

15/14/73 In the first week of March
- ADD TO NOTES ON TAPE 5(b) point No.

In discussing the 1960 events, Sobukwe told me that the Anti-Pass Campaign had originally be scheduled to start on March 7. The campaign had to be postponed on about March 5, however, because an expected batch of leaflets did not materialise. Jordan Ngubane had promised to arrange for the supply of four sets of leaflets of 100,000 copies each, which were going to be distributed at fortnightly intervals as a prelude to the campaign. Ngubane said he knew an Indian printer in Natal who would do the job cheaply and he said he would arrange for the financing. Sobukwe explained to me that PAC itself had no money at all at that stage. As the leaflets did not materialise Sobukwe hurried back to Johannesburg from Cape Town and Nyasose was hurriedly sent to Natal to find out what was happening. He reported that nothing had been done. Therefore, on about March 5, the decision was taken to postpone the launching of the campaign by two weeks --- to March 21. It was hoped that leaflets would still become available. This, however, did not happen and, in fact, on Saturday, March 19, Sobukwe received a three-page letter from Ngubane urging that the campaign not be proceeded with and giving reasons for this attitude. In the absence of printed leaflets, the PAC hurriedly duplicated some leaflets and these were distributed over the week-end before March 21. Sobukwe pointed out that they were not very adequate and could not be distributed on a mass scale. He said that he felt that the complete failure of the campaign in Johannesburg was in large measure due to the failure to distribute any leaflets in advance. People simply did not know anything about the campaign.

In discussing the campaign, he agreed with me fully, when I pointed out that, after all, it had only achieved substantial support in limited areas, such as Sharpeville, Evaton, Bophelong and Cape Town.

Point No. Discussing the March 28 strike call by the ANC and the ANC call to Africans to burn their passes, Sobukwe said that the ANC had, in this way, done the African people a very great disservice. He pointed out that, as a result of the PAC campaign and, particularly, because of Sharpeville and the events in Cape Town, over that week-end ---- that is on March 26, the government announced the relaxation of Pass Laws. He said that it seemed to him that, because of the circumstances, the government was right at that stage to enter into negotiations with African leaders. However, when the ANC stepped forward and called on Africans to burn their passes, this immediately forced the government to take counter-measures, particularly as the ANC's call was following the rioting and disturbances on quite a wide scale in different parts of the country. As a result, the government was forced to crack down hard and the initiative which Africans had gained in the previous week was lost to them. Sobukwe added that the ANC's action was all the more deplorable in view of its initial and consistent opposition to the PAC's campaign.

Points No. I asked him if he thought the PAC had been ready to launch action. He said that clearly they were not ready, although they had been led to believe by Fosatusa that many thousands of African workers, particularly on the Reef, would come out in support. This promise proved largely groundless. But, he added, the PAC could not afford to wait any longer because they had information that the ANC was going ahead with its campaign on May 31. The PAC felt that whatever the results of this campaign --- and Sobukwe agreed with me when I said that it was "like other previous ANC campaigns" likely to fizzle --- it would have the net result of creating disillusionment among the African people, who would therefore, not respond to any later call issued the the PAC for action against the passes. Therefore, the PAC had to launch its campaign when it did.

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The section on Trotskyites is a mass of generalisation, suppositions unsupported by facts. The T.L.S.A. among Coloureds and the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) were affiliated to the AAC and Non-European Movement. That explains why their Teachers were found in schools. In the Transkei, as already pointed out, the AAC had a clear field for years. Most teachers in the Transkei, who have political leanings, were for a very long time members of the AAC.

Their literature does indeed accuse missionaries of being the hand-maids of the "Herrenvolk". Cf. The Role of the Missionaries, by Nosipho Majeke. But there is not a single college outside the Transkei where they have ever held the upper hand. They are brilliant Marxist analysts. But have for long believed that once they have explained a situation they have solved it.

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