

JBG

6/2/61.

Subject: PAC

Source: HUP on Jan 20, 1961.

- 1) Mood of Africans in Cape Town has changed greatly since October last. Then, they were dispirited, and PAC was entirely disorganised. Now Africans look back to the events of last March/April, and recall only their successes, and have forgotten the bad times they had — starving, being beaten, etc. Also, PAC has been organising intensively since October, and is now supposed to have a good organisation going. They hold meetings practically every night.
- 2) PAC in CT are in two factions: the leadership led by Malikoṣi (spelling?), the regional chairman. He and those with him represent the PAC leaders who cooperated with Whites last year (Duncan, Black Sash, etc). The other group is led by Makwetu (spelling?), a young person, about 27, who has gathered round him all the younger men. Makwetu has been endorsed out of Cape Town, but he is still there. He moves around and is seen from time to time. There is no open split between the groups; it is a "battle of ideas". If one were to call for action, the other group would undoubtedly support it. The difference between them does not rest on the question of non-violence — because no non-White leader in CT today believes in non-violence as the only way. This attitude has emerged following the events of last year. But Malikoṣi is willing to work and to cooperate with Whites and other racial groups, while Makwetu, although not strictly anti-White, is unwilling to enter into such cooperation.
- 3) HUP believes that Makwetu today commands more support than Malikoṣi, and is also probably more active. He believes that Malikoṣi's influence is steadily waning.
- 4) HUP was emphatic that PAC have learned from last year's events, and that they reflect the feelings of the 100,000 Africans in CT. Kgosana is still revered (this particularly so because he has succeeded in evading the Govt search for him and in leaving SA — he is viewed as a Pimpernel), but it is felt that he made a mistake in leading Africans back to the townships last year and thus allowing the Govt to bottle them up and crush them. There is great hatred for the police because of their conduct last year and a great desire to hit back at them.
- 5) The strategy now is to organise some kind of demonstration and to march on the city, but not to attack the police or others. If the police attack them, then there is to be "retaliation". They will not allow themselves to be driven back, but will split immediately into groups of 40 to 50 and go on the rampage. If food is needed, they will not starve, but will seize what they need. If a car is needed, it will be taken, seized and so on. A demonstration of this kind was planned for Monday, January 9 — the day of incitement trial of Kgosana et al was to resume. The idea was to carry Kgosana shoulder high to the court. Action after reaching the court would probably have depended on police reaction. There was a divergence of opinion in PAC about this — some wanted to do the march and then disperse, but others did not want to disperse and instead to await police action. This was planned at least several weeks in advance. It was called off at the last moment because of Kgosana's flight. The Security Branch knew that something was on — during the previous week, they questioned several Africans about it.

- 6) HUP believes that PAC action will come within the next three months. They are merely awaiting an opportunity. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ They want action and are seeking it. (NB In discussing the matter, we agreed that if there was to be action, March 21 was the likeliest date).
- 7) On the question of what support PAC would get for a campaign, HUP said that there was much intimidation underway. It was the old story of African politics — a few people are actually threatened, even fewer kicked around, and a handful assaulted. But the word gets round, and people are frightened to hold back. This had happened clearly in March last year, when few were actually beaten up but all participated. He thought it impossible to assess how much support there was for PAC by those who believed in the organization. Generally, he thought that if PAC did "march" practically everyone would in fact march.
- 8) HUP also said he had the "feeling" that PAC's proposed action fitted in with reports of activities of "foreign agents". He did not know who they were or from where, but there had been reports on them since about October, and this ~~xxxxxxxx~~ coincided with the PAC resurgence. He had the "feeling" that African leaders in CT ~~xxxx~~ have had more "confidence" since October, and seemed to be expecting help from outside. He feels that they have been given promises of guns, etc or of outside activities to coincide with their local moves.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN CT:

- 1) ANC — finished and hardly a sign of them. Mpetha has expelled Ngwenya Ngwenya and 8 others. They were ^{told} about this verbally. The reasons: shortly after the Emergency, Brian Bunting held a party but did not invite Ngwenya and several others. So Ngwenya organized his own party. Ngwenya has been negotiating with Malikoti to come in with the PAC but on condition that Ngwenya becomes the leader. But PAC are not too happy about the idea. Apart from everything else, they point out that Ngwenya did not join them last March but stuck with the ANC. Incidentally, HUP said that at the start of the Emergency the ANC approached PAC with an offer of collaboration, but were refused.
- 2) COD is never seen and hardly exists. He believes that national COD has written off CT as a centre.
- 3) SACTU holds meetings occasionally, and can gather several 100 people together. But it is not very strong or active.
- 4) SACPO is weak and only does things occasionally.
- 5) TLP is not making progress in recruiting members (now has about 700) but is consolidating and strengthening itself. The sit-ins are the present chief activity.
- 6) CONTACT's present circulation is about 24,000 and still gradually increasing.
- 7) Recently, PEA authorities reported to have arrested several Nyasaland Africans who landed on their coast by Egyptian submarines (which originally given by Russia).

PUBLISHER:

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

Location:- Johannesburg

©2010

LEGAL NOTICES:

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

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

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

DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- A2618-Cf27

Document Title:- Typed notes; Subject: PAC, Source: HUP on 20 January 1961

Author:- Benjamin Pogrund

Document Date:- 6 February 1961