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By March 1960, the PAC was a healthy, thriving young organization in the W. Cape, particularly in the Cape Peninsula. ANC branches had been taken over and branch officials, executives had been taken over intact and had gone over to the PAC. Strongest areas were Nyanga, Nyanga West, Langa and Kensington. There were also small groups of PAC adherents in the so-called black spots in the peninsula, which were then many more than there are today. We were in contact with Hans Mahomo who was the only national executive member of the PAC living in Cape Town. He was a law student at the University, and Mahomo was very friendly with Joseph Matlo of the Liberal Party, and through him I met Mahomo and spent many hours with him discussing the PAC plans and PAC theories. The idea of a campaign to begin positive action in South Africa against apartheid, against White supremacy, had reached us in reports and letters from the Tvl. at the end of 1959, and from January 1960 onwards, as far as I can remember, it seemed a question of waiting for the leader of the PAC to give the date. It may have been a little later than January that this came as a certainty, it was only a question of waiting for the date.

The tour that Mr. Schulze, and P. K. Leballe and I think the third was Moko, did of the Western and Eastern Cape and Natal, probably in February, was not noticeably successful. In the Cape they had good attendances and interested crowds at the meetings they held, we were told. But there was no sign of the tremendous excitement built up in the few days before the campaign was finally launched. A few days before the launching on the 21st March, Mahomo left for the Tvl. and put in charge the regional Secretary, the then almost completely unknown young man a stranger to the Cape, Phillip Kgosana. He introduced him to us. He brought Kgosana and a group of other PAC leaders to the Liberal Party offices - actually to the Contact board room, the day before Mahomo left for Jbg. It should be said that already by this stage, the Liberal Party had pledged itself to support, do what it could, to help the PAC in the support of the families of men who they expected to be jailed in the coming campaign. This decision had been taken at a national committee meeting of the Liberal Party held at Durban, and when Mahomo left for Jbg, he told Kgosana and others of the PAC executive in the Cape that there were only two organizations in the Cape to whom they should go for assistance, or with whom they should co-operate at all in the coming campaign, and those organizations were the Liberal Party, and probably the Black Sash.

Mahomo, I think, told the PAC executive in Cape Town, that he was going to Jbg to join the national executive and for the launching. But, of course, he left the country with Peter Molotai on the day of the launching, the 21st March.

On the day of the launching, I remember stopping at a building site in Strand St., OT, and commenting to the people I was with that there seemed to be a number of Africans on duty, considering that this to be the day of the ~~big~~ big strike. They, typically of the ~~people~~ White people in OT at the time, hadn't even heard of this big strike that was to take place, and it was significant that there were a number of people at work. It wasn't until that evening that the big meeting took place at Langa ~~strike~~ and the shooting took place, that the Whites, and I might say, the mass of Africans became aware of the campaign.

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To go back, the ~~Sticks~~ Langa branch of the PAC held a number of meetings. The main figure there, the most active, was Makwetu (Christian name: Clarence, although he subsequently took the African name Klamli), young, fiery organiser; and older men such as Norman Shuba. They were very active and very busy. Also there was Mahomo, I believe, who was spreading the word that the campaign was to take place. In Nyanga a number of meetings had been held. Reports of these meetings had been brought up. I appear that the Special Branch notes of what had taken place at these meetings were used in the trial which Kgona and Mlotkoti, the regional chairman of the PAC in the W. Cape. At their trials the notes of these meetings were read. He held a lot of meetings and did a lot of work. The Kensington branch, it was then a quite a crowded area of African occupation in OT, was also very active and they concentrated on getting membership in factories and hotels and places where there was a substantial African labour force.

The only announcement that was made of the launching in advance, ~~was~~ other than by word of mouth at meetings, was that leaflets, stickers, were pasted all over areas where Africans lived in OT and suburbs the night before. This was a picture of a silhouette of a policeman putting his hands roughly on the shoulder of a man. It was a very cleverly drawn thing; my own guess is that it was done by the African artist Sekoto in Paris, because I subsequently saw another drawing that he had done on a PAC stamp which was issued abroad, which was in the same sort of style. It was a very clever drawing: it had the words "Lest we forget" in English, Xhosa and perhaps in Sesuto, I forget, translation of it as well. "Lest we forget" and the "21st March 1960". I think that is all that was written on it. This was the only warning that was given other than through meetings and by canvassing, of the launching of the campaign. And of course, I must mention the meetings that Sobukwe and co., held here on their tour. Another factor, although the PAC may sound from this to have done very little to prepare, the City Council of OT and the Govt., did everything between them ~~to~~ did everything possible to prepare the ground for such a ~~xxx~~ campaign, because there is no question that the PAC campaign happened at a time when the African population at the time was absolutely reaching breaking point in the tension and frustration through the administration they were experiencing at the time. There had been extremely severe ~~it~~ itation of influx control, and police and officials together had been absolutely inflexible in the treatment of Africans in pass raids, and the activities of the Langa office particularly had brought the African population of Cape Town to a pitch of resentment and fury, and this sort of thing made ideal material for the PAC organisers to work on. I think it was these conditions that caused the PAC campaign to succeed in Cape Town as it succeeded nowhere else. There is no question about it, the PAC failed lamentably both before and during the campaign in the co-ordinating of its own parts. The launching took place on the 21st March. The Regional Chairman, Mlotkoti (Christopher) had been arrested a few days before but he was released after the campaign; just after the opening, as far as I can remember. He had been arrested for incitement, I think for speeches he had made at meetings held at Nyanga.

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I went to the house of Dr. A. C. Jordan, a very prominent African educational University lecturer, a few days after the launching of the campaign and found the Nyanga committee, headed by Mlokothi sitting in Jordan's sitting-room. I talked to them and was told that they were going round raising funds to try and hire a car in which they could go to Johannesburg so that they could meet the executive, and receive orders because they seemed completely out of touch with the national leadership. They didn't know what to do. Not only did they not know what was happening in the rest of the country, but they didn't know what was happening in Cape Town. I had spent most of the afternoon with Kgoana, the regional secretary, ~~whom~~ Mlokothi and the Nyanga committee appeared to have lost touch with him completely, not even knowing where to find him. We found this throughout. For instance, when the Big March of Langa (Nyanga?) migrant labourers, led by Kgoana for about half the way, was taking place, the Nyanga committee was meeting in the Lib.P offices in a vacant office in the same building which we opened for them. They didn't even know this was taking place. They went with a number of Liberals to watch the procession and we both stood by jointly as spectators of something taking place. There was a complete absence of co-ordination. There was a complete lack of one really able leader who could draw all the parts together. What they had instead was charismatic (?) almost magic figure of Philip Kgoana, who was not only a youngster, a child, but also a Mosuto, Sesuto-speaking, he spoke very bad Xhosa, not either a Transkeian or a Ciskeian as most of the African population of Ctown. In spite of these difficulties, these handicaps, he captured the imagination of the African people of Cape Town, and led the campaign in a sort of ad hoc, hand to mouth, unplanned sort of way - just going from one event to the next - riding the wave of success which followed the launching. He was, I suppose, responsible, more than anyone else, for the long duration of the campaign; comparatively long duration.

After the launching. The morning of the launching we had reports of what happened. Members of ours had been involved in the townships in the plan, carrying out the plan to go to the police station to tell the police politely that the campaigners had left their passes at their homes, their reference books at their homes and that they wished to be arrested. This was carried out in an orderly and successful way in most areas in OT. At Langa, Nyanga particularly in Cape Town. Police, of course, refused to arrest the men and the men then on Kgoana's instructions in Langa, which was the main area at that stage, decided ~~to~~ not to go to work. The word was sent round that evening for a meeting to take place in Bunga Square at Langa that evening. I am not going into the argument as to what the actual message about the meeting consisted of - it was thrashed out in tremendous detail in the enquiry at the Disarm Commission of Enquiry into the PAC campaign.

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I can recall that a meeting of the Liberal Party Cape Executive was taking place in the Board room of Contact the following day and Kgosana, it may have been the same day of the launching, Kgosana who was known to us already, came in with some of his colleagues, knocked on the door where the meeting was taking place, and Pat Duncan (this is to illustrate how little many people in the party were aware of the importance of the campaign) said to Philip, "Can't you see we are having a meeting. We can't see you now, I'll see you later", and sent him away. I and one or two others, left the room and went to see what was happening and Kgosana was already asking for assistance in various ways: to put him in touch with the press, to explain the true nature of the campaign, and so on; which he claimed the Govt. and the police and the daily newspapers were mis-stating. It must have been the day after the opening.

From those opening days, I've got very confused memories of a total involvement of many liberals in the campaign, and high points, of course, in this were the preliminary march into Cape Town of several hundred, possibly a thousand Africans from Langa to demand the release of Kgosana and a few others who had been arrested. This is a much publicised incident which Duncan got involved in. He was standing outside the Caledon police station with Col. Terblanche of the S.A. Faced by this large crowd and frightened, obviously worried as to how to deal with the situation, he said to Duncan, "Do you know these people?" "What am I to do with them". Patrick said, "Well, why don't you speak to their leaders". The Col. said "Who are they?" and Duncan said, "Well, obviously these people standing in front" (this was I think, Maksetu) So Terblanche went over to these men, and with Duncan the whole party went into Caledon Square and held talks. The story has been fully told in Contact. It was actions like this, conducted by Duncan and other members of the Liberal Party that averted what could easily have been bloodshed during the campaign.

We assisted them financially. This was part of the carrying out of the LP's pledge to help those in need through the campaign, and when after the big march and after the arrest of Kgosana and the young men with him, I think on the 28th March, ~~the~~ when the steel cordons were thrown round the townships and police, army and navy were cordoning off the inhabitants, the LP and the Black Sash, mainly the LP, said...Eulalie Stott of the Black Sash was I think the first person to organise delivery of food to the people in the locations, but we did it more or less at the same time. We raised a considerable sum of money, I think over a thousand pounds in a matter of a few days, and put this to the purchase of mealie meal, beans and so on, staple foods, which we went in on lorries manned by LP members through the cordons. All sorts of groceries, which we handed over to the PAC committees inside the townships, when no other food was getting through.

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I mentioned the failure of the PAC to co-ordinate in Cape Town. Another great failure on their part was to seize the initiative to broaden the campaign geographically. They were very quick off the mark to get into the country areas around OT. They had a tremendous success in Elgin, where the hundreds and hundreds of workers in the Apple Estates there came out on strike very early on, and. But several people were working very hard to get the Cape Town PAC to establish itself as the sort of "national leader" of the campaign, now that Schabane and others were in jail. Kgosana, in his theatrical way, was saying, "We had decided to grab national power". He used this phrase "grab national power", over and over again, a few days after the campaign had started, and we were not in the position to say whether he should or should not. This was a PAC affair, but a few days after that when the march was taking place in Durban, there was definite pressure put on him and on some of his committee members, to go to Durban and to try and ~~try~~ see whether he would have the same effect on the masses of African people in Durban as he was having in Cape Town. But it was another failure on their part that they did not take the opportunities that people were prepared to provide for them.

They failed also to put their case to the public properly. Kgosana was extremely hardworking and determined to put the case across to overseas journalists which of course a large number were in OT. They had waited in Jbg believing the balloon was going to go up there but they eventually moved down to OT. Kgosana tore around seeing these people and holding conferences and putting across the PAC line to them, at a time when he would probably be better served putting his line to the OT City Council, the Chamber of Industries, or the Chamber of Commerce. This idea was put to them that they should see the leaders of business and industry, City fathers and so on, but it was again a fault of Kgosana's; his extreme youthfulness, inexperience and also his love of being in the public eye, that kept him more in touch with the foreign press than with the local people of importance.

The most significant thing about the entire campaign in my view was the degree of cohesion that was achieved amongst the African population, a hundred thousand odd Africans in the Cape Peninsula. One had heard of the Alexandra Bus Boycott and the bus boycott movement which sprang up in sympathy with it, the cohesion of the people in Alexandra, and one saw this work in Cape Town. On 28th, one week after the launching, at the funerals of the people who had been killed in the riot, the meeting at Langa on the 21st, the funeral took place at Langa, there must have been something like 30,000 people present at the funeral, an enormous crowd, the biggest crowd I've ever been in myself, the funeral was the most fantastic occasion. One of the scores, hundreds of ways in which the Liberals influenced ~~some~~ events at that time, the funeral would have been a shambles if it hadn't been for us, because we found that just before it was due to start, that no proper arrangements had been made to get loudspeakers - a matter of two or three hours before. Pat Duncan phoned practically every loudspeaker and wireless firm in OT and he eventually persuaded Dunbar Radio to send a van out and Mr. Dunbar went out himself. Even people who regularly given their services to Liberal Party meetings, refused to go out to the Langa funeral. People were afraid to do so; the fear among the white people was pretty intense at this stage and the fear was very strong.

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The only other White people at the funeral were myself in my car driving behind Dunbar's van. Philip Kgosana sat in the front seat with Dunbar with some of his committee members in the car as well, and I drove my Volkswagen in the car behind with one of his committee members sitting next to me, Mntle whom I mentioned before, and another African LP member sitting in the back seat. The only other White person present was the Daily Mail and I think also Drum reporter, Peter Youngusband, who very nearly got assaulted and was saved from a frightfully tricky situation by Thomas Ngunya. The thing that I can never forget about the funeral was the fact that Kgosana was addressing this vast sea of people, largely in English, interpreted, because of his lack of fluency in Xhosa. He repeated over and over and over again basic slogans of the campaign. The phrase "Absolute Non-violence" over and over again, every syllable equally stressed. His address about the dead men (I think one was a young schoolboy amongst the people who were killed at the meeting at Langa) again reiterated the purposes of the campaign. I remember quite clearly his saying "We are not against Dr. Verwoerd, we are not against the White people, we are against the system." over and over again. Kgosana's manner at that time, and that of many successful orators, was ~~his~~ repetition. He would single out phrases and repeat them and reiterate them and he made these points very, very strongly at this meeting. The only speaker who got carried away and made a racialistic and bitter speech at the graveside, was I think, Shuba, and he started to use phrases like "these White pigs come here and murder our children", but somebody grabbed the microphone and took it and Kgosana himself took it and sharply rebuked Shuba for talking like that saying that that was not what the campaign was all about, not what they were fighting for and sort of cancelled all that he had said. But a speech like that could have got that crowd into a frenzy: it was highly emotional; thousands of people were visibly in tears and Kgosana's restraint and nonracial material in his speech was extraordinarily responsible and adult.

What was important about this ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was that it answered to me the arguments that I have heard with boring repetition from enemies of the PAC that 'You Liberals think that the PAC may be acceptable in some ways because they come to you and make a lot of fine phrases about nonracialism, but you should hear what they say when you aren't around'. And this is of course, true; a lot of shocking racialistic things have been said and are said by PAC people, but on this occasion there was absolutely no reason on earth why Kgosana had to consider the presence of White people. There were only three White people amongst that 30,000 and he obviously wasn't speaking to us. This was the sort of stuff he was putting across. This has stuck in my memory as a very important thing.

I was sitting in the car. The main part of the meeting took place in Bunga Square which was absolutely packed. There were people sitting on top of the flats - New Flats, they were called, blocks of flats. Every window was packed with faces and the entire square was crammed. Some people standing near the car, looked in, saw me there, although I was dressed in black tie and dark suit as part of the funeral, as were the men with me. Some people began to pull faces and look a bit hostile and I was told by my African companions that these people thought I was from the Special Branch.

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There were frowns and fists were shaken, and I began to think that things weren't so good. But I think at this point, somebody came over and put his head in at the window and was told that we were their friends. The man looked a bit disbelieving but nothing further happened. But when we were driving from Bungo Square to the graveside through absolutely packed crowds, every other person was shouting the PAC slogan, Iswe lethu, to which the reply was, Afrika. Iswe Lethu to which the other person would say Ngoku Now. This exchange took place as we pushed our way through the crowds. They shouted these slogans at us, I should say 75% of them goodhumouredly, and we replied, and I was replying too of course, everyone there was, whether they were PAC or APL or nothing. Incidentally I noticed at least one man in ANC uniform walking around, nobody molesting him, although he was wearing the uniform of an organisation which had not supported the campaign. This was right at the graveside amongst all the dignitaries. There were hostile looks and I was obviously being challenged with these slogans a white man, but the fact that I replied seemed to mollify them.

By and large I didn't feel myself at all a victim of racial hostility the way that Peter Younghusband did. Younghusband perhaps was foolish to stride among the crowd without appearing to be in mourning or to be part of the funeral at all. He had a camera and he rushed around taking photographs dressed in a white open-necked shirt. I think people thought this was disrespectful and that was the cause of his troubles.

Surrounded by such tension in such an emotion packed campaign, to find this lack of racial hostility, was most encouraging to put it mildly.

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