

1.11. 1959.

Our declared policy is that Afrika belongs only to the African people and they are not prepared to sell its soul either to the East or to the West. They are not prepared to auction it for European generosity and merchandise. It is a declared policy of our struggles that they must be based on African Nationalism. That being so our chief duty is to organise the African masses for a fight to emancipate themselves from oppression and domination. It was for this reason amongst others that the Africanists parted company with Robots. The latter preached the so-called "progressive nationalism" whilst the Africanists preached African nationalism. The concept of 'progressive nationalism' is merely a stunt and it is meaningless. It is meaningless because in the whole world THERE IS NOT STATIC NATIONALISM. Genuine nationalism is dynamic and it adapts itself to changing conditions within the framework of its original concept.

We reject the idea and concept of multi-racialism. The other organisations fight for a multi-racial society.

Our answer to this pose is that we accept the concept of one human race without sacrificing our birthright to Africa. We accept other groups as long as they treat us as human beings and only if they recognise our right to rule by virtue of our numbers. Beyond this we have no compromise. Any other compromise or alternative is tantamount to unconditional surrender.

Lastly we accept co-operation with other African organisations and with any peace loving people or organisations, but such co-operation must be based on positive action. It is crystal clear therefore that we cannot attend multi-racial conferences to discuss unity. We can only join other African organisations on UNITY IN POSITIVE ACTION. Yes, we are committed to the building up of the African Personality.

Our programme is basically different from that of other organisations. At this junctive it would be folly to waste our precious time trying to accommodate other people's programmes in ours. We are committed to positive action. The other organisations believe in activity and not in action. They are fighting mainly to guarantee the rights of minorities. On the other hand we are not worried about guarantees or safeguards for minorities. We demand our freedom and independence. That is what worries us. One thing we guarantee to all people is human rights irrespective of their colour or creed. Thus the champion of Afrika's cause says: 'Give us the Political Kingdom and all other things shall be added unto us'. I cannot do justice to a full discussion of the general policy of the African Nationalists in an article of this nature. All that I shall do therefore is to give a guide embodying the main principles of policy. The subject is broad, and would require several articles dealing with a variety of topics.

From the outset let me say that the African people from times immemorial acquired a way of life peculiarly theirs, that life was based on a concept and content completely indigenous to Afrika. That way of life was based on a communal policy. It means therefore that Africans practised a form of rudimentary socialism even long before the white people could dream of socialisation.

The land which forms the basis of all life was communally owned. In modern language we would say they had equal rights to the ownership of land. The gist of the system was that all were equals and in a world of equals there could be no masters and servants. It goes without saying that the material needs of the African like that of the other people depend entirely on the land. It is because of this realisation that I have begun on a land policy of our past. In a free Afrika the state shall own the land in trust for the people. On the question of labour Africans followed a policy of division of labour. This division of labour was systematically defined:-

- (1) Naturally the division was between sexes and secondly
- (2) according to age-groups.

Again here we do not find a division between the haves and the havenots.

There was therefore no exploitation of man by man. All worked for the common good of the society.

Capitalism as a system never took root amongst Africans. The system that resulted in capitalism never existed in Afrika. That is so we reject all facts of capitalism with the contempt they deserve. If capitalism was never our way of life, there is equally

for a classless society as understood by the communists. We are therefore not following a worker struggle of the congress of Democrats. Our struggle is national Now.

Because at the present moment we do not possess sovereign power our policy is voided through demands. We demand equality of income for all people. This is in line with our concept of nationality:—The whole nation requires emancipation from economic strangulation; the whole nation wants to live above the cesspools of misery and degradation.

We demand free Trade Unionsism and for tactical reasons it must be manned by Africans only. As far as individuals are concerned we have no quarrel with their acceptance of the African personality, outlook or way of life. Trade Unionsism cannot be viewed in isolation from the national struggle. The Africans are not oppressed as individuals or as a class; they are oppressed as a nation. We cannot therefore accept multi-racial Trade Unions. Irrespective of colour or creed we advocate collective bargaining against the present set-up. In a free Afrika we shall implement the principle of EQUALITY OF INCOME.

Let met now turn to those I class as the have i.e. those who own big business at the present time. The sovereign state shall take over their concerns and according to a planned socialistic economy it shall distribute the profits for the benefit of the whole nation. Here we shall be guided by experts. Lastly the African Nationalists stand for an independent African economy. We cannot therefore be appendages of foreign economy. Unless we manage our own economy, unless we are independent in all things we shall remain lovers of word and drawers of water. Even though I have outlined some basic principles in our economic policy, yet Dr. Kwame Nkrumah says 'GIVE US FIRST THE POLITICAL KINGDOM AND ALL THE OTHER THINGS SHALL BE ADDED UNTO US'.

PAN AFRICANISM.

Black people primarily regard Russian communists as white men. Black people primarily regard American, British and French anti-communists as white people. The negro, even when embracing communism or Western democracy is not supporting ideologies, he is seeking to use instruments for his own ends. He stands outside of those instruments and ideologies. Recognizing the oneness of the struggles of the coloured world for freedom from alien domination, Pan Africanism endorses the conception of an Asian-African front against that racial arrogance which has reached its spogee in the Herrenvolk philosophy of Apartheid. Pan Africanism, moreover, draws considerable inspiration from the struggles of the national freedom movements of the Asian countries, and subscribes to the Gaundhian doctrine of non-violence as a means of attaining self-determination and racial equality. It rejects the embridled system of monopoly capitalism of the west no less than the political and cultural totolitarianism of the East. It identifies itself with the neutral camp, opposed to all forms of oppression and racial chauvinism - white or black - and associates itself with all forces of progress and goodwill, regardless of nationality, race, colour or creed, working for universal brotherhood, social justice and peace for all peoples everywhere. Politically Pan-Africanism seeks the attainment of the government of Africans by Africans for Africans with all those who owe their allegiance only to Afrika and are prepared to abide by a rule of an African majority being regarded as Africans. Economically and socially Pan-Africanism subscribes to the fundamental objectives of Democratic socialism, with state control of the basic means of production and distribution. It stands for the liberty of the subject within the law and endorses the fundamental Declaration of Human Rights with emphasis upon the Four Freedoms. Finally, for Pan Africanism, the self-determination of the dependent territories is the prerequisite to the federation of self-governing states on a regional basis leading ultimately to a creation of a united states of Afrika. For there is a growing feeling among politically conscious Africans throughout the continent that their destiny is one, that what happens in one part of Afrika to Africans must affect Africans living in other parts.

In our struggle for national freedom, human dignity and social redemption, Pan Africanism offers an ideological alternative to communism on the one side and tribalism on the other. It rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality. Pan Africanism looks above the narrow confines of class, race, tribe and religion. In other words it, want equal opportunity for all. Talent to be rewarded on the basis of merit. Its vision stretches beyond the limited frontiers of the nation state. Its perspective embraces the pederation of regional self-

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governing countries and ultimate amalgamation into a United States of Afrika.

In such a commonwealth, all men, regardless of tribe, race, colour or creed shall be free and equal. And all the national units comprising the regional federations shall be autonomous in all matters regional, yet united in all matters of common interest to the African Union. This is our vision of the Afrika of tomorrow the goal of Pan Africanism

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