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27.9.67
THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS EXISTS TO

SUBVERT THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The Pan Africanist Congress has a long and sordid history of attempting to subvert the struggle for liberation in South Africa. One of the aims of the "leadership" of this organisation (if it can be called that at all) was to collect for themselves as much money as possible. In the course of fighting over their loot the 'organisation' has broken up into numerous factions. There have been expulsions and counter-expulsions, accusations and recriminations.

In September 1967 the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa made an attempt to unite the numerous factions which developed within its ranks since it split from the African National Congress of South Africa in 1959. But their re-unification talks at Moshi, Tanzania, in September, 1967 have already led to another cleavage in what is often called the "leadership" of the P.A.C.

The "leadership" of the P.A.C. hastily had to convene a Conference to overcome their internal difficulties in order to forestall the implementation of a decision adopted by the Organisation for African Unity Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa which called upon the P.A.C. to unite or suffer the remedial action which the Liberation Committee intended to take.

When the P.A.C. "re-unification" talks took place at Moshi they did so against the background of serious internal bickering and faction fights among their members in Dar es Salaam. In view of the gravity of the internecine squabbles in P.A.C., the Government of the Republic of Tanzania closed the offices of the P.A.C. in Dar es Salaam.

It is not our intention to examine that period of trouble in the P.A.C. as it will be quite clear from the attached

copy of a letter (Annexure A) written by an officer of the Christian Council in Tanzania that the "Leballo group" had the upperhand in the manner the Moshi "unity" Conference was convened in September 1967.

One of the results of the Moshi "unity" Conference was to suspend the Treasurer-General of the P.A.C., Mr. A.B. Ngcobo. A Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate the accounts of the P.A.C. and to examine Ngcobo on how he had kept the funds of the P.A.C. as Treasurer-General.

The Commission of Inquiry consisted of Messrs. Z.B. Molete, J.D. Nyaoase, and P.N. Raboroko. When A.B. Ngcobo circulated a damning document showing how Leballo and Nyaoase had individually failed to hand over to the Treasurer-General of P.A.C. the funds which they obtained from various countries in the name of the P.A.C. such as the United Arab Republic and China for instance, the Commission of Inquiry could not conduct its investigations any further. The Commission was compelled to abandon its duty as one of its members J.D. Nyaoase, was directly involved in the failure to hand over funds to A.B. Ngcobo who was P.A.C. Treasurer-General at the time. The Commission of Inquiry also feared being expelled from the P.A.C. if it should dare investigate the conduct of Mr. F.K. Leballo in regard to the funds that Ngcobo's evidence shows to have been received by him.

We believe that the A.B. Ngcobo statement on the finances of the P.A.C. has been submitted to the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. We hope it shall not be necessary for us to reproduce it here as that would make our statement too long.

Insofar as P.N. Raboroko is concerned as a member of the Commission of Inquiry, the copy of the letter (Annexure A) attached herewith clearly shows that he and A.B. Ngcobo have at one time jointly gone round collecting funds in the U.S.A.

As far as J.D. Nyaoase is concerned we only have to refer to some of the documents he has circulated in which he showed how dangerous P.K. Leballo was to the South African Revolution. The most recent of these exposures by Nyaoase was written from Addis Ababa in February 1967 and addressed to a group of P.A.C. dissidents who were in Nairobi, Kenya. In that document, J.D. Nyaoase unleashed a scathing attack on the Government of Tanzania.

Let us quote a few extracts from the document which the P.A.C. "leadership" has circulated either as an attack on the A.N.C. or an attack on one another. It is in these documents that one can clearly see that the P.A.C. will never be able to prosecute the liberation struggle in South Africa, and in fact is consistently subverting it.

In Azania News, the official organ of the PAC, Vol. 3 Nos. 1-2 January 1968, reference is made to one of the foremost spokesman of the P.A.C. in the following terms:-

"Incidentally, the latter view (that is, a "continental organisation under a central command") is shared by the detached commentator, Matthew Nkoana, former P.A.C. representative in London, who has consistently taken a view that is contrary to the official approach even when he claims to be speaking for the Pan Africanist Congress. Nkoana is quite adept at combining reactionary substance with revolutionary phrases to make a counter-revolutionary proposition sound revolutionary. Certainly this is the traditional mechanism of the adventurist who shows great ability in seeing how a revolution can be run in every place except in the camp of aggression, where it should of necessity be conducted, and proposes many brilliant moves, except the necessary move to organise and conduct revolution at the right place under the right conditions."

Matthew Nkoana participated at the Moshi P.A.C. "re-unification" Conference. He is still a leading member of the P.A.C.

In the P.A.C. application for membership of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation dated April 4, 1966 they deny charges against them which they have dismally failed to refute:-

"The A.N.C. accuses our leadership of responsibility for arrests in South Africa in March and April 1963. Like all arm-chair critics and fault-finders they fail in the face of simple facts to attribute the

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the arrests to the "Snyman Report" which urged Parliament to take firm and urgent action against Poqo, the military wing of the P.A.C. However, they have fallen for a plot hatched by the South African government together with the British Administration in Basutoland and their agents in an attempt to blackmail and even discredit the leadership of the P.A.C. for their own purpose.

"It is only natural, even if impolitic for the A.N.C. as a dethroned rival to seek to make capital out of this, but as Chairman Mao has observed, those who want to accuse should not speak before they investigated."

But the P.A.C. should remember that apart from our exposure of the counter-revolutionary work of the P.A.C. inside South Africa, one of their own members has denounced them. On the 18th. September, 1965 J.D. Nyaoase issued a circular Letter No.1, styling himself as:

President Chairman of all PARTY Conference of the P.A.C. in South Africa, Secretary for Labour and Member of the Central Committee in the Pan Africanist Congress Party, in reply to Messrs. Potlako K. Leballo (National Secretary and inter-alia ACTION PRESIDENT) of the Pan Africanist Congress."

saying:

"The habit of gossiping and tail-beating to the South African police, Embassies, Governments and Organisations about party secrets and internal differences even exposing what he thinks is the Pan Africanist Congress Party programme in our struggle for National Liberation, has proved to be Leballo's assignment and role to play of late in the Party, as from March 1963. And the only people who are thankful to Mr. Leballo's activities in the P.A.C. is the Verwoerd South African Government.

"It is possible that Mr. Leballo, undertook this new role in the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, as a condition of protection which he badly needed to save his own life when the party membership and people at home attempted to kill him in Maseru (Basutoland), after their Leballo-Molete press conference in March 1963 which caused the arrest of more than 10,000 political activists in South Africa following the publicity of P.A.C. programme of action secrets which they exposed in advance in order to alert the South African Government. By your present actions in the Party Mr. Leballo, you have given an answer as to

why you were amongst other things allowed to leave Maseru (Basutoland) through JanSmuts Airport inside South Africa, whereas you were once such a dangerous wanted man there. Leballo leadership is a security risk in the S.A. revolution.

"Mr. Leballo, you can have no excuse to the people of South Africa for doing the work of the South African Police against South African Freedom-Fighters, who were lucky to escape when you got all their P.A.C activists arrested."

J.D. Nyaose further wrote of P.K. Leballo as follows in a letter dated February 6, 1967, which he sent to P.A.C. dissidents in Nairobi, Kenya:-

"Mr. Leballo ceased in March 1963, to be an accredited Leader(National Secretary) of the P.A.C., when he informed the S.A. Government to arrest more than 15,000 freedom fighters members of the P.A.C. in S.A. stating that he feared that they were about to start another Sharpeville in which European men, women and children would be murdered over one night in S.A."

There is overwhelming evidence that what is called the P.A.C. does not exist as a cohesive organisation. It is indeed surprising and a cause for great concern that the P.A.C. "leadership" is given so much latitude to waste the funds of the O.A.U. and the material support that it provides; it is indeed shocking that the P.A.C. "leadership" should be allowed to continue biting the very O.A.U. some of whose Member-States it abuses in spite of their obvious tolerance and indirect support. It is tragic that the O.A.U. should unwittingly allow the P.A.C. to continue undermining the South African Liberation struggle by squandering the financial material and refugee assistance granted to it.

The P.A.C. uses much of this O.A.U. assistance to attack the A.N.C. of South Africa and the struggle which it is leading against the fascist White minority regime in South Africa. Occasionally we have been constrained to reply to these attacks rather as a clarification of the distortions and misrepresentations of our history and struggles which the P.A.C. revels in doing.

At the Moshi P.A.C. "re-unification" talks several persons were co-opted into what they termed the "Revolutionary Council". Some of them are Messrs. Barney Desai, Cardiff Marney, Tsepo T. Letlaka, Ntantala, Kenneth Jordaan etc.

Soon after the Moshi P.A.C. Conference in September 1967, Barney Desai went to Lusaka, Zambia where he held a Press Conference on the outcome of their Moshi "re-unification" talks. Among the points raised in his statement were the following:-

1. That the P.A.C. had worked out at Moshi a blueprint for revolution in South Africa.
2. That the P.A.C. is going to fight inside South Africa and is opposed to fighting in Zimbabwe or anywhere else against the Vorster regime.
3. That the P.A.C. is not opposed to the formation of a United Front but it should be based on principle. Towards achieving that objective the P.A.C. called for a moratorium among the liberation movements to prevent the attacks and counter-attacks that take place among them.

We of the A.N.C. of South Africa were encouraged by this development in the camp of the P.A.C. and hoped that for once they would pursue their own decisions. But alas! The P.A.C. were the first to break the "moratorium" which they themselves had proposed.

In their organ, the Azania News, published in Zambia by the P.A.C. they carried a sub-editorial entitled "The Wankie Fiasco" in which they maligned and denigrated the guerrilla fighting which the joint A.N.C. and ZAPU forces were waging in Zimbabwe. In a subsequent issue (Azania News Vol.3 Nos. 1-2 January, 1968) they continued to vilify the A.N.C. leadership for having decided on the Wankie operation. The enemy has claimed that with the murder of Che Guevara guerrilla warfare in Latin-America is over. The P.A.C. "leaders" claim that Wankie was a fiasco because some A.N.C. militants fell in action. They show an insatiable appetite for swallowing enemy propaganda and no difficulty to disgorge it in due course. The P.A.C. never hesitate to try and undermine and sabotage the struggle like true agents by trying to demoralise the people and sow confusion amongst them. Wankie was and continues to be a great triumph for the struggle in Southern Africa and only the people's enemy, wrapped up and disguised in pseudo-revolutionary phrases, dares attack the valiant sacrifices made in the Wankie battles in July/August 1967.

The P.A.C. "blueprint for revolution" in South Africa was mass produced and distributed to boost the "revolutionary" image of the P.A.C. But as soon as 13 of their militants returned from military training, they sent them to battle in January 1968. The preparations for that operation were made by a deserter from the A.N.C. guerrilla forces, one Gerald Lockman whom the P.A.C. had recruited. Lockman showed the P.A.C. ill-fated 13 the way across the Zambesi near the Kariba where they surrendered without firing a single shot. The P.A.C. at no stage had any serious intention of launching an armed struggle, this operation was mere window-dressing intended to deceive the African States and the world.

The P.A.C. has shamefully tried to conceal and hush up the fact that their 13 militants surrendered in Zimbabwe in January 1968 without firing a single shot. This has led to renewed bickering, accusations and mutual recriminations among the P.A.C. especially in Lusaka.

P.K. Leballo is at logger-heads with Tsepo T. Letlaka who now has a certain group of the P.A.C. under his "leadership". To avoid embarrassment and prevent O.A.U. action against them, P.K. Leballo has threatened to expel T.T. Letlaka. He hopes this will silence Letlaka. P.K. Leballo has also chosen the method of transferring his opponents from one country to another in order to break their cohesion and give the semblance of peace and calm within the "leadership" of the P.A.C. Thus Mr. Masimini, the P.A.C. representative in Lusaka is to be transferred possibly to Algeria and Mr. Sibeko, the P.A.C. representative in Dar es Salaam is to go to Cairo. They may be sent to other places; but the principle of silencing opposition within the P.A.C. in order to give the impression of unity and so retain the O.A.U. support that the P.A.C. misuses remains the basis of Leballo's tactics.

Messrs. A.B. Ngcobo and P.N. Raboroko have defected to Nairobi, Kenya from where they hope to "re-unify" the P.A.C. afresh. That is the result of the ill-advised Moshi P.A.C. Conference whose objectives were simply to

1. Organise an opposition Party to the A.N.C. of South Africa.
2. Create a "Revolutionary Council" of the P.A.C. "leadership" to deceive the O.A.U. into continuing

to render P.A.C. financial and material support.

But there is always dishonour among thieves. We only hope that the Member-States of the O.A.U. will rid the South African liberation struggle of the heavy liability and subversion that the P.A.C. attempts to carry out on its further development.

The P.A.C. "leadership" requires O.A.U. assistance to satisfy individual, selfish appetites. They are extremely opportunistic and will say or do anything to blacken the A.N.C. of South Africa. The P.A.C. "leadership" lack understanding of the problems involved in the South African struggle precisely because they are preoccupied with the A.N.C. rather than the enemy; their major task is to criticise policies and tactics of the struggle led by the A.N.C. But when they pretend to launch guerrilla struggle themselves, they quickly abandon the futile theorising on how and where to fight.

Another illustration of their irresponsibility and complete lack of interest in the struggle is the fact that recently some of the militarily trained men of the P.A.C. have sold their weapons and ammunition. For this act of treachery and cowardice, these P.A.C. "militants" have been put in jail in some African countries. Do we still have to belabour the point that the granting of O.A.U. recognition to the P.A.C. serves no good purpose to the O.A.U. itself; to the countries that give P.A.C. facilities; and to the South African liberation struggle?

We should like to conclude by saying that there is abundant evidence that there does not exist an effective and cohesive body known as the P.A.C. which has a serious programme of struggle to liberate the people of South Africa and which can prosecute such a programme. There do exist fragments and factions, led by careerists and fortune-seekers who label themselves the P.A.C. Their main task is to shout revolutionary slogans but at the same time their activities are intended to disrupt, thwart, obstruct and subvert every effort of those who genuinely seek to liberate South Africa. This bankrupt and undefinable P.A.C. was created and made to survive by forces hostile to African liberation in order to perform this treacherous act. They will not succeed.

We are confident that the O.A.U. will not hesitate to take

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drastic action against a group of confidence tricksters who
abuse its assistance and resources for purposes diametrically
opposed to the historic mission of the O.A.U.

Issued by:

Provisional Headquarters,
African National Congress (S.A.),
P.O. Box 680,
MOROGORO,
Tanzania.

ANNEXURE "A"

18 Aug. 1967.

Mr. Jan van Hoogstraten,
NEW YORK 10027,
18th. August, 1967.

Dear Mr. van Hoogstraten,

Yesterday I had a conversation with A.B. Ngcobo the leader of the dissident group of PAC members. Both A.B. Ngcobo and Ed. Hawley have been in correspondence with your office about the background of these PAC difficulties.

A.B. Ngcobo was in your office when he was in New York last year, although he had nothing in writing. A.B. said that you promised to help him should the PAC party developments take a turn for the worse and they be left without means of support. Just what did this promise mean? Was it for A.B. Ngcobo personally or was it for the whole group who are effected by the party crisis.

It seems that the situation has deteriorated here. On July 27, 1967 PAC office was closed until an agreement was made to hold a re-organisation conference. However, A.B. Ngcobo was forced to agree to holding a conference held on Leballo's terms. The office reopened this week under Leballo's leadership.

Now the members of dissident group are leaving the country with the exception of A.B. Ngcobo and Peter Raboroko (the following sentence was deleted in the letter "as it is feared they will also receive the same treatment that group that the South Africans that went to Ethiopia received").

Tomorrow 14 PAC members will leave for Kenya although there is no way of getting a job....."

NOTE: All spelling and grammar errors were made by the erudite and knowledgeable American Christian who wrote the letter.

ANNEXURE "B"

REPORT OF THE TREASURER-GENERAL TO THE COMMISSION OF
INQUIRY SET UP BY MOSHI MEETING (19-21 SEPT., 1967)
OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PAN
AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Article 4(e) of the Constitution of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa states that "the National Executive Committee shall at the end of each year prepare estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the ensuing year, and that such estimates shall be submitted to the Annual Conference for consideration."

Article 4(j) says that "the National Executive Committee shall at end of the financial year cause the Treasurer-General to prepare and submit audited accounts to the National Conference for consideration."

This clause clearly provides that before any audited accounts are submitted to the Annual Conference the National Executive Committee shall meet and co-operate with the Treasurer-General to make possible properly compiled Accounts for presentation to the National Conference. This, again, clearly means that all heads of departments in the organisation shall present their revenue, and expenditure sheets for proper accounting. Regrettably this provision of the constitution, like so many others in and outside finance, has been honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Thus it has been impossible to present a financial statement.

I am not at the moment concerned with the constitutional provision as to where such a statement should have been provided, which is in a National Conference. I know very well the difficulties (most of them avoidable) which have prevented the holding of such a conference, but I am more interested in the workings of the National Executive Committee. In more than five years the properly convened meeting of the National Executive Committee (apart from anomalies attendant to its process of credentials) was the one in Moshi. As if its irregularities were not enough it went beyond its sphere of competence to demand a financial statement. It utterly failed to discharge its duties of collective responsibility of causing "the Treasurer-General to prepare and submit audited accounts."

This failure is consistent with other failures in the whole system of operation which now amounts to a scandal. Article 4(d) reads "the National Executive Committee shall establish and administer a National Reserve Fund." Article 4(h) provides "All National Funds shall be deposited in a bank, and application for withdrawal must be signed by the Treasurer-General and either the National Secretary or the President."

Both the foregoing provisions have been violated with impunity

during the entire period covered in terms of reference of this commission of inquiry and even beyond. There have been a number of Fund raising missions in various parts of the globe which have neither reported proceeds to the Treasurer-General nor deposited them in the Party account.

In October 1964 a mission to the U.A.R. realised a sum of £5,000. This money was never handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account. Neither was an explanation of its disbursement made available to the Treasurer-General. This mission was led by Mr. P.K. Leballo.

To go a little further back in time. The second grant (made to J.D. Nyaoose in February 1965) allocated to our first mission to China (July 1964) was neither deposited to the Party account nor received by the Treasurer-General. This amount like the first, was \$10,000.

The second mission to China led by Mr. P.K. Leballo with Messrs Z.B. Molete and A.G. Ebrahim as members also realised \$20,000. This was received in two lots of \$10,000 each. The entire amount of \$20,000 was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account.

The Labour delegation to China in May 1965 led by J.D. Nyaoose realised an amount of \$10,000. This money was subsequently (in May-August 1965) the subject of great controversy. It was contended that this money belonged to the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA). The money was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account.

Mr. P.K. Leballo led a second mission to the United Arab Republic in November 1965. The mission realised £2,500. In the mission was also the Treasurer-General. Mr. Leballo carried the money to Tanzania, but it was not deposited into the Party account. It was later learnt that this money was deposited into a new account in Mbeya. No account of how it was spent was made to the Treasurer-General. At Moshi meeting a mention of Mbeya revenue and expenditure was made, but copies were taken back for "security reasons". It must be mentioned that the Mbeya account was opened without consultation with the Treasurer-General.

In May 1966 Mr. Z.B. Molete led a delegation to the Plenary Council of the Afro-Asian Journalists Association. It was learnt that \$1,000 was realised on this mission, but the money was neither reported to the Treasurer-General nor deposited to the Party account.

A delegation that went to the Emergency Writer's Meeting in Peking (June-July 1966) raised £4,000 from the Chinese Afro-Asian Solidarity

Committee. By the time it arrived at the Headquarters of the external mission in Dar Es Salaam it was reported to be £500 less. It was neither handed to the Treasurer-General nor deposited into the Party account. This money was handed to Mr. P.K. Leballo.

In July 1965 the Treasurer-General issued two circulars setting out certain procedures that were to be adopted with regard to the handling of money. The circulars further requested persons who had monies to make reports and deposit the monies concerned into the Party account. The circulars affected mainly the offices of the external representatives and members of the National Executive Committee. Those circulars were neither nor complied with.

Since August 1966 the situation arising from the disputes in the Party made it even more difficult if not impossible for the Treasurer-General to do any work. He was barred from the premises of the Dar es Salaam office, which up till then he shared with the representative.

In August 1965 the Treasurer-General prepared a statement of revenue and expenditure covering the period March 1965 in respect of monies received from the African Liberation Committee. This was duly endorsed by Mr. Leballo and submitted to the ALC. It was the creditable financial statement that could be made in the whole sordid period covered by terms of reference of this commission, even then only due to the watchful eye of the African Liberation Committee.

By a consensus of opinion the Treasurer-General was deprived of his status as a compulsory signatory for purposes of withdrawing monies from the bank. This was necessary because of his occasional absence from Dar es Salaam. So at times other persons operated the account independently of him, but they failed to submit reports of their stewardship. A case in point was when the Treasurer-General was away from March 18 to May 21, 1965. The records showed for example, that a sum of £1,000 had been returned from Maseru in May, but by the end of the month the coffers were empty. Mr. Molete who was in charge during this time has not up to now rendered account of his stewardship.

During the absence of the Treasurer-General in late 1965 and late 1966 his desks were forced open and records removed in mysterious circumstances. On the first occasion, in the presence of an eye witness, Mr. Leballo used a tyre-lever to force the locker open. I say "in mysterious circumstances" because his motives remain undisclosed. However, in my mind I associate the act with certain sharp disagreements that arose in October 1965 during the summit conference of the Organisation of African Unity affecting our dele-

gation. One of the issues in dispute concerned transportation without apparent legitimate purpose, of our girls from Dar es Salaam to Cairo in September 1965. This airlift, effected without the knowledge of the Treasurer-General, cost the Party £854. This whole question of authorisation of expenditure is a hardy annual. To cite a piquant example, in July 1965 Mr. Leballo ordered at the Party's expense some trousseau at Jan Mahomed's Outfitters, Independence Avenue, Dar es Salaam, comprising perfumes, perfume sprayers, brocade material and ladies' undergarments, costing about 735 shillings. It is inconceivable that these articles were for Mr. Leballo's own use, but who the beneficiary was is anybody's guess. This needless to add, was done without the Treasurer-General's knowledge.

The second occasion on which the Treasurer-General's desks were forced open was during his absence away in Brasilia, during which time fantastic allegations were made against him and Mr. Peter Raboroko in a vicious attack on them by Mr. Leballo. Again records were removed.

The total sum of monies that have not been accounted for staggers the imagination. No doubt some of it has been used gainfully in the interest of the liberation struggle. The list of such misdeeds is inexhaustible.

As already stated, the Moshi meeting was the first NEC session in years. It was there that these difficulties which made it impossible to keep proper books of account should have been examined in comradely spirit. But due to the crisis that have plagued the organisation for a number of years feelings were understandably ruffled and a constructive approach to these difficulties was impossible. It was there that I had hoped to receive reports from persons who had handled monies. Instead the meeting insisted on a Financial Statement, although according to the agenda it was a treasurer's report that was required.

A.B. Ngcobo.
Treasurer-General of the
Pan Africanist Congress
of South Africa.

27th. September, 1967,
P.O. Box 20657,
DAR ES SALAAM.
United Republic of Tanzania.