

AFRICANIST

UU

Vol. V No. 1

DI

MAY/JUNE 1959

P 9, 13 & 14



OFFICIAL JOURNAL
OF THE

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS

FRICA

1/1

Official Organ Of The Pan-Africanist Congress,

Published and issued through

THE EDITOR

P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG.

MAY / JUNE, 1959.

T H E E D I T O R S P E A K S

CHOOSE NOW : OPPRESSION OR FREEDOM -

The PAN - AFRICANIST CONGRESS was successfully launched as the liberation movement of the African people at a convention held at the Communal Hall, Orlando, Johannesburg, from the 4th to the 6th of April, 1959.

ATTITUDE OF PRESS:

Right up to the time of the Convention, the whole White Press carried on a campaign of sustained denigration and belittlement against the Africanists. "New Age", of course, wallowed in the gutter as usual. But because of the determined hard work of our members, the almost desperate response of the desperate youth of our land, the Convention was, from all reports, a resounding success. This, in spite of the hostility of the Press. Since the Press is again engaged in a campaign of vilification, distortion and denigration, it is essential that we take this lesson to heart: that since no press has built us up, no press can destroy us. It must be made clear now, that no press can interpret our policy for us; no press can canalise our struggle; no press can command our subservience. But there is another lesson for us to learn, namely, that since we are the only people who can interpret our own policy and since it is our duty and obligation to reach all levels of African society, it is imperative that we immediately produce and run a paper of our own.

RESPONSE OF YOUTH.

The most striking thing about the Convention was the youthfulness of its composition. There was a freshness in the debates, a freshness in the approach to problems, a youthful freshness in the bearing of delegates which only young active minds and young active bodies could produce. Someone remarked, apropos the youthfulness of the delegates that there was in fact no need for a Youth League in the PAC! Because the movement as such was a movement of the youth.

Further evidence of the seriousness with which these youthful delegates approached their task is to be found not only in the fact that they were punctual, disciplined and patient - sitting for 16½ hours on Sunday - but also in the fact that they discussed, amended and studied critically a number of very important documents, such as the constitution, the manifesto and the declaration of policy. And then one learns from the A.N.C. statement on the emergence of the Pan-Africanist Congress, written by Duma Nokwe, that the "brains" of the A.N.C. could not understand our manifesto!! How revealing! The A.N.C. intellectuals could not understand what our semi-literate and

- 3 IV 1959. Orlando.

Secretariat,
Africanist Movement,
1144 Dube South, Johannesburg.

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR INAUGURAL CONVENTION CONVEY TO DELEGATES FRATERNAL GREETINGS STOP WISH MEETING EVERY SUCCESS IN UNITING AFRICAN PEOPLE IN NON VIOLENT AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND RACIALISM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF DETERMINATION = KWAME NKRUMAH.
+FIG 1144.

T H E O P E N I N G A D D R E S S

delivered by Mangaliso R. Sobukwe

a t

THE AFRICANIST INAUGURAL CONVENTION.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sons and Daughters of Afrika !
Mr. Speaker has already informed you that we had hoped that this inaugural Convention of the Africanists would be opened by Dr. Kazamu Hastings Banda, failing which, by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda of the Zambia African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia. Both have been unable to attend our convention, for both are now, in the language of the colonialists, "detained" in some concentration camps because they dared to demand the right of self-determination for the indigenous African people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The honourable task of opening this conference has, therefore, fallen on me, an Africanist, and I wish to thank the Central Committee for the honour. I am particularly grateful for the opportunity this offers me to treat briefly of certain issues relevant to our struggle which, though adequately treated in the documents that will be considered by this Convention, require to be presented to such a gathering.

I hope, then, Mr. Speaker, in the course of my address, to answer broadly questions pertaining to our stand in contemporary international politics, our relation to the states of Afrika, both independent and dependent, our attitude to the entire nationalist movement in Afrika, our stand on the question of Race in general and the so-called racial question in South Africa. Finally, I hope to outline briefly our ultimate objectives.

INTERNATIONAL SCENE:

We are living today, Sons and Daughters of the Soil, fighters in the cause of African freedom, we are living today in an era that is pregnant with untold possibilities for both good and evil. In the course of the past two years we have seen man breaking assunder, with dramatic suddenness, the chains that have bound his mind, solving problems which for ages it has been regarded as sacrilege even to attempt to

solve/Page Four.....

solve. The tremendous, epoch-making scientific achievements in the exploration of space, with man-made satellites orbiting the earth, the new and interesting discoveries made in the Geophysical year, the production of rust-resistant strains of wheat in the field of agriculture, the amazing discoveries in the fields of medicine, chemistry and physics - all these, mean that man is acquiring a better knowledge of his environment and is well on the way to establishing absolute control over that environment.

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

AFRIKA'S POSITION:

The question then arises, where does Afrika fit into this picture and where, particularly, do we African nationalists, we Africanists in South Afrika, fit in ?

There is no doubt that with the liquidation of Western imperialism and colonialism in Asia, the Capitalist market has shrunk considerably. As a result, Afrika has become the happy-hunting ground of adventuristic capital. There is again a scramble for Afrika and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to win the loyalty of the African states. Afrika is being wooed with more ardour than she has ever been. There is a lot of flirting going on, of course, some Africans flirting with the Soviet camp, and others with the American camp. In some cases the courtship has reached a stage where the parties are going out together; and they probably hold hands in the dark, but nowhere has it yet reached a stage where the parties can kiss in public without blushing.

This wooing occurs at a time when the whole continent of Afrika is in labour, suffering the pangs of a new birth and everybody is looking anxiously and expectantly towards Afrika to see, as our people so aptly put it ukuthi iyoza nkomoni (what creature will come forth). We are being wooed internationally at a time when in South Afrika the naked forces of savage Herrenvolkism are running riot; when a determined effort is being made to annihilate the African people through systematic starvation; at a time when brutal attempts are being made to retard, dwarf and stunt the mental development of a whole people through organised "miseducation"; at a time when thousands of our people roam the streets in search of work and are being told by the foreign ruler to go back to a "home" which he has assigned them, whether that means the break up of their families or not; at a time when the distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation, the "dom pass" is being

extended/Page Five

extended from the African male dog to the African female bitch. It is at this time, when fascist tyranny has reached its zenith in South Afrika, that Afrika's loyalty is being competed for. And the question is, what is our answer ?

Our answer, Mr. Speaker and children of the Soil, has been given by the African leaders of the continent. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly stated that in international affairs, Africa wishes to pursue a policy of positive neutrality, allying herself to neither of the existing blocs but, in the words of Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe of Nigeria, remaining "independent in all things but neutral in none that affect the destiny of Afrika". Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya has expressed himself more forthrightly, declaring that it is not the intention of African states to change one master (western imperialism) for another (Soviet hegemony).

We endorse the views of the African leaders on this point. But we must point out that we are not blind to the fact that the countries which pursue a policy of planned state economy have outstripped, in industrial development, those that follow the path of private enterprise. Today, China is industrially far ahead of India. Unfortunately, however, this rapid industrial development has been accompanied in all cases by a rigid totalitarianism notwithstanding Mao Tse Tung's "Hundred Flowers" announcement. Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the west. We also reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of a few. We accept as policy the equitable distribution of wealth aiming, as far as I am concerned, to equality of income which to me is the only basis on which the slogan of "equal opportunities" can be founded.

Borrowing then the best from the East and the best from the West, we nonetheless retain and maintain our distinctive personality and refuse to be the satraps or stooges of either power block.

RELATION TO STATES IN AFRIKA:

Our relation to the States in Afrika may be stated precisely and briefly by quoting from George Padmore's book, 'Pan Africanism or Communism'. Discussing the future of Afrika, Padmore observes that "there is a growing feeling among politically conscious Africans throughout the continent that their destiny is one, that what happens in one part of Afrika to Africans must affect Africans living in other parts".

We honour Ghana as the first independent state in modern Afrika which, under the courageous nationalist leadership of Dr. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has actively interested itself in the liberation of the whole continent from White domination, and has held out the vision of a democratic United States of Afrika. We regard it as the sacred duty of every African state to strive ceaselessly and energetically for the creation of a United States of Afrika, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar.

The days of small, independent countries are gone. Today we have, on the one hand, great powerful countries of the world, America and Russia cover huge tracts of land territorially and number hundreds of millions in population. On the other hand the small weak independent countries of Europe are beginning to realise that for their own survival they have to form military and economic federations, hence NATO and the European market.

Beside the sense of a common historical fate that we share

with/Page Six.....

with the other countries of Afrika, it is imperative, for purely practical reasons that the whole of Afrika be united into a single unit, centrally controlled. Only in that way can we solve the immense problems that face the continent.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN AFRIKA:

It is for the reasons stated above that we admire, bless and identify ourselves with the entire nationalist movements in Afrika. They are the core, the basic units, the individual cells of that large organism envisaged, namely, the United States of Afrika; a union of free, sovereign independent democratic states of Afrika.

For the lasting peace of Afrika and the solution of the economic, social and political problems of the continent, there needs must be a democratic principle. This means that White supremacy, under whatever guise it manifests itself, must be destroyed. And that is what the nationalists on the continent are setting out to do. They all are agreed that the African majority must rule. In the African context, it is the overwhelming African majority that will mould and shape the content of democracy. Allow me to quote Dr. Dubois, the father of Pan-Africanism: "Most men in the world", writes Dubois, "are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future of the world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it". As for the world, so for Afrika. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it.

THE RACE QUESTION:

And now for the thorny questions of race. I do not wish to give a lengthy and learned dissertation on Race. Suffice it to say that even those scientists who do recognise the existence of separate races, have to admit that there are border line cases which will not fit into any of the three Races of mankind.

All scientists agree that all men can trace their ancestry back to the first Homo Sapiens, that man is distinguished from other mammals and also from earlier types of man by the nature of his intelligence. The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is superior to another, and there is no race that is inferior to others.

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary, therefore, the word 'race' as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation.

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

I do not/Page Seven.....

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

IN SOUTH AFRIKA:

In South Africa we recognise the existence of national groups which are the result of geographical origin within a certain area as well as a shared historical experience of these groups. The Europeans are a foreign minority group which has exclusive control of political, economic, social and military power. It is the dominant group. It is the exploiting group, responsible for the pernicious doctrine of White supremacy which has resulted in the humiliation and degradation of the indigenous African people. It is this group which has dispossessed the African people of their land and with arrogant conceit has set itself up as the "guardians", the "trustees" of the Africans. It is this group which conceives of the African people as a child nation, composed of Boys and Girls, ranging in age from 120 years to one day. It is this group which, after 300 years, can still state with brazen effrontery that the Native, the Bantu, the Kaffir is still backward and savage etc. But they still want to remain "guardians", "trustees", and what have you, of the African people. In short, it is this group which has mismanaged affairs in South Africa just as their kith and kin are mismanaging affairs in Europe. It is from this group that the most rabid race baiters and agitators come. It is members of this group who, whenever they meet in their Parliament, say things which agitate the hearts of millions of peace-loving Africans. This is the group which turns out thousands of experts on that new South African science - the Native mind.

Then there is the Indian foreign minority group. This group came to this country not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. In the South African set-up of today, this group is an oppressed minority. But there are some members of this group, the merchant class in particular, who have become tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance. This class identifies itself by and large with the oppressor but, significantly, this is the group which provides the political leadership of the Indian people in South Africa. And all that the politics of this class have meant up to now is preservation and defence of the sectional interests of the Indian merchant class. The down trodden, poor "stinking coolies" of Natal who, alone, as a result of the pressure of material conditions, can identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow White supremacy, have not yet produced their leadership. We hope they will do so soon.

The African constitute the indigenous group and form the majority of the population. They are the most ruthlessly exploited and are subjected to humiliation, degradation and insult.

Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when White supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the African people can be organised only under the banner of African nationalism in an All-African Organisation

where/Page eight.....

where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of the minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans.

We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the African means the freedom of all in South Africa, the European included, because only the African can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in which all men will be citizens of a common state and will live and be governed as individuals and not as distinctive sectional groups.

OUR ULTIMATE GOALS:

In conclusion, I wish to state that the Africanists do not at all subscribe to the fashionable doctrine of South African exceptionalism. Our contention is that South Africa is an integral part of the indivisible whole that is 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. Apart from the number of reasons and arguments that can be advanced against apartheid, we take our stand on the principle that Afrika is one and desires to be one and nobody, I repeat, nobody has the right to balkanise our land.

Against multi-racialism we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term of multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Afrika these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To us the term "multi-racialism" implies that there are such basic insurperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes.

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

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

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

Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and

become/Page nine.....

become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree.

Sons and Daughters of Africa, I declare this inaugural convention of the Africanists open ! IZWE LETHU !!

oooooooooooooooooooo

The following is a message which was received from the Premier of the Republic of Guinea, on the occasion of the inaugural convention of the Africanists:-

TELEGRAM.

JHJ17 XOJ475 WC28 CK45/3 CONAKRY 9 4 3 1630

= PRIORITE ABSOLUE PRESIDENT
GOUVERNEMENT REPUBLIQUE GUINEE A THRE
AFRICANISTMOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA
1144 DUBE SOUTH P.O. ORLANDO JHBURG

0070 OCCASIONK VOTRE SEANCE INAUGURALE OUS PRIE E EE VOUS
PRIE ACCEPTER SALUT FRATERNEL DU GOUVERNEMENT ET DU PLEUPLE
DE GUINEE STOP VOUS ASSURONS ENTIERE SOLIDARITE ET VOUS
ADRESSONS MEILLEURS SOUHAITS PUR SUCCES EFFORST = 50 =
EN VUE LIQUIDATION COMPLETE ET RAPIDE DOMINATION
COLONIALISTE STOP SOMMES DE COEUR AVEC VOUS POUR REALISATION
MEILLEURS DELAIS FEDERATION AFRIQUE DU SUD ET PANAFRICANSME
DEVANT ABOUTIR CREATION ETATS UNIS D AFRIQUE POUR LE PLUS
GRAND BIEN DE NOTRE CONTINENT STOP SENTIMENTS FRATERNELS
TRANSLATION: SEKOU TOURE: PREMIER.

On the occasion of your inaugural meeting, please accept the fraternal salute from the government of the people of Guinea. We wish you entire solidarity and success in your efforts to liquidate completely the domination of the colonialists. The federation of all Pan African States, together with the idea of a United States of Africa, must be realised soon. Please accept our sentiments and fraternal greetings in this regard. S. TOURE.

-----0-----

THE 1959 PAN AFRICANIST MANIFESTO.

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

Early European settlement of Africa especially of its southern tip, was a direct result of the rise of European commercial capital. Wave upon wave of European settlers came to Africa and their penetration of the interior involved the loss of sovereignty by the indigenous peoples and the alienation of more and more portions of their land. With the rise of the industrial capital of Europe and its increased search for raw

materials/Page ten

10

materials and more markets, the partition of Africa went apace and the doctrine of "effective occupation" was enunciated, a theory calculated to "sugar coat" the bitter pills of land robbery and political subjugation. More and more settlers came into the country until today there are 5,000,000 Europeans who up to the dawn of African liberation had constituted themselves a ruling class over the 250,000,000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of white domination, whether visible or invisible, which is characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of the indigenous African masses. Throughout this historical epoch, the age of white domination, whenever the spokesmen or representatives of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to the phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilisation or the extension of Christian trusteeship". The undisguised truth is that White domination has grounded down the status of man and stunted the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in human history. White domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword.

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

Elsewhere in Africa the progressive forces of African nationalism continue to be locked in mortal combat with the reactionary forces of Herrenvolkism. By the end of next year the peoples of Togoland, Somaliland, the Cameroons and Nigeria will have achieved freedom. The French policy of 'association' is being rejected in favour of decolonisation and independence. To the chagrin of the imperialists the government of Free Algeria is a reality. Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda are on the verge of obtaining their freedom from British imperialism. Contrary to their traditional policy the Belgian imperialists have been forced to accede, at least in principle, to the African people's demand for the recognition of their independence in the Congo. The policy of partnership pursued in the Central African Federation has been exposed for what it is: the greatest political fraud of our times. Even in those massive concentration camps, Angola and Mozambique, the African people have begun to reject the status quo in favour of their own freedom. The liquidation of the forces of oppression is a process that not even nuclear power can halt.

The days of European domination of Africa are numbered. Even in South Africa the writing is glaringly on the wall for those of our European rulers who can see and decipher it. For exactly three-hundred and seven years today, the African people have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded. They have in the past, as they do now, declared themselves for freedom. They reject white domination in any shape or form. They are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of their country from alien hands. They are determined to exercise the most fundamental of human rights, the inalienable right of an

indigenous/Page eleven.....

indigenous people to determine and shape their own destiny.
To the African people there can be no room in any way or in any part of Africa for any non-indigenous peoples who deny to the indigenous populations their fundamental right to control their own material and spiritual interests effectively. South Africa, which is an integral part of the continent, is the inalienable heritage of the African people and its effective control in their undoubted and unquestionable birthright.

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

These "leaders" consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims. They regard as equals the foreign master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited, the foreign oppressor and indigenous oppressed. They regard as brothers the subject Africans and their European overlords. They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject peoples who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class. Citizen Toussant once remarked that: "whenever anybody, be he white or mullatto, wants a dirty job done, he gets the Negro to do it". The charterist leadership, true to type, is doing the oppressor's dirty job, namely, seeing to it that the African is deprived for all time of his inherent right to control his country effectively; of seeing to it that whatever new social order is established in this country, the essentials of white domination are retained, even though its frills and trappings may be ripped off. This attitude has been labelled MULTI-RACIALISM by their white masters. They have even boldly suggested that being a multi-racialist is a virtue!

The African people are very much proud of their race - the human race. They recognise no inescapable fundamental differences among members of even the three main branches of that race: the Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Afrinoids.

They do not subscribe to the thory that there are inherent mental, emotional and psychological differences among the members of the different branches of the human species. They hold the granting of "rights" on the basis of ethnological origin to be the entrenching of sectional arrogance and the continued maintenance of contempt for human worth and disregard for human dignity. They regard the differences that exist among various groups or sub-groups of man to be mainly acquired in and through the individual. The African people recognise the influence of common environmental factors in the acquisition of group characters. They do not, and will not, tolerate any division of their country for purposes that are calculated to foster sectional arrogance, and continued

contempt for the worth of the human personality, and the disregard for human dignity. The African people are fully aware that suggestions of apartheid, whether total or partial, of segregation social or political, of Christian trusteeship, white leadership with justice, of partnership etc., are all intended merely as a cloak for their continued oppression, exploitation and degradation. They deny the foreigners any right to balkinise or pakistanise their country. To any such schemes, programmes or policies, the African people cannot be a party. The African people are neither racists nor racialists, and they unreservedly condemn all form of racialism, including multi-racialism. They do not nurse any crude hatred for the European peoples, BUT they do cherish a deep-seated detestation for the Herrenvolk system.

The African people of South Africa recognise themselves as part of one African nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Madagascar to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organisational expression for this nation in a merger of free independent African states; a United States of Africa, which will serve as an effective bulwark against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, herrenvolkism and tribalism, and as a sure and lasting foundation for an Africanistic socialist democracy. The African people regard the development of such a nation as essential for the preservation of their sovereignty, of their vital material and spiritual interests and for the creation of conditions under which they will be enabled to make their lasting contribution to human advancement in a free Afrika.

The African people will not tolerate the existence of other national groups within the confines of one nation. For the healthy growth and development of the African nation it is imperative that all individuals must owe their first, and only, loyalty to the African nation, and not to their ethnic or national groups. The African people regard the influence of material conditions in the development of a nation as being of greater significance than mere ethnic origin. Within the social environment of the African nation there will be room for all individuals who identify themselves materially, intellectually and spiritually with the African nation.

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

The basic question confronting the African people is identical with that which has faced mankind from the beginning of time itself: the problem of man's relation to his fellow man. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellow man in fellowship: in harmony and in peace.

Man moves and has his being in a social environment. In the absence of social life the social question would fall away. Man's relation to his fellowman is determined by his primary needs. The social question, whose structural foundations are to be found in economic determinism, arises within the framework of social

relations. Man is, therefore, a social being and not an economic animal. To live in harmony with his fellowman, man must recognise the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of his fellowman, and must eliminate the tendency on his part to uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellowman. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be developed and that respect for it can be fostered.

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

To forge, foster and consolidate the bonds of African nationhood on a Pan African basis;

To implement effectively the fundamental principle that the dominion or sovereignty over and the dominium or ownership in the whole territory of the continent vest exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous peoples.

To create and maintain a United States of Africa that will serve and provide a concrete institutional form for the African nation.

To establish an Africanistic socialist democratic social order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.

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

To create an organisational machinery for the galvanising of the oppressed, exploited and degraded African masses into an irresistible social force bent upon the destruction of all factors and forces that have reduced the stature of man and retarded his growth; and also bent upon the creation of conditions favourable for the restoration of man's worth and dignity and for the development of the African personality.

To establish for the liberation movement a training ground for the production of a determined, dedicated and disciplined collective leadership that will serve, not only as the symbol of national unity on a Pan African basis, but also as the repository, guardian and custodian of the ideas, principles and methods of the movement, as well as of the policies and programmes of the organisation.

To provide an administrative machinery for the direction, guidance and control of the national liberation movement in its grand march towards the inevitable goal of complete freedom.

Africanism in Pan Africanistic in scope, purpose and direction. It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa, and does not in any way serve the interests of either the Eastern or the Western powers. It is continental in scope, covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Madagascar to Morocco. It is a social force functioning through the media of African social conditions, and

operating to liberate Africa and to create a social order, original in conception, Africanistic in orientation, socialistic in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose. Pan Africanism became a concrete reality when African nationalists from all parts of the continent met at Accra. The All-Africa People's Conference, held in Accra in December 1958, laid a promising organisational foundation for African nationalism on a pan african basis.

In its dialectical march towards the final synthesis of Africanism, African nationalism is destined to create the conditions favourable for the development of the African personality.'

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

ADOPTED BY THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAC - 5th APRIL, 1959.

R E M E M B E R

A F R I C A N N A T I O N A L H E R O E S ' D A Y

31st July - every year.

THIS YEAR AFRICAN NATIONAL HEROES' DAY SHALL BE HELD ON SUNDAY, THE 2nd OF AUGUST. REMEMBER 2 - 8 - '59. THIS IS A DAY OF REDEDICATION BY ALL AFRICAN NATIONALISTS.

PRESS STATEMENT: 12/4/1959.

The National Working Committee of the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS decided on Sunday 12th April, 1959 to observe April 15th 'AFRIKA DAY'. This is in accordance with the resolution of the nine independent states which met in Accra last year.

AFRIKA DAY is a day not of rejoicing nor celebration, but of rededication to the cause of African freedom and the goal of a United States of Afrika.

If the words of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah are taken into account, it becomes crystal clear that the emergence of independent Ghana heralded the intensification of the struggle for the freedom of the Continent from white domination in whatever form or guise. The leaders of the continent have repeatedly stated that so long as any square inch of the continent remains oppressed, African freedom is incomplete.

We, therefore, call upon our members in particular, and the

African people in general, to hold branch meetings throughout the country and there solemnly rededicate themselves to the cause of Pan Africanism and the goal of a United States of Afrika.

We call on the African people wherever they may be on that day to observe at 9 p.m. a three-minute period of silence and rededication.

Signed: P.K. Leballo,
NATIONAL SECRETARY.
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

FIRST NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. PRESIDENT: Mr. R.M. Sobukwe - Johannesburg.
2. NATIONAL SECRETARY: Mr. P.K. Leballo - Johannesburg.
3. TREASURER GENERAL: Mr. A.B. Ngcobo - Durban.
4. NATIONAL ORGANISER: Mr. E.A. Mfafa - Stutterheim.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

5. Mr. Z.L. Mothopeng - Johannesburg.
6. Mr. H.S. Ngcobo - Durban.
7. Mr. C.J. Fazzie - East London.
8. Mr. M.G. Maboza - Port Elizabeth.

SECRETARIAT.

PORTFOLIO.

9. Mr. P.H. Molotsi: Pan African Affairs - Johannesburg.
10. Mr. S.T. Ngendane: Foreign Affairs - Johannesburg.
11. Mr. Z.B. Molete: Publicity and Information - Winburg, O.F.S.
12. Mr. P.N. Raboroko: Education - Johannesburg.
13. Mr. N.N. Mahomo: Culture - Cape Town.
14. Mr. W.D. Nyawaza: Labour - Johannesburg.
15. Mr. H.M.D. Hlatswayo: Finance & Economic Development - Durban.

Elected at the National Africanist Inaugural Convention held at the Communal Hall, ORLANDO, Johannesburg from the 4th to the 6th of April, 1959.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS -

FROM CAIRO TO CAIRO, MADAGASCAR TO MOROCCO.

ooooOoooo

FORWARD TO THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

ooooOoooo

IZWE LETHU ! ! ! I AFRIKA.

HERE AND THERE - NEWS IN BRIEF:

Encouraging news comes from the National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. P.K. Leballo. He reports a growing number of recruits to the organisation. Applications for membership pour in daily from all the corners of our beloved country. Our target of 100,000 is thereby being steadily but surely realised. REMEMBER - WANTED 100,000 members, alive, by July 31st 1959. IZWE LETHU I AFRIKA.

The recent outbreaks of typhoid in Johannesburg, and water floods in the Natal South Coast, have carried away in their wake a number of lives. Our sympathies to the bereaved families of the African victims.

The Bantustan Bill, which aims at balkanising our country into numerous so-called Bantu Ethnic homes, has been read for the second time in the Union white parliament. SHAME!

We, who reject completely any idea aimed at balkanising our country, have received news that a prominent Johannesburg African has come forward with a plan whereby South Africa should be divided into two sections - along the 25th degree of longitude - the West, Albostan, for the White people, and the East, Afrostan, for the Africans.

A so-called United Anti-Nationalist Government Front has recently been formed. The Front consists of the reactionary White United Party, the liberal Liberal Party, the defunct Labour Party, the fifty-member strong Congress of Democrats, the ideologically-bankrupt African National Congress, the merchant-class Indian Congress, the lilly-livered White Black Sashers, and some lost Afrikaner Sabra professors. Bishop Reeves is reported to be their leader! SHAME. WE SAY NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE ENEMY IN AFRIKA.

Kenya Africans have, through their leader Tom Mboya, rejected multi-racialism in favour of non-racialism. Speaking recently in America, Mr. Mboya said that if necessary Africans would have to resort to Positive Action in order to enforce their legitimate demands of governing their continent.

The government car used by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, and who has recently become Member of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, is reported to have been overturned and completely burnt by an angry group of Africans who claim that he has misplaced their faith in him by accepting Membership of the overwhelmingly White Legislative Council. Meanwhile, the militant Zambia Congress, of the same country, led by Africanist Kaunda, has been banned by the government, and most of its members are in the so-called detention camps, because they would not sell their country - not for love of wealth or personal liberty.

oooooooooooo

- Extract from SPARTACUS by Howard Fast.

+++++

Go back to the Senate and give them the wory rod. Go back and tell them what you saw here. Tell them that they sent their cohorts against us, and that we destroyed their cohorts. Tell them that we are slaves - what they call the instrumention vocele, the tool with a voice. Tell them what our voice says. We say that the world is tired of them, tired of your rotten Senate and your rotten Rome. The world is tired of the wealth and splendour that they have squeezed out of our blood and bone. The world is tired of the song of the whip. It is the only song the noble Romans know. But we don't want to hear that song anymore. In the beggining all men were alike and they lived in peace and they shared among them what they had. But now there are two kinds of men, the master and the slave. But there are more of us than there are of you, many more. And we are stronger than you, better than you. All that is good in mankind belongs to us. What a foul crew you are, and what a filthy mess you have made of life! You have made mockery of all men dream of, of the work of a man's hands and the sweat of a man's brow. You have made a travesty of human life and robbed it of all its worth. You kill for the sake of killing, and your gentle amusement is to watch blood flow. You put little children into your mines and work them to death in a few months. And you have built your grandeur by being a thief to the whole world. Well, it is finished. Tell your Senate that it is all finished. That is the voice of the tool. Tell your Senate to send their armies against us, and we will arm ourselves with the weapons of the armies you send against us, and destroy them. The whole world will hear the voice of the tool - and to the slaves of the world, we will cry out **RISE UP AND CAST OFF YOUR CHAINS!** We will move through Italy, and wherever we go, the slaves will join us - and then oneday we will come against your eternal city. It will not be eternal then. Tell your Senate that. Tell them that we will let them know when we are coming. Then we will tear down the walls of Rome. Then we will come to the house where your Senate sits, and we will drag them out of their high and mighty seats, and we will tear off their robes so that they may stand naked and be judged as we have always been judged. But we will judge them fairly and we will hand them a full measure of justice. Every crime they have committed will be held against them, and they will make a full accounting. Tell them that, so that they may have time to prepare themselves and to examine themselves. They will be called to bear witness, and we have long memories. Then, when justice has been done, we will build better cities, clear, beautiful cities without well - where mankind can live together in peace and in happiness. There is the whole message for the Senate. Bear it to them. Tell them it comes from a slave called SPARTUS.....

- Message of Spartacus, the Thracian leader of the slave revolt in Rome to Arabus Porthus, the only surviving soldier of the Roman army of the third Cohort - after all his colleagues had been killed on the battlefield by the slaves - for the Roman Senate.

STOP PRESS: The Witwatersrand Regional Conference of the Pan Africanist Congress takes place on the 31st of May 1959, at the Orlando Communal Hall, Orlando East. Rally in your great numbers. Remember Afrika must be free now, now, now.

LATE NEWS: WANTED ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEMBERS, ALIVE. WANTED BEFORE JULY, 31st 1959. WRITE TO THE NATIONAL SECRETARY, PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS, P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG.

Collection Number: AD2183

Collection Name: Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), records

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

©2016

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.