

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: On Sat., Sept. 13, I had a long chat with Sobukwe and Leballo. I told them about my proposed article on the ANC, and the two of them gave the following. When I say the two of them, this is something of a misnomer, because Sobukwe did 98% of the talking, and Leballo merely gave his consent. Once or twice, when Leballo chipped in, he was very quickly "interpreted" by Bob. Here goes:

"1) In the present phase of the struggle the Africanists believe it is essential for t African people to be forged into a united group. They believe it t force it can do this is nationalism, because it provides a superior loyalty. And they believe t African people are oppressed as a nation not as a class, and therefore must struggle as a nation to overthrow white domination.

(The Africans have not bound themselves to non-violence. If the only way to win their liberation is through violence, it is unlikely they would shirk it.) (NB This is how the quote was given to me. I suggested that, for publication purposes, this was a bit too strong. So, through our joint efforts, with me ~~suggesting~~ suggesting many of the phrases, the following para was substituted).

The Africans would prefer to see a peaceful solution of the country's problems but have reached t conclusion it unless there is a drastic change in t attitude of t Whites, such a peaceful solution will be impossible.

2) On t question of multi-racialism, t Africans feel it even to admit t existence of different races is a sign of racialism, because we all belong to one race - the human race. But because of geographical and historical factors, different members of t human race have evolved cultures of their own, and hence we speak of "national groups", of which in SA we recognize 3 : Africans, (including Coloureds, but they can make up their own minds to which group they wish to belong), Europeans and Indians.

It is our contention t an Indian culture ~~Kannasi~~ Flourished in India, and not in Europe and so on. Similarly, a European culture in Europe. So in Africa, we/consive of an Indian or European culture - it must be (cannot)

an African culture. This will be a total sum of all t cultures brought by different national groups.

We accept democracy as rule of the majority, and we believe t only universal suffrage can correctly interpret the will of the majority.

~~Ex~~ The society we shall have will be non-racial. Initially it might even be necessary to make a crime of racialism. Men will be judged on their individual merit. Since there will be no groups, but individuals, it will be impossible to have domination of one group by another.

3) The ANC has stated t it welcomes cooperation with other national groups on specific issues, and t Africanists support t stand. But we regard it as untenable if not insolent for any one of t other national groups to determine the method of struggle and the goals of t African people.

Criticisms of the leadership:

- 1) They have never tried sincerely to implement the 1949 programme of action, for the simple reason that they do not want to see the emergence of an African nation. Subscribing as they do to the myth that this is a class struggle, they see in nationalism an obstacle. This attitude is chiefly due to the banning of the Communist Party in 1960 and their subsequent concentration of activities on the ANC.
 - 2) The present ANC leadership, both national and Transvaal, is dominated by COD and others and of its type of mind. That is, people of leftist inclinations. Congress is poor financially and there is no doubt she receives financial assistance from her so-called leftist allies. Our contention is that he who pays the piper calls the tune.
 - 3) Since the advent of this leadership, a ~~xxxxx~~ fetish has been made of loyalty to leadership as such. The impression is deliberately created that criticism of the leadership is tantamount to disloyalty to the movement.
 - 4) During the past few years, the ANC has made little or no progress. In fact, its campaigns have been a series of dismal failures. We believe that this has been due to the fact that the leadership has not been primarily interested in the cause of the African people as such but rather in furthering ideals to which they as individuals subscribe.
- (NB This last point - the ~~xxxxx~~ phrasing thereof - largely my work).

This was the stuff given me. In addition, in having a general ~~xxxxx~~ chat afterwards, the following points arose, contributed by both Bob Sobukwe and Leballo.

They said that there are 87 official Tvl. branches. There is division in almost every branch about the Africanists vis a vis the leadership and vis a vis the complaints of the petitioners. This division is particularly sharp on the Reef. Each branch will send a delegate - and in most cases, this delegate will be opposed by a delegate from the other side of the fence - from the same branch. Leballo said that branches were so divided that neither side was prepared to accept delegates unanimously. He said that the first day of the conference would almost certainly be taken up wholly with credentials, and he was not at all sure just how the matter was going to be managed.

When I asked what was likely to happen at the conference, Leballo said that as the leadership had organized their "volunteers" at the last conference, and as it was believed they were doing the same for this one, the Africanists were arranging for their volunteers to be in attendance. He said that he and Madzunya intended to go to the conference, and he thought there was a fair prospect of their being refused entry. In which case, he said, they would still enter the conference, come

what may.

(NB If I may switch over for a moment: I saw Sobukwe two days before this present chat, and he told me then about this entering of the conference. He said that Madzunya and Leballo were determined to go in. Madzunya's feeling was that they had ~~tried~~ tried to be constitutional about entering and attending conferences, and had been tricked all the way. He now accepted that bloodshed was the only way in which to gain the desired ends. Bob said that he was a man of tremendous courage, and would quite literally fight his way singlehanded into the meeting if necessary. This personal courage was well-known and much respected, said Bob, and people were far more prepared to follow Madzunya than they were Leballo - even though the latter was by no means lacking in courage, but in Madzunya's case, it made a more direct impact on people.)

To continue:

Leballo said: "Itx is likely that this conference will go the way of all the others."

Mx (NB He first said this, but when I pressed him for clarification, he switched over and spoke thus:

"If this conference is calm and well-~~conducted~~ conducted, and there is no interference from thugs, as there has been in the past, there is no doubt that the present leadership will be ousted. There is no doubt that ~~the African Nationalists~~ African Nationalists will sweep the board. Because they are not yet a separate organization, they are a school of thought within the ANC. The Africanists are thus to be found in almost every single branch."

(NB Note this change of direction: it is firstly in reply to the points made by Mokwe, and secondly is meant for public consumption.)

Leballo also said their plan was for Madzunya to be the new Tvl President. He and Sobukwe would not contest any of the Tvl places, because "some of our ~~people~~ people must be kept for the national conference". He said that he intended standing for the national presidency and Bob for the nat. sec.-ship. I asked him how confident he was about all this, and he said that they were quite satisfied that it would work out.

Earlier, I had told both of them about my ANC article, and I put my analysis to them. Bob chipped in and pointed out that there was another group, not yet really a group, but with the beginnings of the idea. These were the people like Leslie Mabane who felt that the ANC was too much of a middle-class organization, and that it should be tied closer to Socialism. The trouble with these people, said Bob, was that they knew extremely little about Socialism and they were still floundering. I agreed with him about the existence of this type of still relatively inchoate thinking and I recalled particularly that Myrtle Berman had spoken along the same lines when I chatted to her in March/April.

Otherwise, they both agreed with my picture of the different groups, merely adding that they were working very closely with Legwate's group. In fact, Leballo said, there was a committee run by Legwate, Siwisa, Paul Mosaka and a couple of others called the Anti-expulsion committee, and there was to be a meeting that very afternoon in Western Native Township in order to clarify action for the conference. Legwate's group would be given proper representation on the Tvl executive.

They also both readily accepted my view about the very large group of "uncommitted" people in the middle. I could not however, get quite clear just how they felt these people would jump. Bob seemed genuinely uncertain. Leballo I do not know. He said that he felt that they would side with the Africanists, but I could not help feeling that he was saying this because he felt he should, whereas he was not at all certain.

In regard to my view about Tsele, Bob said that the position was not at all clear. They had had no contact with Tsele himself, but had had some contact with other people in Pretoria, and as far as he could understand, Tsele was not in charge of ~~the~~ affairs. He said that Tsele was neither chairman nor secretary of either the region or Lady Selborne (PS I thought he was chairman of both) ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ (We made ~~xxxx~~ ~~xx~~ tentative plans to travel to Pretoria to see Tsele).

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

I discussed the question of putting up Madzunya for the chairmanship with hem. My view was that it might be tactically good to nominate Moritseta, thus trying to get popular feeling with the Africanists, and then to aim at ~~the~~ getting control of the executive. This idea was not rejected outright, but Leballo said that they had been thinking of making an all out effort, on the win all or lose all basis.

Finally, I would mention one or two points stated to me by Bob while Leballo was not around. He said that if I wanted a true picture of the Africanists plans, I should speak to Peter Molutsi rather than to Leballo. He said that Molutsi was the man in charge of the action side of affairs. He described him as a fearless and almost a wild individual.

He also said that the leadership was not working according to the old branches for this coming conference. Instead, they were splitting branches into zones, the reason being given that this was for more ~~xxxx~~ thorough organization. The branch unit was retained until each zone was able to set up on its own as a separate branch. Mofolo, for ~~xxx~~ example, had been divided into about 6 zones. Bob said that he understood that this was a variation of the M-plan.

Finally, to end-off, let me describe what happened when I asked Sobukwe and Leballo if I could quote anybody as having said what I had been given for purposes of my article. Bob obviously could not be ~~xxxx~~ used, and there was some discussion as to whether any name at all should be used. I was asked whether I thought a name was essential, and I said yes. Also, I said, was it not high time that Leballo went on record in black and white as having said all these things about a multi-racial society. ~~xx~~ Leballo was obviously not over-thrilled at the idea, but Bob thought it a capital idea, and so it was accepted, Leballo finally seeming to be quite pleased at the prospect. At first he had demurred, saying that something like this might upset some of his followers.

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- A2618-Ce11

Document Title:- Typed notes: African National Congress (ANC)

Author:- Benjamin Pogrund

Document Date:- 15 September 1958