRIPTS (SEE BOTTOM OF P. NINE), SHOULD PLEASE WRITE TO THE EDITOR, "THE AFRICANIST", P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG.

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POSITIVE ACTION NOW

Discipline within Positive Action.

The matter of discipline is one of vital importance, and P.A.C. members should take careful note of these remarks.

Firstly, we have to realise that we are claiming our rights from rulers who enjoy a preponderance of power, military and otherwise. Moreover the present government is by no means in a mood to trifle with us. So that we can expect the very worst treatment for our leaders. Let us have no illusions about this. But why do we place our leaders in front? Indeed, that is the crucial issue.

In a struggle such as ours the most important factor is united disciplined action - mark you, action that is quiet, calm, disciplined, peaceful and relentless. Only the leaders can impart such a coherence and oneness among the people. From the action of the leaders - from their resolute courage, their unbreakable calmness and their unflinching readiness for untold suffering in the common cause - the people will derive the necessary solidarity and purposiveness to carry them forward in their struggle for ending the Passes.

Hence there are certain requirements which the people themselves must be ready to carry out, and it is the task of all the layers of leaders, from the top-most to the branches, to impart these on the masses. Firstly, the directives of the leaders must be carried out implicitly. Any deviation must amount to treachery. Secondly, it must be clearly understood by all that this is a normal, peaceful action designed to achieve a limited objective, namely, the abolition of the Passes or Pass Laws. Any phoney, second-rate revolutionarism and irresponsibility must be definitely discouraged. The youth have shown in other countries that they are capable of a high degree of discipline. And we shall require a highly disciplined youth to carry out the tasks before us.

Secondly, the people's courage must be based on high human ideals. The struggle is not directed against the white minority. The struggle is for clear legitimate rights to which our people are entitled, and which a large section of the whites have agreed are now overdue - and that is to say the abolition of the Pass Laws. Yes, the struggle has a deep human significance. It is for all those things which all humanity desires. It is for lasting peace and true human relations in South Africa. It is for those things which, from an ethical and moral point of view, all men - be they black, white or yellow - can strive for and achieve. ENDED.

NKRUMAH sends a message to the P.A.C. Conference.

"I, together with the people of Ghana, wish you success in your deliberations. Be assured of our unlimited support in your noble struggle to liquidate the forces of imperialism, racialism and foreign domination in Africa".

KWAME NKRUMAH. Ghana.

COALBROOK mine disaster. "The Africanist" joins the whole nation in mourning for the great loss of life that occurred to over 400 African miners at the Coalbrook colliery in the O.F.S. The men, most of whom came from Basutoland and East Africa, were trapped 500 feet below ground level when a huge rock subsided as a result of earth movements in that area. It is to be hoped that the present judicial commission of enquiry into the disaster will be able to pin-point the immediate cause, so as to avoid a further recurrence of such great tragedy. ED.

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The telegram that follows hereunder was received from the President of the Republic of Guinea, Mr. Sekou Toure, on the occasion of the first National Conference of the P.A.C. held at Orlando, Johannesburg, on the 19th and 20th Dec., 1959.

POTLAKO LEBALLO, NATIONAL SECRETARY, PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS, P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG. S.A.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUINEA GROUPING IN THE SAME FIGHT FOR THE REAL INDEPENDENCE AND TRUE UNITY OF THE AFRICAN MOTHERLAND. ALL GUINEAN POPULATIONS EXTENDS ITS FRATERNAL AND HEARTFELT GREETINGS TO YOUR COURAGEOUS CONGRESS STOP. IT ARDENTLY WISHES THAT IN THE OUTLOOK OF A TOTAL REHABILITATION OF OUR PEOPLES YOUR PROCEEDINGS COULD DECISIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO THE TRIUMPH OF OUR COMMON STRUGGLE STOP. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUINEA DETERMINED TO CONTINUE ITS FIGHT UNTIL THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF THE AFRICAN MOTHERLAND. PARTICULARLY WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMPLETE SOLIDARITY WITH YOU AND TO ASSURE YOU OF ITS TOTAL FRATERNITY IN THE DIFFICULT AND COURAGEOUS ACTION WHICH YOU ARE CONDUCTING FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RECONQUEST OF YOUR MOST LEGITIMATE HUMAN RIGHTS, THE RECOVERING OF YOUR NATIONAL SOIL AND OF YOUR PROPERTY AND THE RESPECT OF YOUR DIGNITY STOP. AWARE OF THE FACT THAT A LOYAL COOPERATION AMONG PEOPLES MUST BE BASED ONLY ON ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES AND ON THE MOST TOTAL MUTUAL RESPECT THE P.D.G. REAFFIRMS TO YOU ITS DETERMINATION TO REMAIN THE CONSCIOUS EFFICIENT INSTRUMENT OF THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AFRICAN MOTHERLAND = SEKOU TOURE + CKS.



Africa



Collection Number: AD2183

Collection Name: Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), records

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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