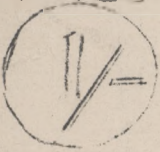


THE AFRICANIST

VOL. 4. NO II

JUNE / JULY 1962

PRICE



PRICE



"THE AFRICAN WARRIOR"
ISSUED BY AFRICAN NATIONALISTS-A.A.N.C.

Address All Communications to:-

The Editor,
THE AFRICANIST,
1144 DUBE, P.O. ORLANDO. JMB.

E D I T O R I A L.C.O.D. Dismisses Congressites!

"New Age", the business journal of the firm of C.O.D. (Gurneodf Democracy), directors of the African National Congress, reported on the 22nd May, 1958 that Messrs. Leballo and Madzunya had been expelled from the African National Congress.

Congress Amalgamates:

Quite a number of our readers, not to mention the African masses, were no doubt ignorant of the fact that in 1953 the African National Congress was amalgamated with the insolvent companies of SACPO and SAIC (South African Coloured People's organisation and the South African Indian Congress, respectively). The directors of these companies, without consulting the Shareholders, handed over the control of the new company to the C.O.D. Organisation above mentioned.

C.O.D. Dissatisfied.

For some time, now, C.O.D. like Amato, has not been satisfied with the way things have been going on in the Company and has, through her business journal, "New Age", instructed the production managers to see that C.O.D.'s instructions were carried out. She has finally acted.

In the following pages, the views of the shareholders on C.O.D.'s management and policy, are given. We shall merely underline (in red ink) some of the salient points and will attempt to trace, ever so briefly, the developments which have led to C.O.D.'s "revolutionary" action.

Programme Active.

Readers will no doubt recall that in 1949, when the A.N.C. (African National Congress) was still independent, it adopted a programme known as the programme of Action. This programme was adopted unanimously, in spite of the fact that leading members of the late Communist Party were present and spoke against that programme. That programme provided, among other things, for the establishment of a National Fund to finance the struggle for National liberation, the adoption of the policy of Non-Collaboration and the immediate implementation of a boycott of all government instituted political bodies, designed specially for the Africans; an annual one-day stoppage of work and a civil disobedience campaign.

Enemies of Programme Returned to Power.

Because Conference believed that all Congress needed to make her militant and consistent was a clear-cut programme, she returned to the executive almost all those who had at first spoken against the programme but had later voted for it, least suspecting that they would do all they could to sabotage that programme. These gentlemen did just that.

Communist Party Banned;

Early in 1950 the Suppression of Communism act, making the C.P. illegal was passed and later in that year, September, 1950, a Conference of the Party was held, where, according to resolution I2I, it was decided to CONVERT THE NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, OF THE VARIOUS NATIONAL GROUPS INTO WORKER'S ORGANISATIONS.

And then the C.P. with a few dissentients, declared itself dead and buried. That is why we speak of it as the "Late C.P."

The Defiance Campaign.

On June 26, 1952, the Defiance Campaign was launched by both the A.N.C. and the SAIC. The response from the African people was overwhelming. The stocks of the A.N.C. sky-rocketed. A disciplined grim struggle was carried on in the teeth of the organised might of the White State. Not a Single European Joined the Campaign.

P.E. - East London "Riots" and White Reaction.

When the Campaign was at its height, the P.E. and East London "riots" broke out. Only then, did Whites enter the Campaign. The first White man to declare himself for the Campaign was Patrick Duncan. Not one of the "old familiar faces". Duncan's chief reasons for joining the Campaign were, as stated by himself, that he did not want the Campaign to be interpreted as a racial struggle against the Whites - a commendable view, we concede - and that he was attracted by the disciplined non-violent character of the Campaign.

Only after this politically obscure man had disgraced them did some of the "old familiar faces" come forward. Soon after that the Campaign fizzled out.

The Great Amalgamation:

In 1953 C.O.D. was born. Who her parents were and who the midwife was we unfortunately do not know. But rumour persists that she is the product of an incestuous Union. Be that as it may, she was born - at least we came to know of her existence for the first time then.

In the same year rumours grew of an unholy alliance between the A.N.C. and this new body and the SAIC. They were difficult to confirm, because no conference had ever adopted a resolution to that effect. The basis of co-operation was not defined. It has never been defined.

Queenstown Conference.

The first intimation the rank ²file of Congress had of the shape of things to come, of the change in management, was at the Queenstown Conference of 1953, when a former president, of the Youth League, the Chief opponents in Congress, of the policy of Non-Collaboration, led the assault on the Programme, unleashed by the Transvaal, the headquarters of C.O.D.

The African people repulsed the attack on their programme vigorously and violently. The new management had begun to assert its authority.

Durban Conference.

Nothing daunted by the reverses of the Queenstown Conference, the New Management again assailed the Programme at the Durban Conference, the following year, 1954. But this time it employed tactics which have come to be peculiarly its own distinctive tactics. It told Conference ~~before hand~~, through its business journal, "New Age", what Conference would discuss and the lines that it "expected", (in the Directors Language), Conference to pursue. But in spite of this brow-beating, the African people defended the Programme. Again the Management was beaten.

The Kliptown Charter.

Having realised that direct assault on the Programme of Action was doomed to failure, the management adopted another distinctive stunt. It produced the Kliptown charter which is analysed on the pages of this bulletin. We shall, therefore, not comment on it.

The second half of 1955 was devoted to "Popularising the Charter"- the "popular" document which came from the people". It had to be "popularised" nevertheless-unlike the Programme which needed no "Popularisation". But the Charter failed to fire the imagination, not only of the African people but of the New National group as well.

Bloemfontein Conference.

An attempt was made in December 1955 at the Bloemfontein Conference to impose the Charter on the people. Again, as in 1954, delegates to conference read in C.O.D.'s business journal "New Age" what the report of the National Executive of Congress would be. They read also that they were "expected" to "adopt" the Kliptown Charter. Conference was indignant at the impudence and insolence; and utter disregard for the dignity of the A.N.C. Conference displayed by "New Age". First it should be remembered that the Durban Conference had seriously warned those responsible, that never again should "New Age" or any other paper, act as the Custodian of the intelligence of the A.N.C. conference. The bosses, apparently, had not been impressed.

It was decided by Conference that the Kliptown Charter would be discussed at the ANNUAL CONFERENCE in December, 1956. A special Conference to consider the implementation of the Non-Collaboration aspect of the programme, as well as the question of "Passes for women" was Conference decided, to be held early in the new year.

Community Hall Special Conference.

The special Conference was convened and the venue was the Orlando Community Hall. "New Age", C.O.D.'s business journal told prospective delegates, they would discuss the Kliptown Charter and probably Passes for Women.

At the Conference, those who opposed this dictatorship were set upon by organised thugs euphemistically called "Volunteers". This institution, all the world knows, was created by the new Management, and the duty of its members is to silence any criticism of or opposition to the Management. The Non-conformists were forcibly thrown out of the Hall.

The Kliptown Charter was "adopted" and kisses and embraces were liberally bestowed on the faithful servants.

Annual Conference.

In 1957, the Annual Conference was held at the Communal Hall, Orlando. It had by now become obvious that the Kliptown Charter could not chart the road to freedom. A diversion was necessary. The Programme of Action was again attacked. Again, the African masses most of them blind followers of the present leadership defended their programme.

Attack on Africanists.

Attacks on Africanists, the core around whom opposition to the Management was chrySTALLISING, became a regular feature of "New Age" C.O.D. business journal as well as of its sister propaganda sheets, "Liberation" and "fighting Talk!"

The more the bankruptcy of the A.N.C. leadership was exposed, the more regular, the more violent and the harsher the attacks on the Africanist became.

Then came the Stay-at-Home Flop. We need not and will not comment on that except to point out that it showed a new mood in the management. It showed that C.O.D. having come to realise that her authority, though established over the leadership, is being consistently repudiated by the African people had decided to destroy what she could not control.

She is now hell-bent on discrediting the A.N.C. and finally destroying it.

The Expulsions:

The expulsions of Madzunya and Leballo runs true to pattern. Those in Cape Town, as well as those in Johannesburg who get "New Age" by air mail, read on Thursday 22nd May that these two congressites had been expelled. The letter was signed by Duma Nokwe who styles himself "Assistant Secretary General".

The actual letter of expulsion, signed by Mr. Duma Nokwe "Assistant Secretary General" was delivered to Mr. Leballo, on Thursday night 22nd May, 1958. It was dated the 22nd May. In other words the world knew that these Congressites had been expelled, before they themselves knew. Their branches we learn, have not yet been informed of the expulsion of these branch officials.

Those are facts. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from them, namely that C.O.D. controls and dominates the A.N.C. Leballo's and Madzunya's crime is that they refuse to submit to that domination.

We, therefore, call on the African people to condemn and reject all C.O.D. domination NOW! Otherwise the organisation we have built over the years, the programme we have created and the struggles we have so gloriously fought will be reduced to ashes.

We declare, here and now, that we shall never submit to C.O.D. domination nor shall we ever permit C.O.D. to destroy what the African people have laboured so hard to create.

MAYIBUYE!!!!!!

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

Adopted at the Annual National Conference held at Bloemfontein in December 1949.

The fundamental principles of the programme of Action of the African National Congress are inspired by the desire to achieve National Freedom. By National Freedom we mean freedom from White domination, and the attainment of political independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship or white leadership which are all in one way or another motivated by the idea of White domination or domination of the Whites over the Blacks. Like all peoples, the African people claim the right of self-determination.

With this object in view, and in the light of these principles, we claim and shall continue to fight for the political rights tabulated on page 8 of our BILL OF RIGHTS: such as:-

1. The right of direct representation in all the governing bodies of the country - national, provincial, and local and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies specially created for the Africans, viz. Local or District Councils, Advisory Boards, Native Representation.
2. To achieve these objectives, the following programme of action is suggested:-

- (a) The creation of a National Fund to finance the struggle for National Liberation.

- (b) The appointment of a committee to organise an appeal for funds, and to devise ways and means therefore:
- (c) The regular issue of propaganda material through:
- (i) The usual press, news letter or other means of dissemination of ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness.
 - (ii) The establishment of a National Press.
3. The appointment of a National Council of Action whose functions should be to carry into effect, vigorously and with the utmost determination the Programme of Action. It shall be competent for the Council of Action to implement our resolves to work for:-
1. The abolition of all differential political institutions, the boycotting of which we accept and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue, and in addition to employ the following weapons immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations.
 2. Preparations and making of plans for a national stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the Government.

ECONOMIC.

- (a) The establishment of commercial, industrial, transport and other enterprises in both urban and rural areas.
- (b) Consolidation of industrial organisations of the workers for the improvement of their standards of living.
- (c) Pursuant to paragraph (a) herein, instructions be issued to Provincial Congresses to study the Economy and Social Conditions in the Reserves and other African settlements, and to devise ways and means for development and establishment of industries and such other enterprises as may give employment to a number of people.

5. EDUCATION.

It be an instruction to the African National Congress to devise ways and means for:-

- (a) Raising the standard of the African in the Commercial, Industrial and other enterprises, and workers in their worker's organisation by means of providing a common educational form wherein intellectuals, peasants and workers participate for their common good.
- (b) Establishment of National Centres of Education for the purpose of training and educating African Youth and the provision of large scale scholarships tenable in various overseas universities.

6. CULTURAL.

- (a) To unite the cultural with the education and National struggle.
- (b) The establishment of a National Academy of Arts.

7. Congress realises that ultimately the people will be brought together by inspired leadership, under the banner of African Nationalism with courage and determination.

(Signed) W.M. Sisulu,
Secretary - General
African National Congress.

Magasa Hall,
Bloemfontein,
December 17th 1948.

AFRICANIST STATEMENT.

-I-

The following statement is issued by the Africanists on the recent expulsions of Messrs. P. Leballo & J. Madzunya, from the African National Congress. The charges preferred against them are that, they "have consistently and publicly opposed the policy of the African National Congress, and flouted its authority in particular in regard to the following:-

- a. The Freedom Charter.
- b. The policy of Co-operation with other racial groups and
- c. The Stay-at-Home campaign".

It is unfortunate that those who have engineered the expulsion have not stated what the policy is which Madzunya and Leballo have consistently and publicly opposed. Neither is it made clear what authority of the A.N.C. they have flouted

THE FREEDOM CHARTER:

As an African Nationalist, we are especially interested in this charge:

- a. At no time have the African Nationalists accepted the Kliptown charter.
- b. At the so called Kliptown Congress of the people and at all subsequent National Conferences of the A.N.C. African Nationalists have repeatedly and forcibly made their standpoint clear, namely that the Kliptown Charter was not, and is not the Charter of the African people, for the simple reason that the African is not prepared to forfeit his claim to his fatherland as the Kliptown Charter basically implies "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white". To accept the Kliptown Charter will be to betray the struggle for independence waged not only here, but by African Nationalists throughout Africa.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER RACIAL GROUPS.

The African Nationalists have never accepted co-operation with "racial groups". They have always sought co-operation with other National groups through their recognised national organisations. African Nationalists recognised only one race: THE HUMAN RACE. While we concede that the Human race may be divided into several national groups with representative national organisations the African Nationalists must consider it insolent that members of other national groups, or even committees thereof, should seek to dictate policy to the A.N.C.

We know that the committee which instructed the National working Committee to expel these men was composed of eight (8) Europeans, three (3) Indians and four (4) Africans. We also know that of these Africans, only two voted for the expulsion.

-2-

Co-operation is only possible on the basis of a Programme of Action and not merely on the basis of a declaration of ill-defined principles, which is what the Kliptown Charter is. We offer the Nation-Building Programme of Action unanimously adopted by the Africans on their own initiative at Magasa Hall, Bloemfontein in December, 1949, as a basis for co-operation.

STAY AT HOME. We do not better that quote extracts from a letter written to the National Working Committee by one of the A.N.C. branches on the eye of the ill-conceived and illfated Stay-at-Home campaign. The campaign lacked a clear lead. It was conceived by a tepid multiracial conference at Ghandi Hall, launched by a rash and impetuous S.A.C.T.U., popularised by a mysterious £1 a day committee, directed by an inexplicable and mystifying steering committee and finally called by a panic-stricken and hysterical A.N.C. Further on, we wish to quote from a memorandum submitted later by another A.N.C. branch to the A.N.C. Headquarter, on the failure of the Stay-at-Home, Protest.

"The dire confusion that is prevailing at the moment indicates clearly and beyond the shadow of doubt that the Stay-at-Home protest is bound to be a flop which will dismay and demoralise the African masses. Furthermore, such a venture will plunge the organisation into disrepute. We plead with responsible officials that the protest be called off and the organisation saved from/...

from going to the gutters."

"The slogans on the posters leave much to be desired. The most deceptive and mischievous of them all, is the one reading "No more Nats Rule". If there is to be no more Nats rule after the 16th (election day) the only logical conclusion is that there will be U.P. rule. Is the A.N.C. being used by agents and touts to return the U.P. into power?"

The conception of the protest is ideologically incorrect. It is our considered view that the African people are waging a National and not a Class struggle. The appeal should, therefore, have been directed to the African people as an oppressed nation, rather than to a working class which includes their white oppressors".

This multiplicity of authorities over the campaign confused and bewildered the African people, hence their failure to respond to the call whose real source they never knew".

FORWARD TOGETHER TO AFRICANIST GOALS.

In conclusion, we call upon all African Nationalists throughout the country to save the A.N.C. by:-

- a. Ridding the mother body of domination from outside influences.
- b. By rallying to the standard of African Nationalism as defined by the Congress Youth League in its Basic Manifest issued in 1944 and in the programme of Action of the A.N.C. adopted in 1949. "Africa for the Africans, Africans for Humanity and Humanity for God".

-3-

They were Right and So are We.

By Ufford Khoruba and Kwame Lekwame.

In order that political doubts may be resolved, unspoken questions answered and basic defects in the prevailing social set up exposed, we shall give a brief historical review of our situation, a concise analytical account of our struggle and a pointed statement of our objectives.

Founding of Congress.

In 1912 our fathers founded the African National Congress as a body to unite the African people, to free them from oppression and to realise their National aspirations. In organisation the African people along National lines, they gave political expression to a liberation movement that has its roots in our history. Since the advent of the White man, this movement had, at various stages and in isolated fronts found expression on the military level.

Stress of Economic Necessity.

Men are forced by the logic of their position to react to their material circumstances. Two years prior to the founding of the Congress, the Union of South Africa was established. It centralised the machinery for the upholding of the economic interests of the European intruders. It was the threat to dispossess the African people of their agrarian allotments, to prohibit them "squating" on European owned farms and to deprive them of the right to won land that contributed, substantially, to the founding of the Congress. This threat was transformed into law in 1913 as the Native Land Act. The African people were forced by the logic of their position to react to the objective conditions surrounding them. Like similar social institutions, the A.N.C. was born under the dire stress of economic necessity.

The Struggle is National.

Our struggle is the struggle of the indigenous oppressed group against an alien oppressing group. This is a struggle waged over the control of the machinery for the upholding of material interests. Since the alien group came in as invaders we may here observe that in an earlier phase of history the issues involved could have been more clearly defined, as the alien
invaders/.....

invaders would have assumed the undisguised rule of masters while relegating the vanquished indigenous peoples to the role of mere chattel slaves. In a sense, therefore, our struggle, involving as it does a clash of economic interests between an alien ruling class and an indigenous subject class, is a class struggle; it is, however, much more than the orthodox class struggle. It is a national struggle. The African nation has been organised into a national organisation to guide and control its national liberation movement. It is, therefore, evident even on a theoretical basis our national form of organisation is unassailable.

Machinery of Oppression Strengthened.

Whenever a ruling class upholds its economic interests at the expense of a subject class the result is threefold: economic exploitation, political oppression and social degradation. These phenomena are the most significant effects of a mad adjusted social order. Political oppression and social degradation are the logical products of economic exploitation. Over the span of a generation since the founding of the Congress the machinery for upholding the economic interests of the ruling class has been considerably strengthened. This has been done through the passing of measures such as the introduction of colour bar on the mines, the legal recognition of White trade Unions only, the introduction of the Universal adult suffrage for Whites only, the removal of African voters from the common roll and many other measures. The net effect of these measures has been to intensify the economic subjugation of the African people, to emphasise, their political oppression and to accentuate their social degradation.

Youth League.

Forced by the logic of their position to react to these material circumstances, the African people gained a clear common understanding of the issues involved and a more clear cut definition of their political situation. Exactly a generation after the founding of the A.N.C. the Congress Youth League was born in October 1943. Its inaugural National Conference was held in Johannesburg in April 1944. The League was destined to galvanise the Congress to greater activity and to revitalise the basic principles of its struggle.

Soon after its inception the league issued its Basic Manifesto. This manifesto created a great stir. The major significance of that Manifesto lies in the fact that it evolved an ideological substance for our National struggle. It declared African nationalism to be the basis of our struggle and National independence to be our chief political objective. The ideas of the League spread like wild fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. Its slogan of 'Africa' was destined to become the expression of the National salute of the people. The stand taken by the League was a logical development of the stand, taken a generation earlier by our fathers.

National - Building Programme.

Barely six years after its founding the impact of the League upon the A.N.C. was felt. At its National Conference in 1949 the A.N.C. adopted the Programme of Action. This programme of Action officially resolved African Nationalism as the foundation of our struggle and declared the attainment of self-determination as our national objective. The Programme also laid down the methods by which this objective was to be obtained. The A.N.C. has confirmed that programme thrice since Bloemfontein. It confirmed it in 1953 at Queenstown, in Bloemfontein in 1955 and in Orlando in 1957. In the attainment of these ends the attitude of the African people was declared to be one of non-collaboration with the oppressor. Instead of being placed ideologically on the defensive the Congress as a result of the adoption of the Programme, took the ideological offensive. Instead of merely resisting the tendency to uphold the Blacks, the Congress decided, to eliminate this tendency.

Self-Determination.

The attainment of self-determination implies the rejection in whatever form of White domination and the embracing of National independence as an objective
In declaring/.....

In declaring for self-determination the Congress declared for the most fundamental of human rights. This is the inherent right of any indigenous peoples to control effectively the sources of their own maintenance. The acceptance of this fundamental principle and the support for its implementation is the acid test of a progressive outlook.

The Congress has thrice confirmed its adherence to the Programme of Action. In spite of this fact the enemies of Africanism have made persistent efforts to undermine the accepted ideological basis of our struggle and to subvert its declared objective. Our fifth column (as well as the other four columns) of our struggle have one aim in common to prevent the African people from controlling effectively the very sources of their maintenance and sustenance. They seek to pervert African nationalism or to destroy its purpose. This cannot be, for African nationalism is a scientific concept rather than an Utopian idea. Because of its theoretical correctness and its down-to-earth realism, it is bound to triumph.

Charge of Racialism.

By far the most serious charge that has been levelled against African Nationalism is that it is racialistic. Our line of attack, our presentation of the subject - matter and our chain of reasoning all refute this allegation. We have depicted African nationalism as a social force whose inner-springs are the assessment of the interplay, the determination of the inter-relation and the evaluation of the correlation between economic elements and socio-historical factors and forces. For us there is no "race" problem but only a social problem.

The critics of Africanism obviously need a coaching in the rudiments of social science. Since it is the total of mankind that is the human race, and since a part cannot be equal to a whole, there can be, therefore no "races" of the human race but only branches of that race. There are no great inherent and unfathomable differences between the members of one branch of the human race and another no inescapable differences. The critics who make this charge of racialism are themselves racialists. It is they who regard race as an effective myth. It is they who worship at the shrine of the fetish of race. In accusing others of racialism they are merely projecting into the situation the defects of their own thinking. It is the old old story of the dog barking at his own shadow. It is himself that he sees and not another dog as he fancies.

They were Right.

African Nationalism is a social force that no one can afford to ignore, deny or even slight at the present stage of our social development. A generation ago our fathers founded the African National Congress on the solid foundations of that intellectual belief. Today we continue their struggle and ours on the same basis.

They were right and So are we.

.....

Inter-racial Co-operation in S.A.

(A standpoint of our African Nationalist)

By: 3000 years' Ward.Definition of Terms. Let's get our terms clear.

The operative word is co-operation. But what is co-operation, politically speaking? I offer a simple definition which should find general acceptance.

"A Union of wills in the execution of a plan towards the achievement of a generally accepted objective".

The Union of wills may be spontaneous or instructed, but the irreducible factor in all co-operative activity, is surely an objective which is sufficiently compelling to ensure general support.

Concept of Race.

It is significant and not altogether surprising that the illusion of "race" should find its ardent supporters and eloquent opponents in South Africa. For it is in South Africa, more than anywhere in the civilised world, that the formula of "race" of "racial differences" or even "racial harmony", of "racial superiors" must needs be boosted to bolster an untenable and wicked system whereby the futile and suicidal attempt is made to segregate man into kraals by artificial barriers, and whereby man's highest merit for promotion and status in his community is decided on the magical formula, "race"---which in S.A. reduces to its simplest element-----Colour.

To show how weak the system is one has only to refer to legislation in S.A. since Union in 1910. A study of this legislation will also reveal that the word-----"race" bears only a negative relationship to natural differences of man to man. In effect, legislation in S.A. is conceived and calculated specially as a counter to the operation of natural differences with the result that the Community is conceived in terms of horizontal layers, wrongly called ----"races" and man is reduced to a dead level on the basis of colour and not merit.

The race concept is an outcome and creature of fear and survives on the fear complex and as such, is the very antithesis of co-operation. In the social sphere, and by that I include the sum of total of Community interests "race" is a subtle weapon in the service of vested interests.

Only One Race:

African Nationalism recognises only one, "race", the Human Race. To the African Nationalist therefore, the question of racial co-operation does not arise and his energies and intellect are galvanised to the service of adjustment of human interests within the same and equal community. African Nationalism knows and confesses only our interest, the National interest to which every other interest, whether of the individual or group is secondary and subservient. To the African Nationalist co-operation can only be National Co-operation in the service of one and indivisible interest, Namely, Afrika, our Fatherland. On any other basis, co-operation is a myth, race, a contradiction in terms and impossible as it must imply, a dictatorship not of a natural interest in the same and equal community but the dictatorship of the interest of a junta for narrow, selfish ends.

In the Afrika of the African Nationalist, there are no "racial memories". There are only "National memories" which the one and indivisible interest, Afrika, takes into account and seeks to accommodate on the single and minimum condition of subservience to itself. This will be found to be the principal ingredient back of the idea of the territorial, natural State in every continent and in making this claim for himself, the African Nationalist is asking for no more than the English in England, the Indian in India and the American in America.

These policies, in most instances, are entirely divorced from realities of the actual situation and as such are unpopular with the general membership of Congress. In reality, therefore the present leadership of Congress are nothing but Stooges of these un-Africanistic elements. They have lost faith in themselves. It is the unenviable task of these stooges to persuade the African people to swallow these unpalatable policies of their masters.

Thirdly the people have lost confidence in these leaders because of their vacillations. They boldly stated that the Stay-at-Home Campaign was calculated to return the United Party to power and in the same breath told the people that there was no difference between the United Party and the National Party. After initiating the Campaign for three days they called it off in indecent haste when it had hardly run for a day. In fairness to the people and in the interests of the liberation movement the present official leaders must resign. Congress must return to her policies and methods.

Kwame Likwame.

The Stay-at-Home Expulsions in the A.N.C.

By Mphattalatsane.

Expulsions:

Three years back a writer in this journal warned that the African National Congress was losing its independence and identity because of Non-African infiltration. This organ also warned against rising bureaucracy in the organisation and succeeded in calling a temporary halt to the main expulsions which were then the order of the day. The criticism-fearing "Congress Movement" Leadership has now reverted to same tactics which will certainly land them nowhere because of their docile abject capitulation to foreign inspired non-African leadership.

Topical Issue:

The most topical issue in Congress circles at the moment is the expulsion of Madzunya and Leballo from the A.N.C. who it is alleged, made the Stay-at-Home Protest the dismal fiasco it was.

A.N.C. Leadership Sells out.

The present A.N.C. official leadership no doubt, has deteriorated to the lowest level, has gone into disrepute and the gutters, and has left the masses dismayed and demoralised. How else could it be under a leadership that is tightly tied to the apron strings of negrophilistic democratic liberals and philanthropic liberal democrats? This unprincipled crowd, concentrated in the Transvaal, styling itself the National Working Committee, fumbling in the dark, engaged in small time intrigues, has unconditionally surrendered its soul to the enemies of African freedom. The clique has become a toy of ambitious suspects, white political careerists whose sole aim is to dull the stinging end of African aspirations.

But if April 14th is any indication, the masses are not far from passing judgement on these faithful servants of white domination in Congress.

Ambitious Little Men.

The toy leadership has not yet developed an independent outlook in the struggle for national liberation. They are but enthusiastic but true reflections of their white political tutors and bosses who will not hesitate to smash the A.N.C. if it becomes the bastion of virile Militant African Nationalism. These robots and megaphones, if they could, would expel not only Madzunya and Leballo but also the thousands of Africans in the country who ignored their adventurist call.

Briefly/.....

Briefly put, this is the case for the Stay-at-Home Expulsions. Madzunya, Leballo and the thousands in the country point out that the protest will be a flop, and they say they will be no party to that flop. The protest day comes and becomes a flop. Madzunya and Leballo are expelled from the A.N.C.

Confused Instructions:

An objective examination however, shows that the protest could never, have been anything but the failure it was. Initially, it was conceived by an amorphous multi-racial gathering at Ghandi Hall last September. It was then launched by an amorphous S.A.C.T.U. public meeting at Newclare attended by three Europeans excluding press reporters and special Branch men. Thereafter it was popularised by the mysterious FI - a - day Committee. It was then directed by a steering committee whose creation is still a mystery, and finally called off by the African National Congress. How could the people really nurse such a fatherless child or rally to a call in such a polyglot of tongues?

The decision to protest was wholly un-African and unpopular. It was in fact a veritable attempt at blotting the significance of June 26 as a National day of protest. It was political jugglery intended to undermine the functions of a National Conference of the A.N.C. whose decisions are binding on every Congressite in particular and every African in general.

The protest, by all imaginations was impolitic and unrealistic in the extreme. Its conception, devoid of national aspiration was simply a squib and scab product of a warped slave mentality. The bitter fundamental truth is that we have not yet reached a class struggle stage. We remain an oppressed nation committed to winning our freedom via the African National liberation movement whose basic demand is to recover lost African sovereignty.

Whereas in China and India there existed a powerful class of indigenous financiers who collaborated with foreign capitalists in fleecing the native peoples, in our country such a class does not exist. The secondary economic exploitation we suffer as workers does not supersede the colour discrimination. A "workers" Stay-at-Home protest will only find room in a true democracy, in a socio-political set up that will permit universal adult suffrage.

The sponsors of the abortive protest, the careerist clique in the so-called Congress Movement, deliberately ignored the fact that all bosses in this country are white and all workers are black. In their "broad", "progressive" minds they visualised a colourless workers-front launching against white capitalists. The main reaction to their shebeen decision has shaken them to their hoofs and they are disillusioned.

My warning to these cranks and touts of White liberals is that they cannot forever fool the African masses. In the fulness of time, if this "moderate" responsible bunch is still on the helm of our affairs the masses are likely to mete out to them the fate of Robespierre and Danton.

The protest was haphazard and clumsy from the onset. It reflected the sordial detachment of the leaders from the people. The whole sorry spectacle was just frantic activity which is so much different from planned programmatic action. Impelled by sinister motive, eager to please their white political tutors, misled by certain propaganda sheets owned by white capitals, the hirelings were too much in a hurry to re-echo their "Master's voice". We have always maintained that all campaigns must be based on the programme of Action if they are to be supported to the hilt provided that imposed, and impotent campaigns that will obviously have the contrary effect be and shall be disowned dishonoured, and destroyed.

They have tried with all their shallow cleverness to adduce arguments to prove that all the distribution of vote catching leaflets to the white leleborate was wholly in conflict with clause one of the A.N.C., programme of Action. It was obvious that the A.N.C. at the back of the masses, had gone into some unholy election pact with the U.P. to get the Nats out of power. What these muddle headed functionaries hoped to get in a U.P. victory is still beyond my understanding.

Africa s have a deep-seated historical suspicion and dislike of all white political groups. To gloss over this fact is the very bottom of political bankruptcy. A campaign wherein the A.N.C. takes sides with either of the major white parties is in conflict with African Nationalism and at variance with the mood of the people. It is inevitably bound to incur their wrath and contempt as this one did.

The "Masters of the A.N.C. have failed to fathom the temper of the African people, and have insulted and underated our intelligence. It is natural that they should find some scapegoats for their failures, in this case Madzunya and Leballo. True to form and as a face saving measure I am expecting them to unleash a "Terrorist" wave of "purges" and stay-at-home expulsions.

One fact, however, has emerged crystal clear from this episode and the charterists also admit it: Madzunya, Leballo and others trully know their African people who are just waiting for a son from their loins to lead them to a new, free, independent and democratic Afrika. Afrika's Cause must Triumph.

Ha e Khutle!

THE KLIPTOWN CHARTER.BY Ufford Khoruba and Kwame Lekwame.

The expulsion of Messrs. Potlako Leballo and Josiah Madzunya, from the A.N.C. on the grounds, inter alia, of their rejecting the so called Freedom Charter and actively and consistently opposing it, precipitates a critical and objective study of the document. Since we reject charterism and embrace Africanism, it behoves us to understand what we reject as thoroughly as what we accept.

Policy Statement.

It is a popular maxim of Western legalists that the preamble to any law is not in itself law but is deeper in significance than the law itself since it clearly sets forth (or should do so) the reasons and objects of the law: since it, in that sense, gives the real intentions of the legislature. The Charter is not a statute but is a political document and as such its opening clauses must be taken to be of deeper significance than the provisions of its actual text. Its preamble contains basic notions and guiding ideas all leading to the fundamental principles within whose framework its details are adumbrated. What ever the effects of a superficial study of this document may be, it is only a penetrative analysis and critical study of its basic ideas that clearly reveals to us the real intentions of its authors.

The charterists claim that their charter is the policy of the A.N.C. as 'Policy outlines basic principles'. According to informed opinion policy is a system of measured regulating the affairs of any body'. It is, therefore clear that policy measures are intended to advance the organisation towards the attainment of its goals which are founded upon basic principles. To have any realism at all such principles must be related to the actual material conditions. That much cannot be said for the ill-digested ideas and ill-defined statements catalogued in that ill-starred document the Kliptown Charter. One thing is certain: whatever the charter is, it is not a statement of policy.

The Authors of the Kliptown Charter.

We are in a position to determine the authorship of the charter from an analysis of the real nature and role of the leadership associated with its conception, pre-natal growth, its birth and ill-fated existence.

Professor Z.K. Matthews, Vice President of the A.N.C, moved the resolution that led to the birth of the Kliptown Charter. As soon as the charter was born the professor unequivocally disowned its authorship.

Opening with the words "We, the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know," the charter, proceeds to list, its leading ideas in five consecutive clauses.

The phrase "We the people of South Africa" falsifies history and negates the realism of the situation. It is clear that the charter is not a representative document. It does not represent the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa, but those of the oppressing aliens in it.

The Kliptown Charter did not emanate as a finished document from the A.N.C. It emanated as such from the Vodka Cocktail parties of Parktown and Lower Houghton. A close study of its ideas shows clearly that it bears the imprint of its origin. The black masses who met at Kliptown were merely pawns in the game of power politics.

The whites who were at Kliptown, ^{except} ~~from~~ the special branch, were mainly members of the Congress of the Democrats. They are part of the ruling class in South Africa. While ostensibly fighting for the "progressive" South Africa they are in reality concerned with the maintenance of the status quo.

The material position of members of the South African Indian Congress who were present, is identical with that of the members of C.O.D. These elements were the Indian Merchant Class who though politically repressed are in fact not oppressed. They are an exploiting alien group whose material interests are in direct conflict with those of the Indian masses.

P.T.O.

The African leaders, present were mainly elements receiving economic benefits from the 'Marshall Aid Plan' of the C.O.A. and the S.A.L.C.

To claim, therefore, that the Kliptown Charter was the work of independent, free and representative agents of either the European, Indian Coloured or African people is to make a claim unsupported by facts.

The Basic Conception Underlying Ownership.

The statement of the first clause that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" is incorrect. It is equivalent to saying that "Japan belongs to all who live in it, yellow and white - all because the American Army of occupation is resident in Japan. Such a declaration would shock all Japan and all the world. South Africa is a part of Africa and every inch of Africa belongs to the Africans. The basic conception underlying ownership involves physical control and it is, therefore, a fundamental right of the African people to control their own country.

The statement that 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people' is tautological nonsense. The national government of any country must be based on the will of its nationals excluding its non-nationals. In making the claim of the basis of just authority the CODDITERS are clearly out-democratizing themselves - for even in a democracy just authority is based on the will of the majority. The statement is intellectually dishonest though politically expedient.

Robbers and the Robbed.

The second clause of the preamble states: "We the people--- declare---that our people have been robbed of their birth right to land liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality." The "people's people" have been robbed by the people? No. By an abstraction. By a form of government. No more classic example can be found to illustrate the confusion of thought in which the charterists have landed themselves, and the slip of the pen of which they are just victims. Their political chicanery has landed them in a muddy muddle. The truth is that the African people have been robbed by the European people. The use of the term 'land' is intentionally legerdemain. It is used to mean (real estate) and to reflect 'country through association'. The deeper truth is we have been robbed of our birthright to the effective control of our own country, and consequently of our freedom, independence and happiness. With the C.O.D. anxious as it is to confer on us the benevolence of their political despotism they must perforce refer to land in its agrarian sense and not in the sense of its wider implications. They cannot, therefore, interpret it as the very source of our sustenance and maintenance.

The use of the word 'liberty' which implies a limited type of freedom is also significant as the word 'freedom' itself appears by design in the title only and nowhere in the actual text of the charter. The C.O.D. has no intention of conferring freedom, independence and happiness on the African people, but only 'land', liberty and peace'.

The charter complains about a form of government founded on injustice and inequality imply a general acceptance of the existing framework, C.O.D. fails to appreciate that the existing form of government is based upon oppression and degradation. These social phenomena spell a greater degree of social maladjustment than injustice and inequality.

When in Rome.

Our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

The final stamp of the genius of any social order or any social ^{philosophy} ~~phil.~~ that purports to solve the social problem must be found in its evaluation of the relation of man to his fellowman or what social thinkers and writers throughout the ages have called the 'brotherhood of man'.

Recognising as we do, the non-existence of inescapable differences between various branches or sub-branches of the human family and recognising also that whatever differences there are among various groups are especially due to environmental influences, we must regard any social unit based on ethnic grouping as a denial of the common community of man. Much/.....

Much as Christ's disciples and followers have let him down on the practice of human brotherhood, his precepts remain classic: "Love your neighbour as yourself", do unto others what you would be, and finally his conception of a society in which they would be neither Jew nor Gentile'. The freedom charter accepts as basic for the South African Social set up the continued existence of ethnic or national groups. It fails to realise that the existence of a European national group or an Asia one in Africa is a serious anomaly, a contradiction in terms. The logically correct place to develop, as the charter postulates, Indian folk lore and Indian customs is India and for Europeans to foster European folk lore, and European culture is Europe. It is impossible for people who set much store by ethnic origins and are consequently unable to adapt themselves to their new environment to appreciate the concept of brotherhood. It is impossible for people who, out of arrogance born of their 'ethnic origins', or in the more grandiloquent phraseology of the charter, out of their 'race or national pride', describe their hosts, in terms of themselves as NON-European or non-white to grasp the real meaning and significance of brotherhood.

Bethat as it may, the African people cannot accept the theory or practice of an outlook super-imposed upon them by elements whose guiding maxim seems to be "When you are in Rome do as you do at home".

C.O.D. Type of Democracy.

"Only a democratic State, based on the will of all the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of race, colour, sex or belief".

All forms of government are the machinery for the upholding of economic interests. In a struggle such as ours, the objective is to control such machinery. Such a government will obviously derive its just authority from the will of the African people. What the charterists fail to appreciate is that no writ of prescription can run against the fundamental rights of the people and certainly no such writ can run against the fundamental right of the African people to control effectively the source of their sustenance and maintenance.

With indecent haste the charterists declare that "the people shall share the country's wealth'. It is theoretically untenable and therefore politically unacceptable to have the robber and his victim to agree to share before the victim has vindicated his right of possession. It is, therefore, as clear as day light, that the African cannot accept this C.O.D. type of democracy.

Equality of Master and Slave.

"And, therefore, we the people of South Africa", concludes the preamble, "black and white together---equals, country men and brothers--adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won".

The charterists are very unrealistic. The actual existing material conditions and the prevailing ideological divide have no meaning for them. The reconciliation between an out group and an ingroup on both the material and intellectual levels before the synthesis of opposites can be real has no meaning for them. To them master and slave--the exploiter and the exploited the oppressor and the oppressed, the degrador and the degraded are all EQUALS, to them African Nationals and alien Nationals -- the dispossessed indigenious peoples and their alien dispossessors are all COUNTRY MEN. For them the tribalist and the nationalist, the Herrenvolkenist and the Africanist are all BROTHERS.

The problem of the synthesis of opposites cannot be resolved by a magic wand. It is dependent for its resolution upon changes in the material set-up changes in the ideological content and changes in philosophic outlook to end the relationship of master and slave exploitation must be eliminated. For the alien nationals to become African nationals they must restore the control of the country to the Africans and be nationalised by them.

For/.....

For the tribalist to become nationalist he must stop thinking in terms of ethnic or national groups in the country and think in terms of one social group the African Nation. For the Herrenvolkenist to become an Africanist he must think in terms of the primacy of the interests of the subject class instead of that of those of the ruling class the only basis for reconciliation of these interests.

It is only after these stages, of social development have been gone through that we shall reach those categories of EQUALS, COUNTRY MEN AND BROTHERS - which betray no instability.

The text of the Charter.

Having dealt with the underlying notions of the guiding ideas which lead to the fundamental principles of the Charter we shall now deal with some of the salient points of its text.

Methods of upholding the Interests of the African people.

The Charter promises Votes for all, participation in the administration of councils of State at different levels. Here it is important to distinguish the mere democratic methods and procedures from democracy as a fundamental principle. In spite of their lip service to the methods and procedure of democracy, the Charterists understand these to mean in practice the carrying out of "directives" from higher organs by the masses - the toying of the line by them. For them the top leadership is the brain trust of the masses. When, therefore, they mouth slogans such as "The PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN", these must mean, as long as it suits the top leaders and their lackeys and flunkies.

Political democracy has been defined by Old Abe Lincoln "as the government of the people for the people by the people". It means Government of the people by the freely elected representatives of the majority, and in the interests of that majority as to what their real interests are.

We have observed that the function of all government is the upholding of economic interests. The crucial question about any form of government, therefore, is:- Whose economic interests does it uphold? Since in South Africa the social question is primary a national question any form of government in this country must uphold the economic interests of the African people. It is this fundamental principle that the Kliptown Charter fails to appreciate. With in the framework of the acceptance of this fact, political democracy must be understood to comprise the methods and procedures whereby the African majority shall uphold their own economic interests. Questions of suffrage, election, participation in governmental and administrative organs of the state, are all properly within the purview and scope of political democracy. Properly conceived it is an outflow of Social democracy.

The Organisational Principle for Upholding the Interests of the African People.

Democracy as a fundamental organisational principle is, therefore, the control by the majority of the machinery for upholding its economic interests. In South Africa it implies control exercised by the African majority. The function of social democracy is to control economic interests, to organise and plan economic activities and to distribute, on an equitable basis, national wealth. We have already alluded to the C.O.D. type of social democracy. In visualizing, inter alia, the continued existence of domestic workers and the abolition of only 'fenced locations' the Charter bears the imprint of its origin. In passing it may be pointed out that in omitting the right of the workers to strike before social democracy is attained, the charterists successfully refute their own allegation that the Charter is a statement of policy.

Charity Begins at Home.

We owe no apology to the Charterists and we offer none in stating the inherent right of an indigenious people to control the machinery for the upholding of their own interests to be the most fundamental of human rights.

If/.....

If the Charterists accept as we hope they do, one of the fundamental aims of education as propounded by the United Nations they will, to borrow their own phraseology, 'Pledge themselves to strive together, sparing nothing of their strength and courage, to foster respect for this fundamental right.

On the basis of the foregoing we conceive of a new nation in South Africa a social unit, occupying a compact territory, sharing a common social institutions. When the charter says "The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognised" we are tempted to remind them that 'Charity begins at home'.

Rejection of the Charter.

We reject the Kliptown Charter. We reject it as a document super-imposed on us. We reject it as a quasi-nationalist document with its attempt to laud the struggle for independence 'of all the peoples of Africa' while undermining that struggle in the Southern tip of that land; with its attempt to super impose ethnic grouping upon the future development of South-Africa and thus make a mockery of the brotherhood of man and man's common humanity. We reject it as an pseudo-democratic document wishing to super impose a false brand of democracy which attempts to ignore the grim realities of the Situation.

Above all, we reject it for its utter contempt of the African's mind and its ability and capacity to grapple with the Social question the problem of man's relation to his fellowman. Such behaviour is a slur on the African's intellect and an insult to his intelligence.

The Common Good.

Perhaps if we understand thoroughly the inner compulsions propelling the authors of the Charter we may decide 'not to weigh their merits but to pardon their offences'. The first of these influences is the instinctive tendency of every ruling class to uphold its economic interests as long as it possibly can. The second is the 'missionary zeal' of the apostles of a new found ideology, who believing as they do in the inherent superiority of their brand of ideology over all others, whether that ideology be theoretically valid or not, feel themselves compelled to spread their gospel and recreate the subject peoples in their own image, regardless of the chances of success.

In justice to the charterists it must be pointed out that their contempt for the African and their utter disregard of his feelings are not for him as such but are a contempt and a disregard for the human personality. This attitude flows from their philosophical position which regards man as an economic animal instead of a social being. Judged by the standards of the United Nations' Charter our Kliptown Charterists, are barbarous and uneducated.

According to the United Nations Charterists one of the fundamental aims of education is to develop the human personality. Since the Kliptown charterists, unlike their United Nations counterpart, observe conspiratorial silence on the point and since some of them are familiar with the maxim: "from each according to his capacity to each according to his needs", we may be allowed to quote them as a parting gift, the words of one wise old writer on the subject: "Men are not equal in their capacity to serve the Community nor are they equal in their needs but they are equal in the possession of a personality that is worthy of reverence. They are equal in the right to the development of that personality, so far as may be compatible with the common good. And in the determination of what constitutes that common good they have an equal claim that their case should be heard and weighed, and that the judgement should be disinterested and just".

N O T I C E O F S E R V I C E

YOU ARE INVITED TO ATTEND THE ANTON LEMBEDE MEMORIAL

S E R V I C E,

To be held at the

D. O. C. C.

O R L A N D O.

on

S U N D A Y T H E

20th J U L Y, 1958.

COMMENCING AT II a.m.

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.