

*The Pan Africanist  
Congress of South Africa—  
Whom Does It Serve ?*

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Post Box 680, Morogoro, Tanzania**

# The Counter-revolutionary Role of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa

## INTRODUCTION

Since its inception, the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (P.A.C.) has been characterised by an insatiable desire to wreck and betray the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people of our country. Their activities have always been aimed not at destroying the oppressive apartheid machinery but at crippling and thwarting the revolutionary programme of the African National Congress.

The litany of their political mischief-making cannot be exhaustively discussed in a pamphlet of this length. What follows in the next pages is a brief examination of the deceitful, opportunistic and adventurist role they have set themselves to project into the international political scene. However, <sup>here to refer briefly to</sup> it is necessary to take a bird's eye-view of their unsung political past in South Africa in order to fathom their present callous role abroad. <sup>in particular hevallo's,</sup>

At the end of 1958, a small band of disruptive adventurists that had for some time been active within the ranks of the African National Congress finally broke away. Early in 1959, after a lengthy meeting held in the luxurious premises of the library of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Johannesburg, they decided to form a "revolutionary" political organisation which they called the "Pan Africanist Congress". Thus the dark schemes <sup>of American imperialists' third force theory of</sup> subversion of the successful development of the national liberation revolution against apartheid fascism were clearly exposed to the light of day.

From the very onset after the announcement was made, the leaders of the African National Congress warned the people of South Africa that the activities of the newly-formed political organisation would unashamedly assist the aims of the enemy rather than promote the true interests of the South African revolution. The past activities of this small group inside the ranks of our organisation has provided us with ample evidence for these fears which we still entertain. All along the line, the activities of the Pan Africanist Congress clearly vindicated our prognosis.

What motivated the P.A.C. breakaway ?

The small clique of disruptive elements who later formed the Pan Africanist Congress, as just pointed out above, had all along been bitterly

opposed to the United Front policy of the African National Congress. Their agitation against this policy became particularly vocal after the historic DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS CAMPAIGN OF 1952 which had been mainly carried out by the militant volunteers of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation and some militant white youth.

This close alliance and co-operation with the democratic organisations from other racial groups, led the Pan Africanist Congress leaders to wildly allege that the A.N.C. had lost its identity as a purely African revolutionary organisation and had surrendered its leadership to non-African sections of the liberation movement. These false allegations were made in spite of the fact that the liberation movement had unanimously accepted the obvious truth that because of the concrete historical situation existing in our country, the main content of the revolution in South Africa is the liberation of the African people who are not only the overwhelming majority but are also the most oppressed section of the entire population.

Logically, therefore, the historical responsibility of leading the alliance of national liberation unquestionably devolved on the African National Congress.

After the adoption of the historic "Freedom Charter" in 1955 by all the constituent members of the South African National Liberation Movement (the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation which later became the South African Coloured People's Congress, and the South African Congress of Democrats), the same disruptive elements lost no time in putting obstacles to the popularisation of this political programme among the masses of the oppressed people of our country. They proclaimed very loudly that the "Freedom Charter" did not express the true aspirations of the liberation movement and people, but was a document inspired by Moscow.

One of the ~~pet~~ charges that has always been hurled at our organisation by the present P.A.C. leaders, <sup>particularly Lebrally</sup> was that the African National Congress was dominated by Communists, a charge which they have now substituted with the term "modern Soviet revision" in order to solicit financial and other assistance from the People's Republic of China. This anti-communist hysteria of the P.A.C. leaders evoked shrill echoes of support in the enemy camps at home and abroad. The P.A.C. leadership is now undergoing a deep cleavage as their U.S. imperialist masters are somewhat disillusioned with certain elements in the P.A.C. factional groups.

Notwithstanding bitter opposition from the national liberation movement and the general democratic opinion all over South Africa, the government enacted the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. This law was ostensibly designed to check what they regarded as the spread

of Communism in South Africa. As subsequent events were to prove, people of all shades of political opinion and beliefs came under attack. A "statutory communist" was described to mean anybody who, in any manner whatsoever, opposed the apartheid regime, be it in the form of a sermon from a church pulpit, a funeral oration at the grave-side, an anti-segregationist in the sporting and other cultural fields, leaders and activists of democratic political organisations, etc. As a result of a reactionary anti-communist witch-hunt which the secret police conducted after the passing of that law, Church leaders, people who avowedly professed anti-socialist ideals and leaders of anti-fascist political organisations received banning and restriction notices, isolating them from intercourse with the masses of the people. The leading ranks of the African National Congress and allied organisations of the national liberation movement were the most severely hit by the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act.

Only the "pure revolutionaries" of the Pan Africanist Congress escaped the wrath of the fascist regime of South Africa. The reason for this is of course not far to seek. Their disruptive activities have always been a boon to the South African racists, the only section which has had occasion to feel highly satisfied.

~~These then are the main reasons why the Pan Africanist Congress was formed.~~ It is not necessary to emphasise that the so-called leadership of the P.A.C. by loudly proclaiming their opposition to the A.N.C. added grist to the oppressors' mill.

The disunity caused by counter-revolutionary activity is always a blessing to the oppressors. The chapters of history are burdened with such examples. We now proceed to deal briefly with disruptive activities of the P.A.C.

In April 1958, Potlako K. Leballo who is both the Secretary-General and Acting President of the P.A.C. used the services of the enemy press to oppose the national stoppage of work aimed at highlighting the crippling grievances of the oppressed people of South Africa. The national strike had been called to coincide with the White-only general elections on 14th, 15th, and 16th April 1958. Naturally, all the reactionary South African dailies lapped up the anti-strike call by this great 'revolutionary'.

### ~~The March 1960 Debacle~~ SHARPEVILLE

At the annual conference held in December 1959, the African National Congress finalised the plans for a nation-wide campaign of active mass resistance against the fascist regime. The planned forms of mass resistance were to be national stoppages of work, burning of passes and later sabotage against the oppressor's vital installations.

By March 1960, the A.N.C. massive campaign was already <sup>well</sup> underway throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. Thus the masses of



the oppressed people were successfully mobilised for the March 31 Anti-Pass National stoppage of work.

However, on March 21st, the newly-formed "counter revolutionary" Pan Africanist Congress issued a treacherous call to the people to go and stand outside police stations. To dupe and confuse our people, the "leaders" of this organisation said that the call was being issued by the Congress (a generic title for the African National Congress among political and non-political circles in South Africa). Their calculations were also that in view of the massive popular Anti-Pass campaign of the African National Congress, the masses of the people would associate this call with the commencement of the planned onslaught against the pass system. It must be noted here with special emphasis that the A.N.C. campaign was to start on March 31, But the P.A.C. sought to spread disunity by <sup>jumping in by the gun and</sup> issuing the March 21 call.

The mass massacres of the people on the 21st March in Sharpeville and Langa in Cape Town by the South African government were well known. The African National Congress directed the wrath of the people caused by the massacres along more effective lines which culminated in a successful national stoppage of work called by the late A.N.C. President, Chief A. J. Lutuli. Also at his call the burning of passes on a nation-wide scale followed.

At the initiative of the African National Congress, a meeting of African leaders of all shades of political opinion, various religious and cultural groups and organisations etc. was organised in December 1960 to consider joint plans of action to counter the mounting reactionary onslaught of the fascist apartheid regime on the African people, in particular, At the conclusion of the meeting, a Continuation Committee was unanimously elected from representatives of all the participating organisations including the Pan Africanist Congress. The main task of this committee was to make preparations for a country-wide All-In African Unity conference of the African people scheduled for March 1961.

In the midst of unprecedented activity all over the country in preparation for the crucial meeting, the representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress suddenly made press statements withdrawing their support without prior consultation with any of their colleagues serving on the preparatory committee. To add insult to injury, they proceeded to call upon the African people to ignore the consultative committee's call for the election of delegates to the planned conference. Notwithstanding the meeting took place at Maritzburg on March 25 and was addressed by Nelson Mandela. This was the last meeting Mandela addressed before his arrest.

The growing anger of the African people against the fascist apartheid regime was demonstrated by the enthusiasm of delegates from all over the country who braved all government intimidation and obstruction in order to attend the Maritzburg All-in-African Unity Conference. The one

thousand five hundred assembled delegates took a decision for a national stoppage of work to coincide with the celebrations by the white section of the population for the changeover of South Africa from Dominion to Republic status without prior consultation. The basis of our demand, which had not been heeded, was for the holding of a National Convention of representatives of all racial groups to decide on the future equitable Constitution designed to safeguard and guarantee full democratic rights for all the South African citizens irrespective of colour, race, creed or sex.

On the eve of the planned nation-wide strike, the Pan Africanist Congress issued and distributed thousands of leaflets exhorting the African people to ignore the strike. On the other hand, the terrorist government of our country frightened by the unity of the people unleashed a massive show of strength by combined operations of the army and police in an effort to intimidate the people. In certain areas, police agents were seen handing out the mass produced P.A.C. anti-strike leaflets.

No comment is necessary to illustrate the complete identity of aims between the P.A.C. and the fascist Government of South Africa except to put a poignant question: Who was serving whom ?

### **The United Front Abroad**

In April 1960, the racist regime piloted the Unlawful Organisations Act in record time through its parliament and immediately thereafter proscribed both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. Shortly before this callous Act, however, and whilst the country was in turmoil following the Sharpeville massacres of March 21st 1960, the African National Congress had decided that our Acting President, Mr. Oliver Tambo, and other leading members of the Organisation, should leave South Africa for the purpose of carrying on a sustained propaganda campaign abroad to rally world public opinion against the fascist policies of the white racist government. The South African Indian Congress, had also decided that some of the leaders including Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, should leave the country for the same purpose.

At about this time a few members of the Pan Africanist Congress had also come out of South Africa in the wake of their anti-pass fiasco which they now, purely for international consumption, refer to as a "Positive Action" campaign.

Despite the known disenchantment of the Pan Africanist Congress in participating in any United Front campaigns, it was nevertheless decided that in order to effectively isolate the murderous regime of South Africa, a united voice of all political opponents irrespective of political affiliation should be heard by the international public. A United Front of all political organisations from South Africa and South West Africa was

accordingly formed. This brought together members of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the now defunct South West African National Union and, <sup>by</sup> unanimous decision it was agreed that the African National Congress should as senior organisation, lead the Front.

The formation of a United Front of all organisations fighting against the oppressive policies of the South African government was indeed an historic step whose significance was hailed by all the oppressed people of South Africa, South West Africa and the progressive world. On the other hand, the white racist government and their allies including local leading industrial and commercial Houses could not disguise their soul consuming fears of the world-wide impact of the United Front. Panic measures, including a hurried knocking together of a "South African Foundation" were undertaken to parry the impending isolation.

The South Africa Foundation, an organisation of leading South African capitalists in league with international monopoly groups holding vast interests in South Africa, launched an extensive campaign to present the oppressive policies of the South African government in a "better" light. The principal aim of their massive propaganda was to attract overseas investors and to keep the international market open for South African manufactures and capital.

The United Front was, however, soon to experience serious internal difficulties which later led to its dissolution. The divisive tendencies of the Pan Africanist Congress reared their head very early in the life of this Front. <sup>3. since by the</sup> The P.A.C. representatives started on a campaign of sabotaging the collective efforts of the constituent members, with the aim of projecting themselves as leaders of the only "revolutionary" organisation fit to be spokesmen of the oppressed people of South Africa. Thus the Pan Africanist Congress bore one more responsibility for weakening the combined propaganda onslaught against the murderous regime of South Africa. We need hardly point out that this was an occasion for great rejoicing in the ranks of our enemies.

We have dealt with the question of the United Front to show that the counter-revolutionary Pan Africanist Congress has in its short history done nothing but frustrate all attempts of the people as a combined force to assault the apartheid regime. This question has constantly been posed by all our friends and well-wishers and we would like them to know who the real saboteurs of united action against our enemies are.

The disunity malady has not only affected their dealings with other organisations. The short history of the Pan Africanist Congress is replete with inner-party quarrels and squabbles that have caused the disintegration of this organisation into numerous small warring factions, each claiming a mandate to represent the people of South Africa.

Surely, the suffering people of South Africa must not be made pawns

to attain selfish political ends. We have warned the world before and we again repeat that we shall not be party to these diabolical schemes of the Pan Africanist Congress. Our people are today making the supreme sacrifice by laying down their very lives for the noble cause for freedom and human dignity. The issues confronting our people ~~are~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~no longer~~ <sup>neither</sup> academic nor emotional. ~~They are~~ <sup>it is</sup> real and require ~~practical~~ <sup>practical</sup> solutions in the form of effective ~~and material assistance.~~ <sup>and determined arm</sup>

Let us now proceed to examine their present state of organisation and intrigue.



Statement submitted by the African National Congress  
of South Africa to the meeting of the Council of  
Ministers of the O.A.U. held in Addis Ababa -  
February 20-22, 1968

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress has a long and sordid history of attempting to subvert the struggle for liberation in South Africa. One of the aims of the "leadership" of this organisation (if it can be called that at all) was to collect for themselves as much money as possible. In the course of fighting over their loot the "organisation" has broken up into numerous factions. There have been expulsions and counter-expulsions, accusations and recriminations.

In September 1967 the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa made an attempt to unite the numerous factions which developed within its ranks since it split from the African National Congress of South Africa in 1959. But their re-unification talks at Moshi, Tanzania, in September 1967 have already led to another cleavage in what is often called the "leadership" of the P.A.C.

The "leadership" of the P.A.C. hastily had to convene a Conference to overcome their internal difficulties in order to forestall the implementation of a decision adopted by the Organisation for African Unity Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa which called upon the P.A.C. to unite or suffer the remedial action which the Liberation Committee intended to take.

When the P.A.C. "re-unification" talks took place at Moshi they did so against the background of serious internal bickering and faction fights among their members in Dar-es-Salaam. In view of the gravity of the internecine squabbles in P.A.C., the Government of the Republic of Tanzania closed the offices of the P.A.C. in Dar-es-Salaam.

It is not our intention to examine that period of trouble in the P.A.C. as it will be quite clear from the attached copy of a letter (Annexure A) written by an officer of the Christian Council in Tanzania that the "Leballo group" had the upperhand in the manner the Moshi "unity" Conference was convened in September 1967.

One of the results of the Moshi "unity" Conference was to suspend the Treasurer-General of the P.A.C., Mr. A. B. Ngcobo. A Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the accounts of the P.A.C. and to examine Ngcobo on how he had kept the funds of the P.A.C. as Treasurer-General.

The Commission of Inquiry consisted of Messrs Z. B. Molete, J. D.

Nyaose, and P. N. Raboroko. When A. B. Ngcobo circulated a damning document showing how Leballo and Nyaose had individually failed to hand over to the Treasurer-General of P.A.C. the funds which they obtained from various countries in the name of the P.A.C. such as the United Arab Republic and China, for instance, the Commission of Inquiry could not conduct its investigations any further. The Commission was compelled to abandon its duty as one of its members. J. D. Nyaose, was directly involved in the failure to hand over funds to A. B. Ngcobo who was P.A.C. Treasurer-General at the time. The Commission of Inquiry also feared being expelled from the P.A.C. if it should dare investigate the conduct of Mr. P. K. Leballo in regard to the funds that Ngcobo's evidence shows to have been received by him.

We believe that the A. B. Ngcobo's statement on the finances of the P.A.C. (reproduced as Annexure 'B') has been submitted to the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

Insofar as P. N. Rabroko is concerned as a member of the Commission of Inquiry, the copy of the letter (Annexure A) attached herewith clearly shows that he and A. B. Ngcobo have at one time jointly gone round collecting funds in the U.S.A.

As far as J. D. Nyaose is concerned we only have to refer to some of the documents he has circulated in which he showed how dangerous P. K. Leballo was to the South African Revolution. The most recent of these exposures by Nyaose was written from Addis Ababa in February 1967 and addressed to a group of P.A.C. dissidents who were in Nairobi, Kenya. In that document, J. D. Nyaose unleashed a scathing attack on the Government of Tanzania.

Let us quote a few extracts from the documents which the P.A.C. "leadership" has circulated either as an attack on the A.N.C. or an attack on one another. It is in these documents that one can clearly see that the P.A.C. will never be able to prosecute the liberation struggle in South Africa, and in fact is consistently subverting it.

In Azania News, the official organ of the PAC ; Vol. 3 Nos. 1-2, January 1968, reference is made to one of the foremost spokesmen of the P.A.C. in the following terms :

"Incidentally, the latter view (that is, a "continental organisation under a central command") is shared by the detached commentator, Matthew Nkoana, former P.A.C. representative in London, who has consistently taken a view that is *contrary to the official approach even when he claims to be speaking for Pan Africanist Congress*. Nkoana is quite adept at combining reactionary substance with revolutionary phrases to make a counter-revolutionary proposition sound revolutionary. Certainly this is the traditional mechanism of the adventurists who shows great ability in seeing how

a revolution can be run in every place except in the camp of aggression, where it should of necessity be conducted, and proposes many brilliant moves, except the necessary move to organise and conduct revolution at the right place under the right conditions”.

Matthew Nkoana participated at the Moshi P.A.C. “re-unification” Conference. He is still a leading member of the P.A.C. In the P.A.C. application for membership of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation dated April 4, 1966 they deny charges against them which they have dismally failed to refute :

“The A.N.C. accuses our leadership of responsibility for arrests in South Africa in March and April 1963. Like all arm-chair critics and fault-finders they fail in the face of simple facts to attribute the arrests to the “Snyman Report” which urged Parliament to take firm and urgent action against Poqo, the military wing of the P.A.C. However, they have fallen for a plot hatched by the South African government together with the British Administration in Basutoland and their agents in an attempt to blackmail and even discredit the leadership of the P.A.C. for their own purpose.

“It is only natural, even if impolitic for the A.N.C. as a dethroned rival to seek to make capital out of this, but as Chairman Mao has observed, those who want to accuse should not speak before they have investigated.”

But the P.A.C. should remember that apart from our exposure of the counter-revolutionary work of the P.A.C. inside South Africa, one of their own members has denounced them. On the 18th September 1965, J. D. Nyaoase issued a circular Letter No. 1, styling himself as :

“President Chairman of all PARTY Conference of the P.A.C. in South Africa, Secretary for Labour and Member of the Central Committee in the Pan Africanist Congress Party, in reply to Messrs. Potlako K. Leballo (National Secretary and now inter-alia ACTION PRESIDENT) of the Pan Africanist Congress.”

saying :

“The habit of gossiping and tail-beating to the South African police, Embassies, Government and Organisations about party secrets and internal differences even exposing what he thinks is the Pan Africanist Congress Party programme in our struggle for National Liberation, has proved to be Leballo’s assignment and role to play of

late in the Party, *as from March 1963*. And the only people who are thankful to Mr. Leballo's activities in the P.A.C. is the Verwoerd South African Government.

"It is possible that Mr. Leballo undertook his new role in the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, as a condition of protection which he badly needed to save his own life when the party membership and people at home attempted to kill him in Maseru (Basutoland), after the Leballo-Molete press conference *in March 1963 which caused the arrest of more than 10,000* political activists in South Africa following the publicity of P.A.C. programme of action secrets which they exposed in advance in order to alert the South African Government. *By your present actions in the Party Mr. Leballo, you have given an answer as to why you were amongst other things allowed to leave Maseru (Basutoland) through Jan Smuts Airport inside South Africa, whereas you were once such a dangerous wanted man there. Leballo leadership is as security risk in the S.A. revolution.*

"Mr. Leballo, you can have no excuse to the people of South Africa for doing the work of the South African Police against South African Freedom-Fighters, who were lucky to escape when you got all their P.A.C. activists arrested."

J. D. Nyaose further wrote of P. K. Leballo as follows in a letter dated February 6, 1967, which he sent to P.A.C. dissidents in Nairobi, Kenya :

"Mr. Leballo ceased in March 1963, to be an accredited Leader (National Secretary) of the P.A.C., when he informed the S.A. Government to arrest more than 15,000 freedom fighters members of the P.A.C. in S.A. stating that he feared that they were about to start another Sharpeville in which European men, women and children would be murdered over one night in S.A."

There is overwhelming evidence that what is called the P.A.C. does not exist as a cohesive organisation. It is indeed surprising and a cause for great concern that the P.A.C. "leadership" is given so much latitude to waste the funds of the O.A.U. and the material support that it provides ; it is indeed shocking that the P.A.C. "leadership" should be allowed to continue back-biting the very O.A.U. some of whose Member-States it abuses in spite of their obvious tolerance and indirect support. It is tragic that the O.A.U. should unwittingly allow the P.A.C. to continue undermining the South African liberation struggle by squandering the financial, material and refugee assistance granted to it.

The P.A.C. uses much of this O.A.U. assistance to attack the A.N.C. of South Africa and the struggle which it is leading against the fascist



White minority regime in South Africa. Occasionally we have been constrained to reply to these attacks rather as a clarification of the distortions and misrepresentations of our history and struggles which the P.A.C. revels in doing.

At the Moshi P.A.C. "re-unification" talks several persons were co-opted into what they termed the "Revolutionary Council". Some of them are Messrs Barney Desai, Cardiff Marney, Tsepo T. Letlaka, Ntantala, Kenneth Jordan etc. Soon after the Moshi P.A.C. Conference in September 1967, Barney Desai went to Lusaka, Zambia where he held a Press Conference on the outcome of their Moshi "re-unification" talks. Among the points raised in his statement were the following :

1. That the P.A.C. had worked out at Moshi a blueprint for revolution in South Africa.
2. That the P.A.C. is going to fight inside South Africa and is opposed to fighting in Zimbabwe or anywhere else against the Vorster regime.
3. That the P.A.C. is not opposed to the formation of a United Front but that it should be based on principle. Towards achieving that objective the P.A.C. called for a moratorium among the liberation movements to prevent the attacks and counter-attacks that take place among them.

We of the A.N.C. of South Africa were encouraged by this development in the camp of the P.A.C. and hoped that for once they would pursue their own decisions. But alas ! The P.A.C. were the first to break the "moratorium" which they themselves had proposed.

In their organ, the Azania News, published in Zambia by the P.A.C. they carried a sub-editorial entitled "The Wankie Fiasco" in which they maligned and denigrated the guerrilla fighting which the joint A.N.C. and ZAPU forces were waging in Zimbabwe. In a subsequent issue (Azania News Vol. 3 Nos. 1-2 January, 1968) they continued to vilify the A.N.C. leadership for having decided on the Wankie operation. The enemy had claimed that with the murder of Che Guevara guerrilla warfare in Latin America is over. The P.A.C. "leaders" claim that Wankie was a fiasco because some A.N.C. militants fell in action. They show an insatiable appetite for swallowing enemy propaganda and no difficulty to disgorge it in due course. The P.A.C. never hesitates to try and undermine and sabotage the struggle like true enemy agents by trying to demoralise the people and sow confusion amongst them. Wankie was and continues to be a great triumph for the struggle in Southern Africa and only the people's enemy, wrapped up and dis-

guised in pseudo-revolutionary phrases, dares attack the valiant sacrifices made in the Wankie battles in July/August 1967.

The P.A.C. "blueprint for revolution" in South Africa was mass produced and distributed to boost the "revolutionary" image of the P.A.C. But as soon as 13 of their militants returned from military training, they sent them to battle in January 1968. The preparations for that operation were made by a deserter from the A.N.C. guerrilla forces, one Gerald Lockman whom the P.A.C. had recruited. Lockman showed the P.A.C. ill-fated 13 the way across the Zambezi near the Kariba where they surrendered without firing a single shot. The P.A.C. at no stage had any serious intention of launching an armed struggle, this operation was mere window-dressing intended to deceive the African States and the world.

The P.A.C. has shamefully tried to conceal and hush up the fact that their 13 militants surrendered in Zimbabwe in January 1968 without even firing a single shot. This has led to renewed bickering, accusations and mutual recriminations among the P.A.C. especially in Lusaka.

P. K. Leballo is at logger-heads with Tsep0 T. Letlaka who now has a certain group of the P.A.C. under his "leadership". To avoid embarrassment and to prevent O.A.U. action against them, P. K. Leballo has threatened to expel T. T. Letlaka. He hopes this will silence Letlaka. P. K. Leballo has also chosen the method of transferring his opponents from one country to another in order to break their cohesion and give the semblance of peace and calm within the "leadership" of the P.A.C. Thus Mr. Masimini, the P.A.C. representative in Lusaka, is to be transferred possibly to Algeria and Mr. Sibeko, the P.A.C. representative in Dar-es-Salaam, is to go to Cairo. They may be sent to other places ; but the principle of silencing opposition within the P.A.C. in order to give the impression of unity and so retain the O.A.U. support that the P.A.C. misuses remains the basis of Leballo's tactics.

Messrs A. B. Ngcobo and P. N. Raboroko have defected to Nairobi, Kenya from where they hope to "re-unify" the P.A.C. afresh. That is the result of the ill-advised Moshi P.A.C. Conference whose objectives were simply to :

1. Organise an opposition Party to the A.N.C. of South Africa.
2. Create a "Revolutionary Council" of the P.A.C. "leadership" to deceive the O.A.U. into continuing to render P.A.C. financial and material support.

But there is always dishonour among thieves. We only hope that the Member-States of the O.A.U. will rid the South African liberation struggle of the heavy liability and subversion that the P.A.C. attempts

to carry out on its further development.

The P.A.C. "leadership" requires O.A.U. assistance to satisfy individual, selfish appetites. They are extremely opportunistic and will say or do anything to blacken the A.N.C. of South Africa. The P.A.C. "leadership" lack understanding of the problems involved in the South African struggle precisely because they are preoccupied with the A.N.C. rather than the enemy ; their major task is to criticise policies and tactics of the struggle led by the A.N.C. But when they pretend to launch guerrilla struggle themselves, they quickly abandon the futile theorising on how and where to fight.

Another illustration of their irresponsibility and complete lack of interest in the struggle is the fact that recently some of the militarily-trained men of the P.A.C. have sold their weapons and ammunition. For this act of treachery and cowardice, these P.A.C. "militants" have been put in jail in some African countries. Do we still have to belabour the point that the granting of O.A.U. recognition to the P.A.C. serves no good purpose to the O.A.U. itself ; to the countries that give P.A.C. facilities ; and to the South African liberation struggle ?

We should like to conclude by saying that there is abundant evidence that there does not exist an effective and cohesive body known as the P.A.C. which has a serious programme of struggle to liberate the people of South Africa and which can prosecute such a programme. There do exist fragments and factions, led by careerists and fortune-seekers who label themselves the P.A.C. Their main task is to shout revolutionary slogans but at the same time their activities are intended to disrupt, thwart, obstruct and subvert every effort of those who genuinely seek to liberate South Africa. This bankrupt and undefinable P.A.C. was created and is made to survive by forces hostile to African liberation in order to perform this treacherous act. They will not succeed.

We are confident that the O.A.U. will not hesitate to take drastic action against a group of confidence tricksters who abuse its assistance and resources for purposes diametrically opposed to the historic mission of the O.A.U.

## ANNEXURE 'A'

Mr. Jan van Hoogstraten,  
New York 10027

18 August 1967

Dear Mr. Jan van Hoogstraten,

Yesterday I had a conversation with A. B. Ngcobo the leader of the dissident group of P.A.C. members. Both A. B. Ngcobo and Ed. Hawley have been in correspondence with your office about the background of these P.A.C. difficulties.

A. B. Ngcobo was in your office when he was in New York last year, although he had nothing in writing. A. B. said that you promised to help him should the P.A.C. party developments take a turn for the worse and they be left without means of support. Just what did this promise mean ? Was it for A. B. Ngcobo personally or was it for the whole group who are affected by the party crisis.

It seems that the situation has deteriorated here. On July 27, 1967 P.A.C. office was closed until an agreement was made to hold a re-organisation conference. However, A. B. Ngcobo was forced to agree to holding a conference held on Leballo's terms. The office reopened this week under Leballo's leadership.

Now the members of dissident group are leaving the country with the exception of A. B. Ngcobo and Peter Raboroko the following sentence was deleted in the letter "as it is feared they will also receive the same treatment that group that the South Africans that went Ethiopia received".

Tomorrow 14 P.A.C. members will leave for Kenya although there is no way of getting a job...."

### NOTE :

*All spelling and grammar errors were made by the erudite and knowledgeable American Christian who wrote the letter.*

## ANNEXURE 'B'

**Report of the Treasurer-General to the Commission of Inquiry set up by Moshi Meeting (19-21 Sept, 1967) of the National Executive Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.**

Article 4 (e) of the Constitution of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa states that "the National Executive Committee shall at the end of each year prepare estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the ensuing year, and that such estimates shall be submitted to the Annual



Conférence for consideration”.

Article 4 (j) says that “the National Executive Committee shall at the end of the financial year cause the Treasurer-General to prepare and submit audited accounts to the National Conference for consideration”.

This clause clearly provides that before any audited accounts are submitted to the Annual Conference the National Executive Committee shall meet and co-operate with the Treasurer-General to make possible properly compiled Accounts for presentation to the National Conference. This, again, clearly means that all heads of departments in the organisation shall present their revenue, and expenditure sheets for proper accounting. Regrettably this provision of the constitution, like so many others in and outside finance, has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Thus it has been impossible to present a financial statement.

I am not at the moment concerned with the constitutional provisions as to where such a statement should have been provided, which is in a National Conference. I know very well the difficulties (most of them avoidable) which have prevented the holding of such a conference, but I am more interested in the workings of the National Executive Committee. In more than five years the properly convened meeting of the National Executive Committee (apart from anomalies attendant to its process of credentials) was the one in Moshi. As if its irregularities were not enough it went beyond its sphere of competence to demand a financial statement. It utterly failed to discharge its duties of collective responsibility of causing “the Treasurer-General to prepare and submit audited accounts”.

This failure is consistent with other failures in the whole system of operation which now amounts to a scandal. Article 4 (d) reads “the National Executive Committee shall establish and administer a National Reserve Fund”. Article 4(h) provides “all National Funds shall be deposited in a bank, and application for withdrawal must be signed by the Treasurer-General and either the National Secretary or the President”.

Both the foregoing provisions have been violated with impunity during the entire period covered in terms of reference of this commission of inquiry and even beyond. There have been a number of Fund raising missions in various parts of the globe which have neither reported proceeds to the Treasurer-General nor deposited them in the Party account.

In October 1964 a mission to the U.A.R. realised a sum of £5,000. This money was never handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account. Neither was an explanation of its disbursement made available to the Treasurer-General. This mission was led by Mr. P. K. Leballo.

To go a little further back in time. The second grant (made to J. D. Nyaose in February 1965) allocated to our first mission to China (July 1964) was neither deposited to the Party account nor received by the Treasurer-General. This amount like the first, was \$10,000.

The second mission to China led by Mr. P. K. Leballo with Messrs Z.B. Molete and A.G. Ebrahim as members also realised \$20,000. This was received in two lots of \$10,000 each. The entire amount of \$20,000 was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account.

The Labour delegation to China in May 1965 led by J. D. Nyaose realised an amount of \$10,000. This money was subsequently (in May-August 1965) the subject of great controversy. It was contended that this money belonged to the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA). This money was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account.

Mr. P. K. Leballo led a second mission to the United Arab Republic in November 1965. The mission realised £ 2,500. In the mission was also the Treasurer-General. Mr. Leballo carried the money to Tanzania, but it was not deposited into the Party account. It was later learnt that this money was deposited into a new account in Mbeya. No account of how it was spent was made to the Treasurer-General. At Moshi meeting a mention of Mbeya revenue and expenditure was made, but copies were taken back for "security reasons". It must be mentioned that the Mbeya account was opened without consultation with the Treasurer-General.

In May 1966, Mr. Z. B. Molete led a delegation to the Plenary Council of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association. It was learnt that \$1,000 was realised on this mission, but the money was neither reported to the Treasurer-General nor deposited to the Party account.

A delegation that went to the Emergency Writer's Meeting in Peking (June-July 1966) raised £4,000 from the Chinese Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. By the time it arrived at the Headquarters of the external mission in Dar-es-Salaam it was reported to be £ 500 less. It was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account. This money was handed to Mr. P. K. Leballo.

In July 1965 the Treasurer-General issued two circulars setting out certain procedures that were to be adopted with regard to the handling of money. The circulars further requested persons who had handled monies to make reports and deposit the monies concerned into the Party account. The circulars affected mainly the offices of the external representatives and members of the National Executive Committee. Those circulars were neither acknowledged nor complied with.

Since August 1966 the situation arising from the disputes in the

Party made it even more difficult if not impossible for the Treasurer-General to do any work. He was barred from the premises of the Dar-es-Salaam office, which up till then he shared with the representative.

In August 1965 the Treasurer-General prepared a statement of revenue and expenditure covering the period March 1965 in respect of monies received from the African Liberation Committee. This was duly endorsed by Mr. Leballo and submitted to the A.L.C. It was the creditable financial statement that could be made in the whole sordid period covered by terms of reference of this commission, even then only due to the watchful eye of the African Liberation Committee.

By a consensus of opinion the Treasurer-General was deprived of his status as a compulsory signatory for purpose of withdrawing monies from the bank. This was necessary because of his occasional absence from Dar-es-Salaam. So at times other persons operated the account independently of him, but they failed to submit reports of their stewardship. A case in point was when the Treasurer-General was away from March 18 to May 21, 1965. The record showed, for example, that a sum of £ 1,000 had been returned from Maseru in May, but by the end of the month the coffers were empty. Mr. Molete who was in charge during this time has not up to now rendered account of his stewardship.

During the absence of the Treasurer-General in late 1965 and late 1966 his desks were forced open and records removed in mysterious circumstances. On the first occasion, in the presence of an eye witness, Mr. Leballo used a tyre-lever to force the locker open. I say "in mysterious circumstances" because his motives remain undisclosed. However, in my mind I associate the act with certain sharp disagreements that arose in October 1965 during the summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity affecting our delegation. One of the issues in dispute concerned transportation, without apparent legitimate purpose, of our girls from Dar-es-Salaam to Cairo in September 1965. This airlift, effected without the knowledge of the Treasurer-General, cost the Party £ 854. This whole question of authorisation of expenditure is a hardy annual. To cite a piquant example, in July 1965 Mr. Leballo ordered at the Party's expense some trousseau at Jan Mahomed's Outfitters, Independence Avenue, Dar-es-Salaam, comprising perfumes, perfume sprayers, brocade material and ladies' undergarments, costing about 735 shillings. It is conceivable that these articles were for Mr. Leballo's own use, but who the beneficiary was is anybody's guess. This, needless to add, was done without the Treasurer-General's knowledge.

The second occasion on which the Treasurer-General's desks were forced open was during his absence away in Brasilia, during which time fantastic allegations were made against him and Mr. Peter Raboroko in a vicious attack on them by Mr. Leballo. Again records were removed.

The total sum of monies that have not been accounted for staggers

the imagination. No doubt some of it has been used gainfully in the interest of the liberation struggle. The list of such misdeeds is inexhaustible.

As already stated, the Moshi meeting was the first N.E.C. session in 8 years. It was there that these difficulties which made it impossible to keep proper books of account should have been examined in comradely spirit. But due to the crisis that have plagued the organisation for a number of years feelings were understandably ruffled and a constructive approach to these difficulties was impossible. It was there that I had hoped to receive reports from persons who had handled monies. Instead the meeting insisted on a Financial Statement, although according to the agenda it was a treasurer's report that was required.

A. B. Ngcobo,  
Treasurer-General of the  
Pan Africanist Congress of  
South Africa.

27th September 1967,  
P.P. Box 20657,  
DAR-ES-SALAAM,  
United Republic of Tanzania.



## Sharpeville in Perspective

**T**HE International Day for the Elimination of Racial discrimination will again be celebrated on March 21 this year throughout the world. It is a day on which the United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity call upon the world-wide community to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid.

March 21 is the Day on which a shocking event took place in South Africa. On that Day in 1960 the massacre of 69 people by the South African Police took place. It was an act of brutality perpetrated without any provocation on an unarmed, peaceful crowd of people. On this occasion several hundred people assembled at the small police station of Sharpeville and stood there waiting to hear an announcement on the pass laws which they had been told was to be made by a senior Police Officer. They shouted no slogans nor insults ; they made no provocative remarks. No speeches were made.

While the people stood waiting, they were ordered by the police to disperse immediately. Before the word could be passed round from person to person, the police opened fire. The Sharpeville massacre claimed 69 lives and left hundreds of critically maimed and wounded people helplessly lying on the ground.

But the background to Sharpeville lies in the struggle for freedom and national dignity which the African people have been waging for more than 220 years. Hundreds of thousands of heroes fell in the battles of armed resistance put up by our people against the White invaders.

The relations between the Whites and Africans have always been on the basis of force and violence. The Whites are ever ready to use their military might against unarmed African people without any provocation or justification. This is a common feature in South Africa and massacre in Sharpeville is an example of heartless brutal murder.

Our people have valiantly struggled against the tyranny of race discrimination, exploitation and human degradation. They gave their lives to defend their land, their livestock and themselves from enslavement. Indeed, the whole history of White domination in South Africa is spattered with the blood of our people. So we see the shootings and killing of Africans during the Anti-Pass campaign in 1919, and during the 80,000 Rand Miners' Strike and also during the Port Elizabeth African Workers' Strike in 1920.

The Bullhock massacre of 1921 where 163 Africans were killed and 130 wounded ; the Bondelswarts shooting in 1922 when 100 persons were

also killed during the Durban Beer Boycott in 1929, and at Durban and Potchefstroom during the 1930 Anti-Pass campaign. Our people were attacked at Worcester in 1930, Vereeniging Location in 1938; the Rand Mineworkers' Strike in 1946; at the Johannesburg May Day Rallies in 1950 and at many other places throughout the country. The shootings were not confined to the urban areas. In 1957 and 1958 scores of peasants who resisted apartheid measures were shot in Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland, at Witzieshoek and the Great Marico. Indeed, in the Great Marico area of the Transvaal, the peasants gave the A.N.C. such overwhelming support that the Government outlawed the A.N.C. in that part of our country as far back as 1957.

Our memories are still fresh with the heroic armed resistance against Bantu Authorities waged in Eastern Pondoland and other Transkeian and Ciskeian areas in 1960, where a State of Emergency still exists to this day.

Over the decades the police have attempted to quell by violent and the brutal use of arms peaceful and sometimes non-peaceful demonstrations. Many times they had opened fire, thereby provoking more demonstrations. At the Congress of the People organised by the A.N.C. and its allies in 1955, outside the Drill Hall in 1956, when the Treason Trial of A.N.C. leaders resumed in Pretoria in 1957, during the National Strike in 1958. Our people at all these gatherings met with police interference, attacks by the fascists using tear-gas, batons and guns. That was also the treatment which the mammoth 20,000 Women's March in 1958 received when they converged on the Prime Minister's office in Pretoria to protest against the pass laws. The Premier, Mr. J. G. Strydom took fright and pretended to be absent from his office. In 1950 in Benoni our people assembled for a rally on a football ground. The police whispered to those nearest to them to disperse. One minute later, they opened fire on the crowd, killing innocent people. At Duncan Village in East London in 1952, they told scores of thousand of people crowded into a small square to disperse, and following this up a few minutes later with reckless gun-fire aimed at the people. In Lichtenburg in the middle fifties and many other places, the White fascists repeated these murderous heinous crimes against our unarmed people.

At Windhoek in 1959 the murderous whisper went out and a burst of gun-fire followed. 11 people were killed. At Ngquza Hill in Bizana there was not even the cynical whispered warning. Only rifle fire and death. Eleven people were killed in this way whilst they quietly sat at a meeting in Bizana, but the death toll from fatal wounds rose to 30.

In March 1960 a massive anti-pass campaign launched by the A.N.C. was in full swing throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. At its annual conference in December 1959 before it was outlawed three months later, the A.N.C. resolved to intensify the struggle against apar-

theid and race tyranny. The White oppressors led by the Verwoerd regime were making gigantic preparations to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. For them 1960 would be the year to rejoice over 50 years of prosperity. But the African people had nothing to rejoice about. In that epoch-making A.N.C. conference, the African people took the solemn pledge of redoubling their struggle against White domination.

A nation-wide campaign of active mass resistance against the fascist regime was mapped out by the A.N.C. at the annual conference of 1959. It was planned to organise a co-ordinated series of mass actions throughout South Africa in the form of national stoppages of work, burning of passes, and later sabotage against White oppressor vital installations. The campaigns were set to begin in March and to rise to crisis dimensions on May 31st when the White oppressors would be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the South Africa Act—an anniversary hailed as glorious by the Whites and condemned as brutal by the oppressed.

On March 31, 1960 in view of the tremendous mass response and enthusiasm of the African people for the nation-wide confrontation with the Whites, the first phase of the national Anti-pass Campaign was ready to be launched by the A.N.C. in a call to the people to STAY-AWAY-FROM-WORK. The Verwoerd regime, fearful of what might happen as well as the U.S. imperialists, immediately took counter-offensive measures against the A.N.C. They started wanton police raids on a mass scale and openly intimidated our people. The police and the army and the skiet-kommandoes all waged a thorough-going show of force in readiness to violently suppress the people.

Whilst this general mobilisation of a military type was taking place on the orders of the Verwoerd regime, the A.N.C. was faced with yet another problem. They were harassed by a clique of reckless adventurers who had only a few months earlier broken away from the A.N.C. These men started diversionary tactics which suited the overall strategy of the racist enemy who regarded the mass preparations of the African people against White domination with mortal fear.

The Verwoerd regime had deliberately started mass police provocations against our people in order to find an opportunity to crush the National Anti-Pass Campaign by violent military assaults even before the mass anti-apartheid actions could begin. The A.N.C. had to warn our people about this.

But the splitters whose main objective was to divide the masses in order to create their own organisations did not hesitate to try to bring about division among the ranks of our people even in the face of the dangerous situation caused by enemy military and police provocations. The splitters launched what they called a "STATUS CAMPAIGN" in which African people were exhorted to demand to be addressed as Mr. and Mrs



whenever they purchased goods in the shops as a psychological emancipation and not to waste their efforts fighting against particular laws like the pass laws etc. This was intended to divert the national effort of the oppressed away from the real obstacles to their freedom such as pass laws, low wages, landlessness and disfranchisement.

The A.N.C. successfully mobilised the masses for the March 31 Anti-Pass National Stoppage of Work. As pass laws are the most burning issue in our national struggle, the bogus "Status Campaign" fizzled out. But splitters never abandoned actions calculated to subvert. On 21st March 1960, ten days before the national Anti-Pass Stoppage of Work was to begin, the band of adventurists called the people to leave their passes at home and go to police stations. They said this was a call from Congress. And the only Congress which our people at the time associated with the Anti-Pass Campaign was the African National Congress.

On March 21 because of the treacherous call of the P.A.C. our people were massacred. The national tragedy at Sharpeville took place. In that situation the anger of our people rose. The mischief-making political adventurists could not face the masses. But the A.N.C. came forward and directed the anger of our people against their real enemies, the Verwoerd regime. Our beloved Chief A. J. Lutuli brought forward the Day for the National Stoppage of Work from March 31 to March 28, that is, to seven days after the Sharpeville tragedy. He called for the burning of all passes.

The national mass response to that historic Lutuli Call reverberated throughout our country. Bonfires of passes being burnt took place everywhere from the 28th March onwards. The Verwoerd regime took fright and on the 29th March 1960 declared a State of Emergency. Now martial law and all the rigours of a police state were unleashed against our people.

But our people remained undaunted. Instead they intensified their campaign against the pass laws. On March 31st 1960 the Verwoerd regime could no longer control the situation. They outlawed the A.N.C. which had already been partially outlawed in 1957, they also outlawed the P.A.C. (Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa).

But the struggle against the pass laws and White domination grew apace. Later the Verwoerd regime was forced to suspend all pass laws for an indefinite period. During that period the Verwoerd regime threw thousands of Africans into prisons before they reimposed the hated pass laws.

The Sharpeville killings and the numerous other killings of Africans before Sharpeville are a manifestation of the vicious system of race discrimination. They are the tragedies that remind the international community that in South Africa, the oppressed African people have for centuries now been denied their most elementary human rights and have



sacrificed their lives in the struggle to regain them.

In 1948 the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. South Africa refused to sign that historic document and by that deed alone the white racists served notice to the world that they would not observe the basic tenets guaranteeing fundamental human freedoms to Africans and other non-Whites in order to preserve peace and promote human brotherhood. South Africa's refusal by itself constituted a grievous crime against humanity.

Since 1948 the people of the world have steadily mounted an international anti-apartheid campaign. But world public opinion goes unheeded in the camp of the White racists. Much more than mere protests and resolutions of condemnation will be required to achieve the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We of the African National Congress of South Africa welcome and support the decision of the U.N. to declare the whole of 1968 as HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR. We join all those progressive and democratic forces in the world which are determined to liquidate race discrimination in South Africa and indeed throughout the world.

International Human Rights Year is being commemorated this year when the armed struggle for the overthrow of the White minority racist and fascist regimes of Southern Africa is being intensified. On the other hand the governments of Vorster, Ian Smith and Salazar have in their desperation intensified their atrocities against the people, particularly those who are in the forefront of the struggle for human dignity. Cold-blooded murder of freedom fighters has become the order of the day in Zimbabwe.

The price to be paid in order to change the condition of racialism and genocide in South Africa will be high. The history of resistance against White domination in South Africa demonstrates that our people have sacrificed their lives to gain their freedom and dignity. In that struggle for human dignity they have called for active international support and solidarity. They have done so not because they have no prospect of liberating themselves, but because of their firm belief that the policies of the South African racist Government and other racist regimes involve the future of the whole of mankind.

It is in the light of what we have stated above that the A.N.C. welcomes the U.N. attempt to focus special attention on the problem of the elimination of racial discrimination by proclaiming March 21 as "International Day against racism in South Africa." We mourn the deaths of all heroes of our country who fell in the gallant struggle to abolish racism and fascism. Their sacrifices shall not be in vain. Already Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) ...the military detachments of the A.N.C.---and ZAPU have begun to avenge the lives which our people lost at the brutal hands of the White racists. That struggle

for human rights will be carried out by the A.N.C. in trenches in Rhodesia and South Africa and it will grow until victory is won and apartheid, colonialism and fascist tyranny have been buried.

DUMA NOKWE  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF ANC.  
*20th March, 1968*