

Pan Africanism in Southern Africa

1900 - 1960

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For The DEGREE Of

Doctor Of Philosophy

At The

University of York

CENTRE FOR Southern African Studies,

1990.

## Acknowledgement

Numerous institutions and individuals have assisted me in the writing of this thesis. Despite the invidiousness of singling out particular individuals and groups for mentioning, I am indebted to all those who assisted me in one form or another in producing the study.

Before all others, my thanks are due to my two Supervisors, Landeg White and Harry Wilson for their invaluable advice and assistance, their critical appraisal of the work, introducing me to exciting ideas and new sources and for their moral, material and other forms of support.

My thanks also go to the staff of several Institutions, Libraries and Archives in which I have worked in the course of my research. In particular, I wish to thank staff and students at the Centre for Southern African Studies, among them, Dr. Anne Akeroyd and Jean Wade. I am also particularly grateful to members of staff of the York University Library for their patience and support in finding obscure materials. My thanks also go to librarians at the Rhodes House Library in Oxford, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Public Records Office and its Newspaper Section in Colindale, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, the

Schomburg Centre for Research and Culture in New York. The Library of Congress, the Moorland Spingarn Library Howard University, both in Washington D.C., the African Studies Department at UCLA, and the production team of the Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers. They kindly permitted me privileged access to unprinted data.

In addition, my special thanks go to Mrs. Hardy, who produced the initial draft of the work from a proverbially recognised ineligible script, staff at the Computer Centre of the National Teachers Institute who assisted in the typing and production of the work. In particular, I am grateful to Mr. Okoye the former Computer Manager of the Centre, Clement S. Obriku and Isaac I. Oduah who patiently produced the work.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and staff in the General Studies, and History departments of the NDA, particularly Dr. Oladejo, Mallam Kurfi and Victor Elaigwu who assisted in the editing of the work as well as providing invaluable critical comments.

My gratitude also to my father Oba Oyebade Lipede, the Alake of Abeokuta who provided financial and moral support during the course of the work. Without his varying support, it is doubtful whether the work would have reached its final stages, and it is to him that I

dedicate the completed study.

Lastly my thanks to Aminu Tijjani, who has done more than others towards the success of the work.

Although all those I have thanked contributed to the work, the ideas, and shortcomings of the study are entirely mine.



## Abstract

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The thesis discusses Pan Africanism in Southern Africa between 1900 and 1960, and offers a working definition of the term. It examines Pan Africanism under two groupings. Secular Pan Africanism as articulated first by leading diasporan figures and later by Africans in Africa, and Ethiopianism as propagated by Ethiopian church leaders.

Evangelical and secular Pan African leaders worked together before 1945. However, as both became marginalised, they found little common ground and rarely cooperated.

The study will focus on the development of Pan Africanism in reaction and in relation to other ideologies in the region during the period under review. It will examine the class divisions between secular Pan Africanism and its message, articulated and made practical by bourgeois Black Americans and indigenous Africans, and influenced partly by conditions within the region and ideas and experiences from the African diaspora and Ethiopianism which was originally localised religious revolt by the dispossessed. It later became an attempt to undo the colonial legacy, which divided the continent into countries with sacrosanct boundaries.

It will be shown, how both evangelical and secular Pan Africanism confronted with a number of factors became increasingly marginalised.

The work will be divided into two sections, a historical and a biographical section developed into a compact whole. The nature of the work will not allow an indepth analysis of all the countries or Pan African figures in the region. Emphasis is therefore placed on selected countries and figures. Five chapters will deal with a historical analysis of the main identified strands of the ideology and these are interspersed with biographical sketches of four identified figures. Interspersing biographical sketches with chapters on the historical development of the ideology, enables the work to illustrate the complexities of peoples lives.

The last two chapters examines the marginalization of Pan Africanism and its articulators in the region. The study concludes that for Pan Africanism to meet the aspiration of Southern Africans it has to undergo radical changes. As a dynamic and fluid ideology, it is capable of meeting the challenge.

# ABBREVIATIONS

=====

African Democratic Party	ADP
African Methodist Episcopal Church	AME
African National Congress	ANC
African National Congress Youth League	ANCYL
African Peoples Organization	APO
All African Convention	AAC
Council of African Affairs	CAA
Communist Party of South Africa	CPSA
Foreign Mission Board	FMB
Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention	FMB of the NBC
Malawi Congress Party	MCP
Malawi National Archives	MNA
Member of the Representative Council	MRC
National Association of African and Coloured People	NAACP
Native Representative Council	NRC
Nyasaland African Congress	NAC
Pan African Congress	PAC
Providence Industrial Mission	PIM
Students Christian Association	SCA
Teachers Christian Association	TCA
Universal Negro Improvement Association	UNIA
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA



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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Between November and January of 1986, while I was on a research trip to the US, I attended a number of meetings organised by the First World Alliance Organization, which (among other things) aim at:

"deepening, expanding and projecting the African culture, educating the brain so that the mind of the people will be free. Aiding and supporting all struggles that make a contribution to African liberation and human freedom, and uniting as one on the basis of African freedom." (1)

Regular meetings of the Alliance are held at the Mount Zion Lutheran Church in Harlem, where diasporan African academics and other leaders give talks on topics on African civilization, African culture and consciousness, and trace the historical links between Africans in the diaspora and those in Africa.

Among some of the lectures delivered at the meetings between 1985 and 1986 were "The Origin of Current African Consciousness" by John Henrik Clarke, "The Antiquity of African Philosophy" by Dr. Yusef Ben Jochanan, "African Education or Negro Training" by Dr. Leonard Jeffries, "The African Spirituality of the Diaspora" by Dr. Edward Scobie, and "The Organised Destruction of African Education" by Dr. James Turner.

(2)

Education trips to places of historical interest in Africa are arranged for members, with the tour party going away with one or two diasporan academics. In addition, they are encouraged to organise groups within the Alliance, for adapting villages in parts of Africa. Of particular interest to the study are the fund raising functions organised by the First World Alliance in conjunction with church groups and other organizations to raise money for liberation groups in Southern Africa. The flyer advertising the three day "musical salute" to the ANC and other liberation movements in Southern Africa, for example, expressed clearly this solidarity between members and Africans in South Africa, where it read: "Every day our South African brothers and sisters are fighting the US backed racist and fascist South African government..... Our brothers are fighting for true liberation, and not for civil rights within a white minority controlled govern- ment and economy.... We the Black people of the US must take it as a moral political and financial duty to give humanitarian aid to the freedom fighters in South Africa."(3)

Members of the First World Alliance work in close alliance with a number of Black churches and other religious organizations. Among these is the Mount Zion Lutheran Church in Harlem, New York City, where meetings of the FWA are usually held. Other independent churches



have also continued the evangelical and secular pan African link in the 1980s. The present Foreign Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention has continued his regular trips to the Mission's churches in parts of Africa, including Malawi. Other church leaders, such as the Reverend Calvin Butts, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, have been in the forefront not only of the civil rights movement in Harlem, but in most organizations which support the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and have kept the flame of the pan-African spirit burning. (4)

#### Pan Africanism in the Period 1960 - 1970 in the Diaspora.

W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, (5) C. R. L. James, Ras Makonnen and Walter Rodney had remained key figures in the movement in the African diaspora, until their deaths, and had played crucial roles in linking the movement in the diaspora with its counterparts in parts of Africa. Du Bois, until his death, remained a key figure among intergrationists in the US and his involvement in the African History project in Ghana demonstrated this link. C. R. L. James remains one of the intellectual fathers of the Pan African Congress of Azania and provides financial support for the movement.

Other more overtly militant organizations, like the

Black Power Movement of the 1960s under Malcolm X, and the ALL African People's Revolutionary Party led by Stokely Carmichael, alias Kwame Toure, had continued in the tradition of Marcus Garvey and Kwame Nkrumah. Founded in 1972, the AAPRP is based largely on the ideology of Nkrumahism and aims at, among other things, the "total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism". Although Kwame Toure is more widely known in the US than in parts of Africa, the link between his movement and pan African groups in South Africa, for example, was emphasised at the fortieth anniversary conference of the 1945 Manchester Pan African Meeting, held symbolically in Manchester in 1985, where representatives of the Pan African Congress of Azania played prominent roles (6). The movement also encourages the organization of AAPRP groups among students in parts of East, West and Southern Africa. One can rightly suggest, that there has been a change of emphasis in the mode of expression of Pan African unity and solidarity between diasporan Africans and Africans in parts of Africa.

As early as the 1950s, the ANCYL, in one of its pamphlets, had considered the Garvey movement diversionary to the struggle in South Africa. Many must have realised that: "A dream by itself means nothing. What transforms a dream is a plan and a dream without a



plan is a is a fantasy. Africans need a plan for liberation and development, not a fantasy." (7)

The idea of large scale emigration to parts of Africa or of an expression of racial and social solidarity has long given way to what Colin Legum has termed "political solidarity" by which diasporan Africans offer financial, moral and other supports to Africans in their struggle for liberation.

In spite of the shift in the mode of expression of pan African unity and solidarity, the brief survey of the development of pan Africanism in the African diaspora and in Africa has shown that the phenomenon is still considered to be a relevant and positive ideology for Africans in Africa and those in the African diaspora.

#### Pan Africanism in Africa in the 1980s

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In Africa itself, the ideal of Pan Africanism is very much alive in the 1980s, and it seems to have been given a new impetus.

There have been calls in the 1980s for a process of self-examination, re-assessment and re-organization of the OAU, the institutional expression of the pan African

idea and Movement. This, some leaders hope, will lead to major reforms which will give the Organization a new direction and a much needed dynamism it is lacking at present. The Secretary General of the OAU, Ide Oumarou, in March, 1986, for example, tabled a proposal for a number of administrative reforms which aimed at instilling in the body a new sense of purpose and increased efficiency. They would also revitalise the Organization, making it better equipped to meet the challenges facing it today, by sweeping complacency out of the Organization, and in this way enabling it to achieve its lofty ideals.

In addition, the Lagos Plan of Action, a product of the Economic Community of Africa (ECA) and the OAU, has called for the establishment of an African Economic Community by the year 2000 AD, which will be made up of a federation of regional groupings in the continent.

Attempts at regional co-operation seem to have received a new lease of life in the 1980s.

The Voice of Kenya (the radio and television station of the country's) rallying cry: "The star over the region shines again. Down with those who seek to keep us apart. Long live the spirit of cooperation and good neighbourliness" (8) was broadcast, after the

meeting of the heads of state of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda held in 1986, to settle the thorny problem of the assets and liabilities of the defunct East African Community and to revive the idea of regional cooperation in East Africa. It exemplified the mood of observers towards the resumption of attempts at cooperation in the region. At the end of the meeting, a draft treaty, which outlined the basis for cooperation in the East African subregion, was signed by the three leaders. In West Africa, the (June) 1986-ECOWAS meeting held in Abuja in Nigeria, emphasised the need for the strengthening of economic ties in the region, and endorsed the second phase of the protocol of free movement of people among countries in the community. Economic integration and cooperation, it was accepted, provide the most lasting solution to the problems facing the region.

In Southern Africa, Africans had, by the 1960s, lost hope of the widely held dream of the 1920s and 1930s, of diasporan Africans arriving in the region and freeing them (sometimes by force of arms) from the oppression and domination of white governments in the region.

Cooperation between independent states in Southern Africa, as expressed in the SADCC arrangements in the 1980s, which encourages economic cooperation among



member-states, and other attempts by leaders in the region for other forms of cooperation, have emphasised the need for some kind of unity in the region. This brief analysis of pan African development in the African diaspora and in Africa illustrates the continuing relevance of the ideal to contemporary African politics, and makes this study, which attempts to analyse the historical development of the movement in Southern Africa, examine the careers of some of the articulators and appraise its impact on the region, a meaningful contribution to the existing studies on pan Africanism.

#### The Argument

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The thesis discusses the history of pan-Africanism in Southern Africa between 1900 and 1960. The development of the phenomenon as an idea and a movement in reaction and in relation to other ideologies in the region will form the main focus of the study. Widely varying definitions have been given by scholars of the phenomenon. Jabez Langley has contended that difficulties in giving a definitive description of the term arise because of "the different meanings and orientations it has adapted at different stages of its evolution." (9) As a working definition for this study, it will be defined as a revolt in churches, civic organisations and state against religious, economic,

political and cultural domination, which stressed the unity and solidarity of Africans in Africa and the African diaspora, as part of the solution to their problems. The major strands of the movement at different times in its development included pan Negroism and 'Back to Africa Movements', (10) evangelical pan Africanism, pan Africanism as identified by Shepperson with a capital P, which embraced the pan African Conferences since 1900, and the pan African Congresses organised by Garvey's UNIA. It aimed at the complete overthrow of colonialism and imperialism, the attainment of independence, and the creation of a United States of Africa. This was coupled with a strong belief in cultural nationalism and a belief in the African personality. Lastly, economic unification in the form of regional groupings has become a part of the definition of the concept.

The study will attempt to examine the phenomenon under two main dimensions (in spite of the difficulties involved in this approach). These are an explicitly political movement, as articulated by W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore in the diaspora and Africa, and Ethiopianism as propounded by independent church leaders in the region.

The attempt by white missionaries and Government



officials in the late 19th century to see independency as a desire by Africans to continue barbarous, 'native' practices or an attempt by ambitious African pastors to enjoy the same benefits as their white counterparts do . . . scant justice to the movement and its articulators. Early Ethiopianism can be seen as a popular response by Africans to European domination in church and state. Since Africans lacked the freedom and scope to express their personality in white churches, Ethiopianism could thus be seen, as Barret has so rightly pointed out, as early attempts at rediscovering the African personality." (11).

Ethiopianism is derived from the name of the country 'Ethiopia', a term coined by the ancient Greeks. It literally means 'the land of people with burnt faces' and they inhabited the whole of the African continent. Highly revered by the Greeks, their deities made regular pilgrimages to Ethiopia, whose people according to Greek mythology were considered blessed. Thus, as Ayandele has so rightly asserted "Ethiopianism came to be identified with Africa, and Ethiopia with the Negro race" (12) The term carried connotations of the conversion of Africa to Christianity as was prophesied in the Bible and it also aimed at the creation of an Africa theocracy which will cut across national or tribal lines and will incorporate the whole of Africa.

To some Pan Africanists, like Edward Blyden, a study of the Classics is important for the movement.

The main inspiration for independent church leaders and members of their congregation, in West, Southern and Central Africa, however, came from the Bible, and with time it became a source of hope for an improved status in the society. According to Cruden's Concordance (13) to the Bible, there are over fifteen references to Ethiopia in the Bible, and fourteen to the Ethiopian and Ethiopians. These references are held dear by Africans, as some of them went some way in strengthening their faith in the tenets of their religion. The now famous Verse 31 of Psalm 68, (Princes have come out of Egypt. Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God) is popularly used in identifying Ethiopianism with God's prophesy, and it was not only seen as a symbol of the adherence of Ethiopia to the orthodox faith, but it came to mean that Ethiopia would become the cynosure of the world from where the rest of the world will learn of wonderful human achievements.

As has been rightly identified by Horace Campbell, Ethiopia in the biblical world was a major centre (14) like the then Assyria, Egypt and Lydia. Ethiopia, according to God, was also obedient; thus in Psalm 87

Verse 4 it was included in the list of countries that obeyed God: "Glorious things were spoken of thee Oh City of God. I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that knew me, behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia."

Ethiopians were mighty darkskinned men, according to Jeremiah's prophecy of the overthrow of Pharoah's army in Jeremiah, Chapter 46, Verses 8 and 9:

"Egypt riseth up like a sword, and his waters are moved like the rivers..... I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. Come up ye horses and rage ye chariots and let the mighty men come forth. The Ethiopians and the Libyans that handle the shield and the Lydians that handle and bend the bow."

Thus, in Jeremiah 38, Verse 7, when Jeremiah had been put in a dungeon by King Zedekiah following false accusations by the people, it was Ebed Melech the Ethiopian who was asked to rescue him with a group of other men. Ethiopians, it seems, had been redeemed, as Amos 9, Verse 7 says:

Are ye not like the Ethiopians unto me oh Isreal, saith the Lord, Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Phillistines from Caphtor and the Africans from Kir?"

Reference in Acts of the Apostles Verse 8 to the Baptism of the Queen of Ethiopian Eunuch by St. Phillip was also of significance to Ethiopianists, for it contradicted the ideas, prevalent in some



circles, that the Church was only for the Jews and not for the gentiles. Africans could thus use the teaching of the Church and the Bible in their struggle against white discrimination and domination.

The achievement of Ethiopia and Ethiopians in the Bible would have been a source of pride to Africans (in the region) reading it, while latter-day achievement of Africans provided further proof that prophecies in the Bible concerning 'Ethiopian' were being fulfilled.

One can strongly argue that the significance attached to the biblical references and prophecies was one of the reasons why Ethiopianism appealed to the Africans. However, it must be stressed that these references to Ethiopian and Ethiopians are not all about greatness, obedience or redemption. Biblical references call on Ethiopians to repent or be slain by the sword, while Ezekiel 30, Verse 4 prophesies that: "Ethiopia, Lybia and Lydia.... and the men of the land that is in league shall fall with the sword."

Ethiopianism, or independency was thus the inevitable indigenous response by Africans to the pressures produced by the unequal relationship

between black and white in a situation where the African was oppressed, dominated and discriminated against in Church and State. Inspired by the texts quoted above, a number of Ethiopian Churches arose which were not under the control of white missionaries. Some of these independent groups and churches who were reading the bible and practicing christianity independent of white missionaries, in the 1870s - 1880s and early 1890s had been identified by writers. There were for example groups of black preachers, who ministered to miners in Kimberley, and who later went home to Monywanera to preach the christian gospel. Similar groups, according to Page, operated in the Transvaal and Potchefstroom areas. In addition, the Native Independent Congregation Church among the Tswana, the African Derivative Church led by Joseph Kanyama, the G. Makone and Tile-led Churches were independent of white supervision before formal amalgamation in the late 1890s.

For these early church leaders and their congregation, references to Ethiopia in the bible must have provided added stimulus, hope and inspiration, before the decision to secede from white conventional churches was taken. The victory of the Ethiopians over the Italians at Adowa in 1896, gave confirmation of the greatness of Ethiopians, as it is



so contained in parts of the bible, and proof of their ability to free themselves from bondage in modern times. Their struggles for better education, and a more equal and just society in church and state, it is believed, will be won without the support of white missionaries. Thus the response of diasporan church leaders in the United States of Americans to their 'call from Rama' and events in Ethiopia in 1897 accentuated an already growing movement in the region.

Sundkler and Shepperson, among others, have identified two types of Ethiopian churches in the region. These were those churches which had seceded from conventional churches and messianic and Zionist independent African churches. Mapuranga has also indentified divisions among the churches, along radical, moderate and conservative lines. Like its secular counterparts, the Ethiopian church movement is difficult to define. As a working definition, it will be defined as a "religious revolt by the dispossessed which aimed at expressing the African personality in church and state, rekindling race consciousness and uniting Africans into a unit independent of white control". It also became an attempt to undo the colonial legacy and its boundaries. Although a religious movement,

Ethiopianism had political undertones.

Writing specifically about the Israelites in 1921, John Tengo Jabavu had warned that:

"At the bottom (was) a political movement identified with worship. The object being to wipe the white man from the country.... Where an Israelite or semi religious movement (existed) we (had) sermons from the same text....." (15)

The Reverend Mahabane also contended that pressure towards independency came largely from political sources. As early as 1906, the radical political content in pan Africanism had been identified by the Editor of THE EAST PROVINCE HERALD, who defined Ethiopianism as:

"A religious and political movement with the object of uniting the 'native' community and organising the 'natives' as an effective force not only in religion but also in politics. Its object (was) to create a distinct native party, a native nation out of the various South African tribes and to organise them on the cry of Africa for the Afrikanders". (16).

The church was then the only platform where Africans could express their grievances and it became the forum for the articulation of their hopes and aspirations.

The work will examine within the two dimensions of secular and evangelical Pan Africanism, the class divisions between secular pan Africanism and its message

(articulated and made practical by United States - West Indian diasporan Africans) and Africans in the region, influenced to a certain extent by ideas from the diaspora and by conditions within the region. This overtly political Ethiopianism began as a localised religious revolt by the dispossessed and became an attempt to undo the colonial legacy which divided parts of Africa in general, and Southern Africa in particular, into countries whose boundaries were supposed to be sacrosanct.

The Bookerite, Du Boisian and Garveyite ideologies, advocating self reliance and self help, were articulated in the main by educated diasporan and African religious and political leaders who wanted to be able to enjoy the benefits of the society. They didn't call for an overhaul of the system, but deplored a society and its successive governments, which barred Africans from participation in the instruments of state on the basis of their colour. These strands of the ideal represented to a large degree the pan Africanism of intellectuals. The distinction between secular and evangelical pan Africanism can be understood as a division between the bourgeois wing, manifested in secular pan-Africanism in relation to a vision of Africa as a whole, and Ethiopianism, many of whose members were poor rural dwellers who, in a number of countries in the region,



were part of the first generation of the dispossessed. Their religion and customs seemed to have been inadequate to cope with the new developments in their country. Evangelical pan Africanism during its early stages could thus be seen as the popular response of the uneducated and their leaders to European domination in the affairs of the church and the state.

In Southern Africa during the period 1920-1966, pan Africanism, in its two forms, was confronted with local nationalism and Marxist/Leninism as mobilised, for example, by the South African Communist Party. Ranuga's 1982 dissertation has analysed, among other things, the ideological conflict between nationalism and Marxism within the ANC and has given a detailed theoretical perspective of the Marxist and nationalist discourse (17). In addition, it has analysed the relationship between the ANC and the CPSA, and examined nationalism and Marxism as they affected the pan-African Congress of Azania. Lodge has also analysed the development of CPSA politics in South Africa (18). Communism in South Africa is usually seen as the logical outcome of the forces of capitalism, industrialization and rapid urbanization. After the CPSA had dropped its commitment to the establishment of a Black Republic in South Africa in the early 1930s, it increasingly began to deny the validity of nationalism and pan-Africanism as doctrines for



liberation. It regarded it as a doctrine whose role in the struggle was minimal. With time, the stress has shifted to a two-way struggle involving a class struggle and a struggle for national liberation. This saw the middle class leaders of secular pan Africanism and their ideas as part of the problem, a problem which also included the inspirational consciousness of evangelical pan Africanism. It has been destructive of both wings of pan-Africanism as it has called on ordinary working people to give up the idea of race solidarity advocated by pan Africanism, and on its articulators to give up their leadership from above. The development of the Trade Union movement, particularly after the second world war, provided a forum for the workers to unite against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

There has not been a consensus among scholars from the different disciplines on a precise meaning of the term 'nationalism'. Some scholars, like Shafer, have maintained that the difficulty in defining the term arises out of the fact that it is an inextricable mixture of myth and reality, although Shafer has identified a number of elements which together forms the basis of the ideology. Others like Ajayi, have used the term loosely, while others have adopted working definitions which take into account some variation in the types of nationalist assertions. In the African

context, some scholars see it as the final stage in the process of African response to colonialism and imperialism. According to ANCYL members, it was not in opposition to pan-Africanism, but was viewed as the liberation creed for rallying Africans in the region for freedom from oppression and domination. This view was carried over unto the ideology of the pan Africanist Congress of Azania in the late 1950s and 1960s.

Like other liberation doctrines in the region, pan Africanism has had to compete with local white power in South - Africa, and this has contributed to the marginalization of the idea in the region. After 1948, a deliberate attempt was made by the South African government to consolidate its power by establishing a white power bloc in the region. A shift in Portuguese colonial policy in the 1950s meant that they were willing to forge an alliance with other white governments in the region. While they had previously feared that they might lose their colonies in Southern Africa to Britain or France, the post 1945 period brought home to Lisbon the realization that the real threat would come from African nationalism. The desired protective alliance was aimed at countering this threat. Successive South African governments have not given up hope of a white controlled power bloc in the region.



In Malawi and other parts of the Southern African region, nationalism and opportunistic patriotism have ostracised pan Africanism from the political scenario, as local issues have remained dominant. The pursuit of state interests, as against those of the region or of Africa, has also affected the success of the ideal in the region. The OAU's pragmatic decision, which made colonial boundaries sacrosanct, has for some time come under attack by Lesotho and Malawi, whose pan African revisionism wants to take advantage of ethnic groups outside their colonial boundaries by claiming land in other countries.

In Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, pan-Africanism has been ostracised by a socialist discourse, and in South Africa, since the proscription of the CPSA in 1950, the class and national struggle have been merged with the former taking priority over the latter in the ANC. In addition, the PAC, the movement which espouses pan-African ideals in the region, is increasingly being elbowed out of the political scenario although there are signs of a partial revival of the movement within South Africa.

Evangelical pan Africanism has suffered a similar fate, although the methods and causes of its marginalization are not the same as its secular



counterpart. There has indeed been an increase in the number of Ethiopian and Zionist churches in parts of the region. Rapid increases in independency occurred after 1913, 1927 and 1945 (19). However, it is reasonable to suggest (as it has been contended by other writers) that by the 1930s the movement was losing its radical political content. Some Ethiopian and Zionist churches seemed to be retreating into some kind of apolitical escapism which acted as a safety valve for Africans. In contrast to an earlier period in the movement's history, when Ethiopian and Zionist churches were regarded as a potent political force, their militancy was gradually being blunted. Ethiopian churches, like the AME and NBC, emphasised their social, religious and other non-political programmes, while stressing the apolitical nature of their mission. Kiernann's study of a number of Zionist churches in Kwa Mashu shows how Zionism encourages its members to isolate themselves from society and indeed from politics (20).

It could be argued, however, that the absence of overt or obvious manifestations of political consciousness or radicalism in the Ethiopian Movement did not imply that it was completely missing, although the flaw in Comaroff's protest thesis in her study of the ZCC has been exposed by Richard P. Werbner (21), and

by events during the 1985 ZCC convention, attended by missions of Zionists, when President Botha was awarded the Freedom of Moria by Bishop Le Kganyane (22).

One can, however, argue that the radical political content appeared in Ethiopianism, at times, when the possibility of a successful revolt was real. When this possibility seemed remote, however, this radicalism remained dormant. Thus, Ethiopian churches appeared apolitical and muted in the post World-War I period after the 1915 Chilembwe Uprising, and during the period leading up to the 1930s. These were the relatively quiet years in the political scene among Africans in the then Nyasaland and South Africa. Even during this period, however, disturbances were caused by isolated churches, like Fred Goode's 'Sons of God' in Cholo and the Seventh Day Baptist Church in Mlanje in the late 1930s. During the 1950s and 1960s, the militant content in the Movement again appeared for a brief period. In general, though, although its political overtone was not completely lost, the Movement had been marginalised from political activities in the region.

In the pre-1945 period, evangelical and secular pan Africanists could work together in the region, as there was a cross fertilization of ideas between both ideologies. Besides, the diasporan African and African

Ethiopian Church leaders advocated similar secular pan African ideals, be it of the Bookerite, Du Boisian or Garveyite persuasion.

While retaining aspects of the rhetorics of early Ethiopianism, leading ideologues of the new pan-Africanism, like A. Lembede, A. P. Mda, G. Pitje and M. Sobukwe, who were conventional Catholics, Methodists or Anglicans, while calling on African churches to propagate the ideas of African nationalism as the liberatory creed for Africans, paid no particular attention to independent churches (although a Zionist leader was invited to deliver the opening address at the inaugural conference of the PAC in 1959), as they became increasingly apolitical).

As an ideology, pan-Africanism in its secular and evangelical forms, cannot carry the people forward in its present state. In competition with other forces, it is proving the loser.

However, cooperation between independent states in the region as expressed in SADCC, the call for a pan African force for the region and other attempts by leaders in the region for cooperation, have shown that pan-Africanism is still a relevant force in Southern Africa. Nationalism, that problematic phenomenon, though



useful at a particular stage in the struggle for independence, is in a number of cases, an intellectually impoverished force with the term being what nationalists have made it (i.e. a mere rhetorical concept!). The concept is, in Malawi, for example, as used by its leader, H. K. Banda, gradually losing its intellectual and democratic content.

It is increasingly being expressed in a one party system of government to prevent ethnic divisions in the country. In South Africa, it is still an ideological force, as it can be useful in establishing a united political and military force, and preventing the balkanization of different tribal groups within the country, a ploy used by the government of South Africa. In post-independent countries in the region, leaders have attempted, through the machinery of the state, to induce a sense of nationalism among the people.

In these countries, however, the nationalist phase will have to be transcended, as nationalism has increasingly been found to be an inadequate force for survival in the region. Individual states, in their dealings with world capitalism and white South Africa, can easily be picked off. The pragmatic content in progressive pan-Africanism which offers a more satisfactory vision, dictates economic and other forms

of cooperation in the region.

#### Literature on Pan Africanism

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A number of studies have been done on Pan Africanism. These could be divided into those works done on the general theme of Pan Africanism as an ideal and as a movement, those that have dealt with the various strands of the ideology and those that concentrated on localised studies of the phenomenon in different parts of Africa, the West Indians, and the United States or English diaspora. To the first group fall works by Geiss, (23) Legum, (24) Esedebe, (25) Ajala (26) and Thompson. (27) These studies form part of the general studies of the movement and its ideas, where treatment of Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular, could be considered incidental to our understanding of the general theme. A number of these writers have suggested that work on the ideology is still in its infancy. Their assessment and analysis of the complicated intricacies of the movement have contributed to a better understanding of the various strands of the movement, which has been of immense value to the study.

Studies by Walton Johnson, (28) J. S. Coan (29) and Carol Page (30) have focussed on the AME Church in particular and Evangelical pan Africanism in general

during the period identified by Shepperson as the classical period of independency in South Africa. Hunt Davis' (31) study concentrated on the educational aspects of the independent church movement, Terrance Ranger (32) on the movement in the then Southern Rhodesia and M. Mapuranga on manifestations of secular and evangelical pan Africanism in Northern Malawi and Zambia during the same period (33). In addition, Shepperson's study of the 1915 Chilembwe (34) uprising completes the series of works on independency in the pre-1926 period. Lastly, J. Camoroff's work, while giving an exposition of Zionism and its tenets, looks specifically at churches among the Tshidi. (35).

The list of studies on Ethiopianism given above is by no means exhaustive. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the third period in Shepperson's classification has been largely neglected. The most neglected is the period when it is believed that Ethiopianism was losing its radical content. The present work shows, as Page did for the period 1896-1910, the close relationship between evangelical and secular pan Africanism during the post world war one period in both South Africa and the then Nyasaland, as exemplified by the activities of Max Yergan, Daniel Sharpe Malekebu and other independent church leaders who espoused the ideals of Booker Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus



Garvey.

The development of the four main strands of secular pan Africanism has also received the attention of a number of writers. Works by Du Bois, Garvey, G. Padmore (36) and Watson (37) on pan-Africanism as an idea and a movement could be used as source material for a study of the movement in general. None, however, places the movement specifically in its Southern African context, although Africa is central to the movement. Contee (38) and Harlan (39) analysed the relationship between Booker T. Washington and Du Bois, and Africa. Both authors concluded that neither Washington nor Du Bois's NAACP paid particular interest to Africans in Africa. The NAACP ceased to sponsor the Pan African Conferences in the 1920s and Du Bois soon ceased to have an organizational base for his ideas. While Washington did not personally invest any major portion of his time or capital in assisting Black Africa or in encouraging the nationalist or pan-Africanist aspirations of Africans, L. Harlan has maintained. In spite of this, the ideas of both men influenced for a time the political thinking of Southern Africans. Neither work looked at the activities of both men in their Southern African context in any great detail. The present study would suggest that while neither Du

Bois nor Washington visited the region, and the CRISIS was not widely circulated in the region, both leaders had men in Southern Africa who articulated their ideals in churches and educational institutions. Both of them were men who spread the ideals of redemption through 'uplift' industrial and commercial advancement, self-help, racial integration and moderate constitutional and political demands for civil rights, or political accommodation in parts of the region.

Garvey and the UNIA did take a considerable interest in Africa and the Africans. The UNIA had agents in parts of the region who operated in dockyards, the countryside, on farms and in some independent churches. Indeed, Africa was central to Garvey's ideology. His ideas of race and self pride, racial solidarity, unity, and his rallying cry "up, you mighty Race, there is nothing you cannot achieve if you try", provided a psychological boost for those who looked to Africa as a home for Blacks and for Garveyites, Africa was central to Black dignity and self respect. Africa for the Africans, used by early evangelical pan Africanists, became an integral part of the Garvey message. Many of the studies of Garveyism, therefore, have given parts of Africa some consideration, although their major focus might have been the United States, the West Indian diaspora, or Liberia.

Cronon, (40) John Hendrik Clarke, (41) Judy Stein, (42) H. Campbell, (43) and, more recently, Rupert Lewis, (44) have all looked into the movement in the diaspora, with reference to Liberia and other parts of Africa. Although they have not focussed specific attention on the Southern African subregion, their works have proved useful as tools for a comparative analysis of their findings in Southern Africa.

Both Campbell's RASTA AND RESISTANCE and Rupert Lewis's work have dealt specifically with the movement in the Carribean diaspora, an area Lewis has maintained is still largely neglected. Their analysis of Garvey's struggles against racism and colonialism also confirms Maggafey's (45) assertion that pan Africanism was a response to colonialism and racism. According to Judy Stein, Garveyism was:

"not an ideology of escape for Black of the new world, to a psychological or real Africa. It was an attempt to solve the economic, political and cultural problems of Black life in the aftermath of the first world war."

Her hypothesis about the role of class in the Garvey movement will be tested in the South African situation during the inter war years.

There have also been localised studies of Garveyism



in the region by Tony Martin, (46) Robert Edgar, (47) and, more recently, Robert Hill and A. G. Pirio (48). Edgar, Hill and Pirio dealt specifically with the movement in South Africa and this work complements their effort. Martin's two major works contain chapters which deal with the movement in the subregion, although the on going Marcus Garvey and UNIA project at the University of Los Angeles, California, has unearthed new and exciting materials which would enhance any new study of the movement in the region. When completed, the volume on Southern African will provide a useful and thought provoking source material for an understanding of the movement in the region. Extensive use was made of the Southern African files during the course of research for this study.

Lastly, literature on the new pan Africanism is available in works by Gerhart (49) who analyses the ideology of the ANCYL and the PAC, Gibson (50) who, Lodge maintained, relied too much on exile propaganda materials for his examination of post 1963 PAC ideology, and by Tom Lodge in his B.Phil. dissertation (51) on the PAC, who still left scope for further work on the Movement.

The studies mentioned so far on pan-Africanism in its secular and evangelical manifestations have been

piecemeal (with limited scope), although their contribution to our understanding of the Movement cannot be underestimated. Largely neglected have been studies on the articulators of strands of the ideal in Africa, with the exception of D. Phil. dissertation on Duse Ali Mohammed (52), Shepperson's work on John Chilembwe, and Anthony's MA dissertation on Max Yergan as a pan African enigma (53). It is in this area of localised studies in the mould of Langley's work on pan Africanism in West Africa, (54) and King's analysis of the movement in East Africa (55) that the study hopes to make a distinct contribution.

#### Method and Sources

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The scope and size of the study will not allow an in-depth analysis of all the countries and pan African figures in the region. Emphasis will therefore be placed on the then Nyasaland and South Africa, and on a few indentified figures. There are indeed a number of other figures who could have fitted into the course of the work in South Africa, independent Malawi, Lesotho and other parts of the region. The careers of statesmen like Thaele, Kadalie, Mokekhle, Peter Nyambo and many others, could have been analysed. Some of the above mentioned personalities, like Mokekhle, Thaele and Kadalie it could have been illustrated became

marginalised in the politics of their countries. However, the choices are Malawi and South Africa, and this means the exclusion of figures like Mokekhle, whose main areas of operation did not fall within these two countries. In addition, aspects of Kadalie's pan African dimension have received some attention by Shepperson, while Hill and Pirio's work contains materials on Thaele's career (56).

The choice of Malawi and South Africa is not without significance. Malawi was the setting of the famous Chilembwe uprising, one of the early examples of nationalist manifestation in the region. It also offers a vivid illustration of the marginalization of Chilembwe's successor, Daniel Sharpe Malekebu, from the political scenario. In addition, Malawi represented (in the region) a country where pan African rhetoric was used by Kamuzu Banda, in the period before independence, and where the ideal became marginalised in the post independence era. The choice of Lawrence and Malekebu is based largely on these considerations.

The selection of South Africa is determined to some extent by the fact that it is an example of a country in the region where there is still a white minority population which oppresses and dominates a Black majority, through a system of institutionalised racism.



Within the country itself, Selope Thema and Max Yergan were ideal examples, not only of the marginalization of pan African figures from politics, but also the contrast that emerges when biographical studies are contrasted with historical analyses. Lastly, Sobukwe's choice is based on the fact that in PAC circles he is one of the most revered leaders, and was the first and only leader of an officially recognised PAC throughout the Movement's twenty-eight year history.

The choice of detailed studies of the movement in South Africa and Malawi has not, however, meant the exclusion of brief analyses of local manifestations of the movement in other countries in the region. The chapter on Garveyism, for example, will examine the activities of the UNIA and its members in the then South West Africa and Basutoland, while the activities of Yergan and Malekebu extended beyond the Nyasaland and South African borders, although their organizational bases were in Chiradzulu and Cape Town, respectively.

Brief references are also made to the activities of figures other than those identified in the study. Thus, men like Robert Sambo, Peter Nyambo and Anton Lembede, are treated briefly.

In an attempt to examine what has happened to the

movement in parts of the region, the work will be divided into two sections, a historical and a biographical arranged thematically and chronologically, in contrast with each other. Thus, five chapters (Chapters I, III, V, VI & VIII) will deal with a historical analysis of the main strands of pan-Africanism as manifested in the region. In between these will be biographical studies of five figures, namely: R. V. Selope Thema, M. Yergan, I. Macdonald Lawrence, and R. Mangaliso Sobukwe. The biographical sketches are not meant as hagiographies or histories of great men, neither are the figures approached uncritically. For in the words of Tim Hector, writers need not "utter an unending paeon of praise to the great man, since such odes sanctify and turn men into saints, from whom we learn nothing practical." (57)

Similarly, hagiographies and 'great men histories' are believed to "obscure rather than illuminate the historical period during which the leaders claimed to have exercised influence."

In general, the case for biographical studies has been challenged by Marxist academics. Others have been suspicious of the value of political and other forms of biographies to our understanding of past events, because of the messianic vision associated with them.

On the other hand, the view is increasingly being expressed by scholars that a shortage of serious political and other biographies is hindering our understanding of particular phases of history in parts of Africa. Few of these exist in South Africa. Brian Willan's biography of Plaatje (58) attempts to bring together Plaatje, the literary figure, and Plaatje the ANC politician, and illustrates the diversity in his career. This can only be done successfully in a biographical study. Short's (59) work on Banda examines his career as a medical practitioner in Britain and the then Gold Coast, and as a political leader in Malawi, while Chabal's biography of Cabral examines the political history of the nationalist period in Guinea and Cape Verde. (60).

Willan's contention that the:

"lives of those whose ideals and aspirations have been in conflict with official orthodoxies have been neglected or distorted by a South African government whose official history memory is among other things selective in its recall".

makes the need for serious biographical studies of African leaders in the region more urgent. For most of what is at present available, with a few exceptions, are what can be considered as hagiographies or distorted government accounts.



While these biographical sketches still leave room for further research into the lives of the figures identified, they will, it is hoped, go some way towards filling the lacunae in the writing of biographies of African figures in Southern Africa. In addition the method of interspersing biographical studies with historical analysis adopted in the work will vividly illustrate the contrast that emerges between the lives and careers of the figures identified and the historical analysis of their ideas and political activities. It will also highlight the complexities of human character. Although one cannot make a sweeping generalization that the ideas of political figures are always in direct antagonism with their lives and careers, it is possible (as the study will show) for leaders to wear different hats at different times or for different purposes.

Thus, for example, Yergan can be an exponent of the Bookerite, Du Boisian and later radical Marxist ideology during his career span, while Selope Thema who started out as a militant nationalist, became an ardent supporter of the Du Boisian ideal, and died a member of the moral re-orientation movement. The realities of dependence also meant that Thema could wear the hats of a militant African nationalist and an integrationist, who saw the need for cooperation between black and white

at the same time. Pressure arising from the need to provide solutions to complex problems, in the face of mounting obstacles, seem to have affected a number of leading advocates of the ideal, in the region.

Frustrated by their inability to succeed with their ideas of 'uplift' and self-reliance and the realisation that these ideas were merely in pursuit of an illusion, some of them, like Yergan and Thema, changed courses.

In their attempts to adopt new strategies, unacceptable to a number of groups, they antagonised their sponsors and constituency members and became marginalised.

The last two chapters of the study will examine the marginalization of pan Africanism and its articulators identified in the work.

The study will conclude that if pan Africanism is to be useful and meet the demands and aspirations of the people in the region, it will have to undergo radical changes. Changes which will recognise the futility of pan Africanism, and will enable the movement to accommodate the forces (in the region) capable of bringing about radical changes. As a fluid, dynamic and ever-changing ideology, it is a challenge it is capable

of meeting.

## Sources

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Various source materials were consulted in the course of the study, and these are listed in the bibliography. Of particular interest to the study were the private collection of diasporan leaders like Booker Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. Materials in both the Du Bois collection open recently to the public (and as yet not fully tapped) and the Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Collection as yet unpublished, were extensively used. These have contributed significantly to an understanding of the two strands of the movement, particularly in their Southern African dimension, as new materials in the papers have been useful in throwing new light on Du Bois, and his relationship with leading figures in the struggle in South Africa in particular, and have clarified his role in the series of pan African Conference between 1900 and 1945. Materials in the Oxford Development project started in the 1980s to provide materials for the study of Central Africa in the post Second World War period, was another important source for the study. The project was particularly useful for the section on the pre- and post-World War II period in general, African reaction to the issue of federation in the Chiradzulu and Blantyre



District, and for the attitude of Sir E. C. Richards, the Governor of the then Nyasaland to Federation. Government publications in the form of Weekly Bulletins, available in materials in the project, also provided exciting new data on the relationship between Chiefs (in villages near the PIM), the Nyasaland African Congress and the government. This is particularly relevant to our understanding of the attitude of these groups towards the federation issue.

For an understanding of the ideas articulated by independent church leaders during the period under review in this study, the most revealing source would have been their addresses, sermons, speeches and minutes of meetings held by church elders. Unfortunately, in the case of Malekebu, these papers were destroyed or are unavailable (61). However, the Annual Reports of PIM and AME missions (both in the then Nyasaland and in South Africa) forwarded to their United States headquarters, give detailed monthly accounts of the activities of pastors in churches in parts of the region. Thus, the FMB of the NBC's MISSION HERALD and the AME's VOICE OF MISSION, available at the Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary (the FMB headquarters in Philadelphia), provide invaluable insights into the activities of AME and NBC churches in the region. In addition, reports given at NBC conventions by

corresponding secretaries of the FMB of the NBC, while not all dwelling exclusively on the region, outline the aspirations of the mission in parts of Africa, including Southern Africa. These two sources have not been extensively used by writers, particularly those who have worked on the then Nyasaland. In addition, as the writer has stated earlier in the work, most of the localised studies done on the independent church movement in the region have concentrated on the movement during the classical period. Reports for the period 1930-1966 have thus rarely been used.

The value of missionary records as primary materials for any historical study is in a way limited. Many are accounts by participant observers, while others are recorded for the benefit of sympathetic donors, whose contribution towards African redemption might be solicited. If proper use is made of these materials, however, they could complement or negate official government accounts of missions, in official reports, minutes, correspondences, and other documents available in the Malawi National Archives, or the Public Records Office in London.

Although the writer was unable, because of financial constraints and the academic boycott, to examine materials in the Malawi and South African

National Archives, extensive use was made of materials from private research notes of academics who have done some work in parts of the region. These were supplemented by research in British and US Institutions, interviews conducted by colleagues on behalf of the writer, and materials in the private collections of people like Nicholas Hyman and exiled South Africans in England, the United States and Nigeria. In addition, oral interviews were conducted with a number of White and Black South Africans and Malawians outside the region. A list of those questioned appears at the back of the study, although Malawians interviewed requested not to be cited. The inability of the writer to consult people and documentation in Malawi and South Africa has not, it is believed, diminished the quality of the work in any major way.

In parts of the work the pre independent names of countries in the southern African subregion will be used. Thus Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and Basutoland will appear regularly in parts of the work.



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## CHAPTER I

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### Evangelical and Secular Pan Africanism in South ----- Africa up to 1920. -----

As I have indicated the Chapter title the development of secular and evangelical Pan Africanism between 1900 and 1920 will form the theme of this Chapter. As a working definition, Pan Africanism will be described as a revolt in Church and State against economic, social, religious, cultural and political domination. It stressed the unity and solidarity of Africans in Africa and in the United States and West Indian diaspora as part of the solution to their problems.

The diasporan origins of the Pan African ideas have been strongly put forward by scholars like Hooker, (Sylvester William's biographer (1) and A. Walters(2) in his article disputing those who credit the initiation of the Pan African movement to W.E.B. Du Bois (3), Henry Sylvester Williams (who convened the first pan African Conference in London in 1900) is now widely acclaimed as the originator of the phenomenon. The Conference, which acted as a forum of protest against white colonialism, and enlisted the support of White philanthropists and missionaries for the protection of the rights of

Africans, is usually regarded as a landmark in the development of Pan Africanism with a capital P "as identified by Professor Shepperson. In addition, the 1900 conference hoped to facilitate the development of a spirit of co-operation and unity among Africans, throughout the world and to establish a more cordial relationship between Blacks and Whites the world over. Henry Williams and not Du Bois these writers contend, was thus the instigator of the Pan African idea, which had diasporan origins. Other writers like Geiss (4), Thompson (5), Langley (6) and Ajala (7) support this idea of the diaspora origins of pan-Africanism, and their contention is based largely on the premise that the congress movement started in London in the twentieth century. This early period of the movement is referred to as Pan-racialism and the experiences of slaves in the United States and West Indian diaspora, and early references to African movements like the Uncle Sam movement, are cited as pioneer inspiration for the Pan African idea.

Two leading exponents of the ideals of this early secular Pan Africanism were Booker Taliaferro Washington and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

Until his death in 1915, Booker T. Washington remained a key controversial figure in the Black

American scene. He advocated vocational education for Blacks in the United States diaspora as a way of achieving negro interests and called for Black solidarity, self reliance, self help and reconciliation and cooperation between Whites and Blacks. He placed emphasis on the duties of Black Americans, hard work, thrift and industry. These were key qualities he attempted to instil in Blacks at Tuskegee, where he spent a considerable part of his time.

By 1903, however, the ideals advocated by Washington were increasingly being criticised by other Black American leaders like W.E.B. Du Bois in his SOULS OF BLACK FOLKS written in that year, which contained a crystallisation of the Black American revolt against the apparent apolitical ideals of Booker Washington. The Niagara movement which evolved into the NAACP later became an embodiment of this revolt. Du Bois' involvement with the 1900 and 1919 Conferences during the period under review in this chapter marked him out as a key figure in the Pan African movement in the twentieth century.

Ethiopianism as a 19th-Century antecedent of Pan Africanism was for a while not recognised by scholars. Ayandele (8), in his classical work on Missionary activities in Nigeria, sees Ethiopianism as stimulating



incipient nationalism but has not associated the movement with pan African manifestations. For him, Ethiopianism could be defined as "African Nationalism expressed through the medium of the Church". More recently, writers like Walton Williams and those of the Edinburgh School of history under Professor Shepperson, among them Page (9) and Mapuranga (10) have identified the link between Ethiopianism or evangelical Pan Africanism and the general Pan African concept, and they regard it quite rightly as the 19th century antecedent of the phenomenon.

#### Evangelical Pan Africanism in Southern Africa.

It is quite difficult trying to define the concept of Ethiopianism. In addition, its impact in the Southern African subregion, has either "been underestimated or overstressed by white missionaries who adopted an alarmist attitude towards the movement, or by government officials and Africans who see it purely as a political movement".(10a) The absence of authentic data on the teachings, sermons and policy documents of independent church leaders has made a precise and accurate definition of the concept difficult. The private collections of a number of these leaders, which might contain useful materials pertaining to their churches were either not kept or as was with the case of

Malekebu, were destroyed. (11)

In spite of these constraints, one can discern from the available materials that the organization of independent churches was largely on racial lines and that they aimed primarily at establishing a wholly, self-governing, self-propagating African christian Union, composed of Africans and controlled entirely by Africans. Their leaders also wanted to rectify the discrepancy between christian teaching and christian practices. In their observation of the social, political and economic deprivation of their people, Independent Church leaders and their congregation must have looked forward to the prophecy in the now famous Psalm 68 verse 31 (12) and seen it as a symbol of the passionate adherence of Ethiopians to the orthodox faith, and a promise of Ethiopia becoming the cynosure of the world. The subservient role assigned to Africans in societies in Southern Africa, by whites and their oppression and domination, were at variance with the teachings of the Bible, and the christian message being propagated by white missionaries. For in the Biblical texts, Ethiopians were great and mighty men (13). They were also dark skinned like Africans in the region, and references in the Bible confirmed that the true christianity was as much for the Jews as it was for Ethiopians. Internal pressure, aggravated by the

stresses and strains of the new colonial situation forced the first generation of dispossessed Africans to look for indigenous solutions to their problems in church and state. Independency was seen as a possible solution, a solution that would deal with the new threat to their advancement. This indigenous origin of Ethiopianism has been emphasised by the Edinburgh School referred to above, and by other writers among who are Saunders (14), and Sundkler (15). These Churches were adhering to the three self-formula' propounded by Henry Venn (16) as early as the 1860s in relation to independent churches in West Africa. They were self extending, self supporting and self governing. Some of them were operating independently of white missionaries before the period designated as the beginning of independency in South Africa.

Among these were groups of christians who were preaching in Potchestroom and Transvaal areas, independently of white supervisors or without the knowledge of the Wesleyan Church and other African preachers who ministered to mines in the Kimberly mines. Converts from the mines returned home to Monywaena to preach the gospel, to the people, having first convinced the Chief that their teachings will not poison the minds of his subjects or undermine their loyalty towards him, since "they were not under the direction and influence



of whites". Other independent churches in the region during the period before formal amalgamation included the National Tembu Church founded by Nehemiah Tile, a Wesleyan Tembu Minister who had seceded from the Wesleyan mission in 1882 with the support of Ngangelizwe the Tembu Chief and formed the Church two years later. Others were the Native Independent Congregation Church among the Tswana, established in 1883 following secession from the London Missionary Society, and the Ethiopian Church founded in 1892 by Dwane, after he and members of his congregation had seceded from the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Lastly there was before the official amalgamation period was the Zulu congregational Church, whose leader Samungu Shibe, seceded in protest against the transfer of his mission, the table mountain mission to the English/South African Congregational Union of South Africa from the American board.

These Churches, before 1896, attracted many of the early generation of Africans who had been dispossessed of their land and whose traditional mores and values were under threat from crusading white missionaries. They were mostly rural dwellers and were uneducated members of the lower classes in the society. Their traditional mores and customs seemed inadequate to cope with the new developments in their country. Like their West African counterparts this group of dispossessed embraced the

Christian religion, which they hoped will equip them both spiritually and secularly for the demands of the changing times. For some, independency did not provide the panacea for their problems. Others were reluctant to abandon their traditional customs, while for others the embracing of orthodox Christianity with its western values, failed to produce the desired results. Thus as Meyer has so rightly pointed out, some became christian and then Ethiopian, while others remained with orthodox Christianity. Even those who joined the independent Church movement were divided into two main groups. Those who remained with the independent Churches that seceded from orthodox Churches and those who joined the messianic or spirit-filled Churches. Before amalgamation, two conferences were held by independent Churches and although the minutes and reports of these conferences are not available, from other supporting evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that some of the key issues which dominated the conferences were, the issue of African education, the discrepancy between the biblical texts and the practices of white missionaries (in their capacity as religious leaders and as agents of the government) and the need for unity in Church and State. This was particularly important at a time when the government was being supported by the Church in its divide and rule policies.

Discrimination and segregation in white Churches, and the need for new Ethiopian Churches to be self expanding, self propagating and self governing were also important issues which would have formed the basis of discussion at the conferences. Lastly, the need to enshrine the tenets of justice, equality and brotherly love in the Church constitution and every day life will also have been stressed.

By 1896, there were (according to Page (17) fifty-nine unordained ministers, thirteen deacons, seven elders and over two thousand eight hundred active members of independent Churches operating in South Africa. During its early years, the Ethiopian Church movement was considered a real danger by government officials, white missionaries, and other whites living in the region. In the words of the Strongs saw the movement (18), "As a Political movement, which was utterly condemned and greatly feared by the Government". The constituency of the early independent church was composed largely of working class people and this contrasted sharply that of early secular pan Africanism of the post 1900 period.

#### The Converging of Secular and Evangelical Pan Africanism 1896-1920.

In the period covered by this section of the



Chapter, both evangelical Pan Africanism which had its origins in Southern Africa and the secular and religious Pan Africanism of US diasporan leaders converged through initiatives from both sides.

The tour of the African Jubilee Singers to America, and Canada between 1893 and 1896, resulted in the introduction of early Ethiopian Church leaders, like Dwane and Mzimba, to their United States diasporan counterparts, through the efforts of Charlotte Manye, a member of the group. The appeal by African Ethiopian Church leaders to Bishop Henry, M. Turner, and other independent diasporan Church leaders for financial and other kinds of support for the development of African education was followed by the amalgamation of African Churches with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and other diasporan Churches. At the third session of the Ethiopian conference in 1896, the Ethiopian Church voted to join the AME Church, if they were accepted into the fold of their diasporan counterparts. Their primary motive for such an important step was their recognition of the need for financial assistance, trained teachers and more institutions of higher learning for Africans to supplement those they had established prior to 1896, in parts of the region. These, like the independent Churches, were self controlled self-supporting and were independent of control by white religious and

secular leaders who were in charge of a large number of educational institutions in the country at the time.

Official recognition was granted to the AME Church by the Cape government in March, 1901, and a resident Bishop, Bishop Coppin was sent to the Cape. Through his efforts and those of Henry M. Turner, and other Ethiopian Church leaders, the Church had extended its influence to the Transvaal, the Orange Free States, Barotseland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century.

At about the same time when the decision was being taken by the Ethiopian Conference to amalgamate with the AME in America, the National Baptist Convention was deciding to sponsor the two year old Independent Baptist, Church which had been established in Cape Town in 1894 by the Black American R. A. Jackson with the support of Joseph Buchanan. The influence of the Church was later extended to other parts of the country. In addition, two Africans E.B.P. Koti and John Tule, were ordained ministers of the National Baptist Convention. The ranks of the Baptists were swelled by the secession of a number of African Church leaders from some British affiliated Baptist missions. These leaders and their followers later joined the National Baptist Convention, (the NBC), The Foreign Mission Board of the NBC later

sent a number of black missionaries to parts of the region to consolidate the work of their mission. Among these were, L.N. Cheek and E.B. Delaney, sent to Nyasaland, and the Rev. J.E. East and Mamie Bramston, sent to the Cape.

Like their AME counterparts therefore, the Baptists had found in South Africa, indigenous African groups operating independently of white supervision. <sup>African</sup> Diasporan influence had also been established before amalgamation. A number of these churches had rejected ethnic labels and attempted to reach other ethnic groups, unlike white missions which tended to operate along ethnic lines.

Both the AME, the NBC and other US diasporan affiliated independent churches bought and took over educational institutions run by Africans before their arrival in the country. According to Berry (19), for example, Bethel Institute was bought over by Bishop Coppins, the resident A.M.E. Bishop in South Africa in 1902. The William Derrick Institute founded by Yapi Tanksi and Charlotte Manye Maxexe was taken over by the same mission in 1908. In 1920, the name of the Institute was changed to Wilberforce Institute, and it was hoped that it would become another Tuskegee in Southern Africa.



In addition, the AME established new institutions of higher learning like the Technical School for boys in Pine Town, Basutoland and the Emily Vernon Institute regarded by many as the outstanding expression of methodism in the Country. The Queenstown Institute; the normal Mechanical and Industrial Institute founded by Reverend Attaway and an Industrial Institute in Basutoland, were other educational institutions established by diasporan led independent Churches.

In addition, students from parts of the region were sponsored by the mission for further education in Institutions run by independent Churches in America. Among those sent by the Baptists were John Tule, John Nthlanla and M. M. Jinsana. Others who studied at Wilberforce and other AME Institutions included Edward Magaya, Thomas Katiya, Charlotte Manye, Charles L. Dube, Thomas Kakaza and Henry C. Makinya.

Southern African Students sent to the Colwyn Bay Institute in Wales between 1899 and 1912 imbibed Bookerite ideas. The Institute, established in 1899 in North Wales by the Reverend Hughes, was another educational Institution outside Africa which instilled in African students the Bookerite ideals of Christian love, self-help and commercial, industrial and religious education. It aimed at training promising African

Students in selected trades, among them smithery, house building, tailoring, husbandry, carpentry (20) and religious education, before sending them as missionaries of various denominational groups to spread the Christian message to their respective communities. A firm believer in the doctrine of Africa for the Africans, the Reverend Hughes shared the belief held by African Church leaders that Africans were best equipped culturally to convert their brothers to Christianity. If the more promising among them were trained at Colwyn Bay, therefore, they could return to work out the Christianization of Africans in Africa. The Annual Reports for the Institute between 1898 and 1912 have revealed the names of Southern African students registered in the institute during the period. Among them were Davidson Dan Jabavu, A. L. Kanyane from Pretoria, Henry Poswayo from Engcobo Tembuland, Mabel Gabastiane from Potchestroom, Wilson Mongoli Sebeta (21) from Matabile in Basutoland and B. Jinsana. A number of these students returned home to take up key positions in their communities. Sebeta, for example, became one of the leading AME ministers in Basutoland.

A combination of missionary education in America, Wales and the Southern African subregion instilled in Black South Africans the ideals advocated by Booker T. Washington, and this was a direct result of the call for

help made to diasporan missionaries by indigenous independent church leaders. Diasporan missionaries hoped that through these institutions the ideals of Booker Washington would spread throughout the region. They had gone to the region not to precipitate a crisis, which according to Coppin existed before their arrival but to demonstrate to Africans the benefits to be derived from the three CS identified by Page as capitalism, (Western) civilization and Christianity. These benefits were to be achieved through religious, commercial and industrial education along the lines advocated by Washington.

With the trend towards amalgamation between indigenous independent African churches and separatist churches in the U.S. diaspora growing, church leaders and their congregations increasingly began to be dissatisfied with some aspects of mission work by diasporan leaders.

Page , in her study referred to earlier in this work, has identified some of the areas where Africans were dissatisfied with their diasporan counterparts during the period leading up to 1914. The suitability of Black American missionaries as Church leaders in the region came under scrutiny, and the call went out for the contextualization of christianity in the region. The "Cry from Rama", it was stressed, was more an appeal for



financial manpower and moral assistance, than for the Europeanization or evangelization of Africans.

Indigenous Churches they contended, had been efficient, self-supporting and independent of all supervision before amalgamation. Diasporan leaders as supervisors of missions and as Church leaders were unacceptable to the people, who believed they lacked the necessary understanding of the languages, mores, culture traditions, and aspirations of the people. (22) Turner, sent to the Union as supervisor, was rejected by the Transvaal Conference, while Smith, sent as Bishop between 1902 and 1905, was accused of high handedness and negligence, among other things. Other examples of the uneasy relationship between diasporan Church leaders and their indigenous counterparts cited by Page, illustrated vividly the tension between the AME mission in South Africa in particular and the Southern African region and their indigenous partners in the Church (23).

The main bone of contention between the partners, it would seem, was the whole question of the control of independent Churches. Independent church leaders made calls for the contextualization of Christianity in South Africa similar to those made by Mojola Agbebi in West Africa (24). The <sup>African</sup> diasporan Church leaders, whose home Churches were providing financial support for their

churches and institutions of higher learning in the region expected (as of right) to exercise some influence over their affairs. African Church leaders, on the other hand, having seceded from white dominated and controlled churches, were eager not to subject themselves to new masters in their churches. Some of these leaders, it was felt, held similar views about their culture and traditions as their white counterparts. Many diasporan church leaders had imbibed and assimilated western values, and by the late 19th century and early 20th century had separate cultural traits from their African brothers, although they were united in colour and past struggles. The continent in general and South Africa in particular, they believed, had, of necessity, to adopt western culture and values and give up their "barbarous and savage" norms and beliefs. Their duty, they felt, was to set the region on the right paths towards "civilization". This attitude, it would seem, was rejected by some indigenous independent Church leaders.

Western educated African evangelists and the laity in independent Churches, however believed like their West African counterparts that those African Customs and institutions not regarded as unchristian should be given due respect. African Churches they continued should incorporate those aspects of indigenous religion which were not irreconcilable with Christianity into the do

ctrines of the faith. It was not the duty of Christianity they pointed out to disturb the national attitudes, norms, customs and beliefs of the people. Contextualised Christianity was not to be made inconsistent with them. Instead the African was to harmonise those "barbarous and savage" norms with Christianity wherever practicable.

In addtion, some AME missionaries were involving themselves in economic, political and other matters well outside the scope of the religious and educational role envisaged for them by their independent Church hosts. Lerotholi, the Basuto Chief, we have been told, for example, had attempted to obtain official recognition for Rideout (an AME missionary in the country) as mediator between Africans and white civil administrators. (25)

Local independent Church leaders had also expressed the ideals of Ethiopianism in their most radical forms. Contrary to the alarmist contention of government officials and white missionaries, that US diasporan Church leaders were attempting to radicalise their African counterparts or were sowing the seeds of revolution among Africans, they were more of a moderating and constraining influence on them. Page (19) in her study of the AME in the Transvaal and in the



Cape, has succinctly demonstrated. this fact, and her concluding remarks that, "radicalism within the Church came from Africans who often acted independently of Black Americans during the period 1869-1906" (26) could well apply to the movement in the four provinces in South Africa and in the then Nyasaland; even up to the years leading to the first world war.

Before 1920, this radicalism had been expressed in a number of religious protests in the region, particularly in South Africa and the Nyasaland. A few examples of resistance which involved independent churches will be discussed briefly below.

One of the first major manifestations of this radicalism in Nyasaland was the millenarian preaching by the prophetess Chanjiri the Kunda Prophetess in Northern Nyasaland who preached radical sermons in her area of operation. The 1901 taxation increase and the tangata system of labour administration caused widespread unrest and discontent among the people, which made them more receptive to the radical ideas of the prophetess. Elliot Kenan Kamwana, an ex-livingstonia graduate continued the agitation started by Chanjiri under the auspices of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. He founded the Central African Watch Tower in 1908, and his sermons have been described by Shepperson as revolutionary. This was

particularly important as he was operating in an area where the prophetess Chanjiri had laid solid foundations. He was highly critical of British administration in the then Nyasaland and articulated the general grievances of the people. He prophesied the dawn of a new glorious era, an era that will witness the forced departure of all whites from the country. Africans will thus be free from their externally imposed burdens. Among these were oppressive labour laws, which ensured that they spent much of their time working on white farms, and exorbitant taxes which forced Africans to these farms. This new era was according to Kamwana, the era of the second coming of Christ. His prophecy caused much excitement among the people and he was arrested and imprisoned by the colonial administration in Nyasaland. He was deported from the country in 1909, and was forced to remain in exile until 1914, the year he had prophesied, would herald the dawn of the new era (27)

Imprisonment and deportation did not, however, put an end to radical African protest expressed through the medium of independent Churches. Charles Domingo, another Ethiopian Church leader, took over the rising tide of radical protest against colonial rule in Northern Nyasaland. An ex-Livingstonia graduate like Kamwana, Domingo spent some time in South Africa before returning to Nyasaland where he operated among the Tonga. Apart



from articulating the frustration and religious grievances of the people, he also voiced their political and social protests. He criticised the appropriation of African land by Europeans, the maltreatment of labourers on white estates and the plight of squatters on the land. Pointing to the discrepancy between European practices and the biblical texts which white missionaries used in their sermons, he said:

"The three combined bodies missionaries, government and companies or gainers of money do form the same rule to look upon the native with mockery eyes. .... If we had power enough, to communicate ourselves to Europe we would advice them not to call themselves Christien- dom but Europeandom..... the three combined bodies is altogether too cheaty, too thefity, too mockery. Instead of give, they say take away from. From 6 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m., there is too much breakage of God's pure law as seen in James Epistles 5 V.4." (SIC) (28)

The famine in Nyasaland between 1911 and 1913 created food shortages and untold hardship for the African population. This was aggravated by the new wage and labour system, dictated by the demands of the new economic plantation system. This new system, characterised by a migratory labour system, high taxation and a severe disruption of African social life patterns. Other social, political, and economic policies of the colonial administration created discontent among a people already disenchanted with British rule in the country. The 1911 Crown Lands ordinance led to further



dispossession of the people's land, while the 1912 District Administration native ordinance, was seen by Africans as a threat to Nyasaland Indigenous Institutions of government. Lastly, the increase in the hut tax effected in the same year resulted in a deterioration in the material well being of the already dispossessed African. The 'new men' also had grievances against the colonial administration which alienated them further from the administration and orthodox churches. They found themselves alienated from traditional Nyasaland societies, and precluded from enjoying the benefits of their new states in the colonial set up. These men could only look forward to millenarian dreams advocated by a number of churches operating in Nyasaland at the time.

Although Chilembwe the leader of the 1915 Rising was not a member of the Watch Tower movement or the Church of Christ two independent Churches that were millenarian in character, the Lindens have attempted in their article "John Chilembwe and the new Jerusalem" (28a) to show that a number of his associates among them Wilson Kusita, Haya Edward Mlelembe and Yotan Bango were also converts to the Watch Tower movement for a while before the rising, and in particular that a number of them believed in the millenarian apocalyptic prophecies of the ending of the world, and the second coming. In

addition, the Linden's have produced circumstantial evidence to show the profound influence that millenarian expectations had on Chilembwe himself (29). He transformed the non-violent apocalyptic prophecies of the pre-1915 era to a violent revolt using the political, economic and social oppression of the people, by the British as a useful legitimising tool. Like Elliot Kamwana and Charles Domingo before him, he protested against the maltreatment of Africans on the Bruce Estates in particular, the evils of the Tangata system and the recruitment of Africans to fight in the first world war, which he considered to be a foreign war.

Professor Shepperson and Thomas Price's accounts of the up-rising of 1915 have aptly demonstrated that although the uprising had overt religious manifestations; its political content could not be denied, and it represented radical protest against colonial domination in Church and State. It was also a proof that indigenous churches expressed their ideals in their most radical form, and the fact that diasporan church leaders were more of a moderating influence on Ethiopian Church leaders was given by the National Baptist Convention, in its official reaction to the rising. Although, Chilembwe and the PIM had received financial and other forms of support from the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention for the



opening of the PIM and its affiliated schools, the 1915 uprising, led by Chilembwe and other members of the Church, was organised and executed without the support of the NBC. In its comment on the events of 1915, the Mission disassociated itself from the uprising when it wrote, in its official organ the MISSION HERALD:

"The Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention deplores the whole thing. The Board had in its annual reports and in its letters to its missionaries always urged them to be subject to the power that be in keeping with the scriptures. They have always been told that their warfare was spiritual and have been repeated above charge. (They have been).... urged to depend upon God and not upon physical force for the growth of the kingdom and the uplift of the people among whom they laboured." (sic) (30)

In line with the Bookerite philosophy, which was popular among diasporan blacks during the period before the First World War, black American missionaries in the region advocated a solution, based on Christian ethics of hard work, industrial and commercial education, cooperation, 'uplift' and self-reliance.

By the end of the period covered by this Chapter also, evangelical Pan Africanism had begun to encounter suppression from the different governments in parts of Southern Africa.

Following the Chilembwe uprising, the activities of



diasporan and African Church leaders came under intense scrutiny.

In South Africa, it was reported by officials of the NBC that in the post Chilembwe and First World War period, there were many flocks without shepherds, in places like Hershel, Cape Town and Maitland (31). Many were being persecuted by the British Government in South Africa. Diasporan Church leaders found it difficult entering the Union, while African Church leaders already in the country found their work hampered by government officials.

The Reverend Payne and his wife, for example, were prohibited from entering the country. They were finally given a permit on condition that they ~~would~~ leave South Africa within six months without any expenses to the government. They were warned that they risked prosecution if they failed to leave. In outlining and justifying the government's decision, an official of the Immigration department, J. Watt wrote: "it is said that some of this class of immigrants in some parts of the Union have been preaching the doctrine that this is a Black man's country." (32)

Although English baptists pleaded on behalf of the Paynes, the government was adamant in its policy of

opposing diasporan teachers and preachers operating among Africans. In the words of Reverend Herbert Payne:

"There (was) a strong effort to break up the independent native churches, led by coloured pastors. The government wanted no preachers who (had) mingled in any way with other peoples of the world, who tell the 'natives' they are men..."  
(33)

Indigenous preachers working with AME and Baptist churches also found it difficult operating in parts of the Union. The Rev. B. P. Koti, who worked with the FMB of the NBC, for example, complained to Baptist officials in America that he was refused permission to build a house by Government authorities for seven years.

In Nyasaland, the government after the now famous Chilembwe uprising in 1915 arrested about one thousand and nine people. According to the official returns showing the leaders and supporters of Chilembwe. ((34)).

As the Chapter dealing with Evangelical Pan Africanism will show by the 1920s the Government had planned a new strategy to contain the growth and activities of the movement in Nyasaland. Similar strategies, it would seem, were used in the Union. By now both movements had merged, and evangelical pan Africanism was seen as the most potent force in the region for the achievement of African aspirations.

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Chilembwe and the 1915 Uprising, -----  
Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press,
28. Ibid.
- 28a. J. Linden, L. Linden, "John Chilembue and the New Jerusalem". Journal of African History, Vol. 12, No. 4, 1971, pp. 629 - 651.
29. Ibid.
30. See The Thirty Fifth Annual Report of the FMB of the WBC, 1915.
31. J. EAST, "The British Central Africa" in The Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the NBC of the FMB, 1915.
32. J.E., East, "Our Work and Workers in South Africa". Ibid. -----
33. "An Immigration Case, Cape Town" Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC. Muskogee, Oklahoma, September 5-11 1917, p. 22.
34. Wade to Resident, Blantyre, 4/12/1915. Monthly Reports, Blantyre, Chiradzulu District,

NSB 7/3/2, MNA.



## C H A P T E R    I I =====

RICHARD SELOPE THEMA  
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### Early Life -----

Richard Selope Thema was never an evangelical Pan Africanist. His early life and later career reflected aspects of the various strands of evangelical and secular Pan Africanism in the region discussed in Chapter I. Although neither Thema nor his parents were adherents of the independent Church movement, the account of his early life as recounted in his unpublished autobiographical sketch would give some credence to claims of the indigenous origins of independency in parts of the region. At varying times in his career, he could be regarded as a firm believer in the Bookerite and Duboisian Pan African ideal, and an exponent of the ideals of extreme Black nationalism, race, pride and black self-assertion made popular by Garvey and the UNIA in the diaspora in the 1920s.

A Bapedi from Mafarane (1) in Northern Transvaal, Thema was born on the tenth of February, 1886. His birthday coincided with the establishment of the city of Johannesburg, following the discovery of gold and the subsequent influx of fortune seekers into the area.

His parents were traditional religionists, although Mafarane at the time was gradually going under the influence of French missionaries, working with the Lutheran Church. His grandfather, Mathewesheng, was the Balapye clan leader of the Balcolobe people, and a leading herbalist. His father, Machipi, had taken little interest in learning Mathewesheng's profession, and the young Richard, the first grandson, came to be regarded as a possible successor to his grandfather's position. (2)

In 1888, Thema's people were again instructed by "the Veld-Kornet and a number of armed Boers, through their Chief's spokesman, to move from Mafarane (an area considered suitable for European settlement), to an area set apart for them by the Government. (3)

In spite of widespread protests about the proposed Government forced removal of the people, the people of Mafarane trekked to the new village, later put on the map as Mabula's location, and known to the people as Monywaneng, after the Monywaneng stream that ran through it. (4)

His childhood days were spent both at home and with his 'maternal grandparents', who were labour tenants on the farm of a Mr. Van Heerden. Here he helped in

tendering to herds belonging to both Mr. Van Heerden and his maternal grandfather. (5) Aubaas Van Heerden, as he was known to Thema and his cousin Tandabantu, encouraged the young men to join in their daily evening prayers through the kitchen door, and this introduced Thema to the Christian faith. In addition, his interest in the Christian religion was aroused by some members of the Mafarane community who had gone to Kimberley to work in the mines and had been converted to the faith by French missionaries, who were then working at Morija in the then Basutoland. (6) They had returned to Mafarane to preach their new found religion to the people. Threatened with disinheritance by his parents if he adopted the white man's religion, Thema decided to find out more about Christianity whenever he was able to leave home. A school, independent of white missionaries, was built outside the village where services were held on Sundays and boys and girls of converted parents in the village were taught on week days. The Church leaders later appealed to the Free Church of Scotland at Lovedale for a missionary and the Reverend William Stuart and Elijah Makiwane were sent to survey the field. Thema had secretly become part of the christian community in Monywaeng, and with the encouragement of the new Minister the Reverend William Mpamba, had started schooling at the location school, founded by community members and by then being reorganised by Rev. Mpamba,



his wife, a qualified teacher from Lovedale, and a Mr. Randon Dwasher.

The 1899 Boer War disrupted Thema's schooling. Mr. Dwasher had to leave the school as a British subject, while Mpamba and Chief Mamabolo were arrested by the South African Government authorities, because of their alleged pro-British bias. (7) The school therefore had to be closed. Many people in the location volunteered for service and served in the front as drivers, and in other capacities. Thema himself, then 13, was sent to herd cattle on a farm near Haenertsburg.

Following the capture of Pietersburg by the British in 1901, Thema left for home, and four days later ran away with three others to work in Pietersburg.

Like many other Africans, Thema has maintained, in his unpublished auto-biographical sketch, that he had thought that with the British occupation of the Transvaal, "all oppressive laws (would) disappear and the rule of Mosadi-wa Ditsebe would be established." (8) However, the position of Africans, it has been maintained, grew steadily worse.

The boys were arrested at Pietersburg and found guilty of contravening the Pass Laws. They were given

employment in the Unit and based in Nylstroom. Here they looked after the horses of the column, operating in the Waterberg District under a Major Wilson. Thema was discharged from the army late in 1901, and went to work in Pretoria as a waiter, and later as a nanny to Mr. Hall's two children. He also worked with the Imperial Military Railway Hospital in Pretoria under an Irishman, a Mr.. Joseph L. Hogan, cleaning the dispensary, washing bottles and delivering messages and parcels. He left at the end of 1903 and returned home, which had been renamed Donhill, and had come under the influence of German missionaries. The school, however, was still in the hands of the Reverend Mpama, who later invited other teachers from the Cape, among them James Mkafa, Amelia Tsando, Agnes Magubela, Agnes Pika and Mina Magubela.

(9) Thema passed the standard III examination at the end of 1903, but because of financial difficulties could not go on to teacher training college. He adopted the names Victor (10) and Richard, (11) before going off to Thuwne (12) to start a school where he spent a year teaching. He later left for Lovedale in 1906 for further studies to train as a teacher or a Minister. (13) The possibility of him having to drop out of Lovedale because of financial constraints forced Thema to look for work in Johannesburg. He was employed in the Finger Impression Department of the Pass Office in the town, but had to leave after a month following the receipt of

a bursary award. (14)

While working at the Pass Office, Thema has maintained in his auto-biographical sketch that the ill-treatment of Africans and their inability to change their position "affected (his) heart, and stirred his soul". (15) On his return to Lovedale, he began to question the methods used by teachers in teaching African History, and attempted to correct, within himself, some of the false notions taught by teachers at the Institution. The "Kaffir Wars", for example, were not so much wars fought purely for the plundering and pillaging of cattle stock, but they could in Thema's view, be seen as "wars of self preservation". It was not, he believed:

"for the sake of the farmer's cattle and sheep that black men made that futile but noble attempt to drive the white men into the sea." (16)

African leaders over the years have continued to comment on the great disaster which fell on the Xhosa nation in 1859 as a result of the prophesy of Nongkawuse, a Xhosa seer and a prophesying medium. Nongkawuse and her uncle Mkalaza had encountered Russians by the mouth of a river, and they had been told that their mission was to assist Africans in South Africa, against British invaders. In addition, Mkalaza had in a conversation with spirits of old Xhosa heroes,



been informed that the Xhosa will be ruined through the oppression of "conquerers from overseas" and they were determined to save them. A precondition for their salvation was that all animals with the exception of horses and dogs should be killed, cornpits should be emptied of grain and the field should be left uncultivated. After this destruction, the cattle and corn would be replenished and there would be plenty for all. Those who disobeyed the order of the spirits would be swept away with their white oppressors into the sea. The upset of a British boat sent to the Kei river and the death of its crew during the time was considered as proof that the prophecy by Nonggawuse regarding the sweeping of all white into sea was already being fulfilled. It is reported that between 50,000 and 76,000 Africans became involved in the killing of cattle as ordered by Nonggwuse. Hunger and starvation followed and thousands were killed. A conservative estimate of the number of those killed has been put at between 20 to 30 thousand while about 150,000 cattle died. This great disaster has received varying interpretation from both white and African writers. For Selope Thema, Nonggawuse's prophecy was made not merely to bring calamity to the Xhosa nation but it was made for "the independence of the African race and for its right to develop along its natural lines, so as to determine its destiny without let or hindrance." (17)

Although the killing of cattle and burning of corn was a sad sacrifice which led to much suffering by the people, it could be seen in Thema's view as the "supreme sacrifice of a people who wanted to develop along their own lines". These issues were returned to, years later by some of the leaders of the new Pan Africanism, among them Mangaliso Sobukwe. (18)

Thema passed the higher school examinations in 1909 and joined the matriculation class. He returned the following year, and included typing, shorthand and office routine as part of his course. Lovedale, according to Thema, gave him not only 'book education' (19) but taught him character building habits and how to be a useful citizen of South Africa.

After leaving Lovedale in 1910, Thema taught for a year at a school in Nazareth (20) before joining an Agency in Pietersburg which recruited African labourers for the mines and farms, as a clerk, labour officer and interpreter. His duties also included taking recruited labourers to the Pass Office for attestation. This brought him in contact with the methods used in the recruitment of Africans for the mines.

From his observation as a recruitment officer,

Thema concluded that the Native Affairs Department was established for the purpose of upholding the white man's prestige by instilling fear in the minds of Africans. (21)

The period 1910-1912 were significant years both for the English, the Boers and the Africans. The end of the Boer war had brought the whole of South Africa under British Colonial rule. Following the defeat of the Africans during the 1906 Bambata uprising referred to briefly in Chapter One, reconciliation was sought with the Boers and this resulted in the unity of whites against Africans, when the 1910 Act of Union was passed. The act aimed at ensuring white supremacy and the perpetual subjugation and exploitation of Africans. The Act of Union constituted the instrument of independence and it concretized and legalised the permanent dispossession of the African majority. To the Africans, the British in 1910 had handed over South Africa to a racist settler minority to the exclusion of the indigenous majority. Lord Milner's statement about the future direction of government in South Africa suggested that "the ultimate aim of the British in South Africa is a self governing white, Community supported by a well treated and justly governed Black labour force" confirmed African fears that their interests were to be subjugated to those of Whites. Lastly, the



limitation of membership of the constitution drafting convention to whites only meant that Africans were not to be involved in the political processes of the new Union. The reaction of Africans to this new development was the unification of all the various political organizations in the Union and the establishment of the South African<sup>National</sup> Native Congress in 1912. Pixely Seme, in his address to the inaugural Conference of the new Congress, expressed African aspirations when he said:

".... The White people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa - a Union in which we have no voice in the making of laws, and no part in the administration. We have called you therefore to the conference so that we can together find ways and means of forming our national Union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges". (21a).

This quest for and realisation of unity among Africans in the different provinces of the Union was a significant occasion for African nationalism and subsequently Pan Africanism. Pixely Seme and other early leaders of the ANC are regarded as pace-setters in the secular nationalist and Pan Africanist scene in South Africa. In an attempt to acquaint Africans with the activities of the new Congress, Mokgatho, the then President visited Pietersburg in 1916, and this led to Thema's first involvement with local politics, when he was elected Secretary of the Northern Transvaal Native Congress.

The opportunities offered for widespread travel as a labour officer meant that he could travel widely, visiting chiefs in the Northern Transvaal, recruiting members for the newly established Congress, and preaching the need for national unity. (22) He continued his campaign in Johannesburg where he was employed as a clerk in Richard Msimang's Law Office. He got involved with the members of the ANC and the prominent black newspaper ABANTU BATHO. Here, he was popularly called "the lion of the North" or the "Maharajah".

Johannesburg, during the period, was not only the "University of Crime" but was also the political centre for blacks, the SANNC headquarters, and the centre from which, in Thema's words, "Africandom received inspiration to plan how best to bring about unity among the Bantu people". (23) In addition, the deprivation, oppression, poverty and discontent experienced by blacks in the Southern African subregion in general, and the Union in particular, "kindled (in them) a spirit of race pride and patriotism", (24) and many looked to Johannesburg for redemption. In Johannesburg in particular, blacks seethed with discontent, and were impoverished and harassed by laws and regulations designed to provide cheap black labour on white farms and on mines. As a correspondent and later editor of ABANTU BATHO, Thema was instrumental in much of the Pan



African intense black nationalist sentiments expressed in its editorial columns. It published weekly messages urging unity among blacks, with a resultant vision of a promised land. The abysmal conditions in Johannesburg and other cities for blacks soon developed in Thema what he called,

"an unreasonable hatred against the entire white race." (He became he has maintained in his unpublished auto-biographical sketch) one of the finest racialists that the Bantu race had produced.... and in his writings breathed nothing but the spirit of hatred." (25)

He has also maintained that:

"The treatment meted out to Africans in the Transvaal had stirred (his) very soul and fired (his) imagination. Unconsciously (he claimed he) was developing an anti-white spirit which manifested itself between 1912 and 1920." (26)

While in Johannesburg, he was elected Secretary of the Transvaal branch of the SANNC and soon became very popular in Congress circles.

As editor and a correspondent of ABANTU BATHO, he used the columns of the paper to refute the myth of the inferiority of the black race and other changes made by whites at the time. This was in line with attempts by nationalists and Pan-Africanist leaders, like Blyden, Casely Hayford and Macaulay, in parts of West Africa in the pre-and post-World War I period, to destroy the myth of black inferiority, propagated by white supremacists.



(26a)

He also attempted to point out the indignities suffered by blacks in the Union as a result of the segregationist policies of the South African Government.

Africans, he maintained in his articles, would probably not oppose the policy of segregation pursued by the government and made official by the 1913 Land Act, if the authorities had planned the creation of two separate states for blacks and whites. He continued:

"But if it meant herding them into reserves dotted all over the country no intelligent African would support the scheme (He had continued that it was not) zoological gardens that would satisfy the aspirations and ambitions of the African people, but their own state which would enable them to develop their life to the full, and realise their national ambitions." (27)

Although he was highly critical of the Government's segregation policies, he pointed out that it was not a new policy invented by white South Africa. He declared rather humourously in 1915 that:

"God himself had put it into operation. He had placed white people in Europe. Yellow people in Asia and black people in Africa. It was the white man who broke the scheme of segregation. The Chinese had separated themselves by building a wall which they thought would prevent people who did not belong to their race from (going) to their country. The white men jumped over the wall, and got into the life of the Chinese. After breaking God's law of segregation (it was) not fair and

just for the white man to re-enact it in order to secure his position and protect his interests."(28)

In his many writings, Thema pointed to those conditions within South Africa which influenced his thoughts and ideas. The political, economic and social conditions of blacks in the Transvaal in particular and other parts of the Union in general were the principal factors. (29) He maintained that Africans were not represented in the law making bodies in the country, while everywhere, in Pass Offices, Police Stations, on farms, on roads and in all spheres of life, they were humiliated and exploited. They were alienated from their lands and were forced by a series of Laws to provide cheap labour for white farmers. Such was the position of blacks in the country, that Thema maintained in his autobiographical sketch that if:

"Christ had gone to Johannesburg.... under the skin of a blackman, he would have been gaoled under the pass laws and he wouldn't have escaped the degradation and humiliation which other blacks experienced in the Union." (30)

In 1919, he was Secretary of the South African delegation of blacks to England, and the Peace Conference at Versailles, which left to protest against the 1913 Land Act and to appeal for a redress of the social, political and economic injustices against blacks in the Union. Headed by Sol Plaatje, the delegation included H.R. Ngaca Yiya, an Ethiopian Church leader in

the Union, Josiah Gumede and M. Xaba. (31) For many educated black South Africans, Queen Victoria was "Mosali oa Ditsebe" (the woman who hears) and members of the ANC delegation to Europe were hopeful that they would get some redress for their grievances.

While in London, Thema visited Sylvia Pankhurst, the then editor of THE WORKER, and addressed a meeting of the Calford Brotherhood of London South. Here, he gave details of the 1918 Sanitary Workers and the 1920 mine workers' strikes to members. He also, according to Carter and Karis, registered as a student at the London School of Journalism, while he awaited financial support for his journey home. In addition, it is possible that Thema met the economic Pan Africanist Duse Ali Mohammed, (32) during his time in London. The SANC mission was unsuccessful, and members of the delegation returned to the Union (after some difficulties). He became a correspondent of Duse Ali Mohammed's AFRICAN TIMES AND THE ORIENT REVIEW. (33) The Journal was established in 1917. in London, after the Universal Races Congress, as a Pan African and Pan Oriental venture by John Eldred Taylor. (34) Mohammed soon attracted the interest of men like J. E. Casely Hayford, Booker T. Washington, (35) W.E.B. Du Bois, Kobina Sekyi, (36) Marcus Garvey, John E. Bruck, (37) James Emman Aggrey, and F.Z.S. Peregrino some of the leading Pan African figures both in the diaspora and in



West and South Africa. Some of the above mentioned personalities contributed articles pertaining to Pan African development to the London Journal. Thema himself had a series of articles published in the paper. Among these were "Native Unrest in South Africa" and "The South African Native Policy", in the May and December 1920 editions of the paper.

Back home, under Thema's editorship, ABANTU BATHO had, in November, 1920, given tacit support to what it called the 'Back to Africa Movement'. It attempted to give answers to a number of relevant questions about the Movement; questions such as 'Was the UNIA a sporadic movement?' 'Was it serious?' 'Was the concept behind the 'Back to Africa Movement' a feasible proposition? and lastly, 'Could it be achieved?

In attempting to provide answers to the questions above, the paper maintained that the UNIA aroused varying and divergent reactions from the black population in South Africa. While some were elated over the idea of a black republic, others were indifferent because of a lack of educated information on the movement. The editor explained the aims of the UNIA Convention in New York, and contended that it was not the result of a sporadic reaction by blacks. The question of the desirability of Black emigration in

large numbers to post war South Africa, the paper continued, was immaterial, since

"if Black Americans (chose) to return to Africa the land of their Ancestors there was nothing in the world that would prevent the exodus. No white man (the paper continued) had the right to say they should be shut out. Africa (was) already the dumping ground of men of all nationalities. Black Americans, because of their colour were not inferior to other races. All races were welcomed to South Africa and Black Americans (had) a stronger claim on Africa than other races." (38)

Thema was advocating Pan African and militant Black Nationalist ideas before Garveyism became popular in Southern Africa. His ideas fell in line with those advocated by Garvey and the UNIA in the 1920s. Under his editorship, ABANTU BATHO had urged unity among blacks in South Africa and the entire African continent. It portrayed itself as the leading voice of the black race in the continent and in its March, 1920 edition, it carried a caption warning that

"There would be no peace in the world until Africa was ruled by Africans. Till she (traded) her fortunes direct with the world. Till her sons and daughters (had) the same respect as other races of the world." (39)

Thema has pointed to conditions within South Africa for the main factors responsible for his intense black nationalist ideas, and his advocacy of self reliance and independence for the black race. It would be reasonable also to suggest that the independent church movement and the activities of some of its more radical leaders must have influenced his early formative years and his latter day career in Johannesburg. Although there is no evidence to suggest that he was actively involved in the Ethiopian movement, his account of his early life in



Mabula location has revealed that the Church and school in the location were established and run for some time by black South Africans without supervision by diasporan or white missionaries. (40) This could be seen as an example of the indigenous origins of independency in the Union before 1900, and the activities of the church leaders could have influenced Thema's thinking. In addition, with the AFRICAN TIMES AND THE ORIENT REVIEW in circulation in the Cape, (41) before the first world war, it could be suggested that Thema would have been influenced by some of the Pan African sentiments expressed in the paper. Articles like those by Carmichael Smith published in 1913 and 1918 entitled "Peace War or African Home Rule" or his two part series on "Africa and the Africans" must have influenced to some degree Thema's attitude to the racial problems in South Africa in particular and British dependencies in general.

Thema, African and European Conferences and the  
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Joint Council of Europeans and Africans.  
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Aggrey's visits to South Africa in 1921 and again in 1924 made Thema a changed man, and he became a convert to the Du Boisian ideal of multi-racial cooperation. His conversion to the Du Boisian Pan African ideal was emphasised by his active involvement



with the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, the Native Representative Council established by the Representation of Natives Act in 1936, and the BANTU WORLD.

In his unpublished autobiographical sketch, Thema had maintained that Aggrey had urged leading black political figures to identify whites interested in the advancement of the African race, and work their way to freedom and advancement through their help. (42) Many of these whites, Aggrey had contended were, burning with a desire to help Africans. He had warned Africans that it:

"was not by radicalism and bitterness that (they) could win their way to freedom. (They) must never resort to (their) oppressors weapon of prejudice. Where their work (was) destructive, (theirs) must be constructive. While they (appealed) to the baser emotions, (their) appeal must be to achieve by instruction, what could not be done by conflict." (43)

Early practical demonstration of the Bookerite and Du Boisian ideals advocated by Aggrey during his visit, were a series of joint consultative conferences organised by the Dutch Reformed Church and the South African Institute of Race Relations. The conferences attended by both leaders of the European and African communities started in 1923 and regular conferences were held until 1936. Thema who had been most impressed by Aggrey's ideas, as he mentioned in his biographical

sketch, was an active participant during the period. Multi-racial cooperation during the 1920s was also encouraged by a series of Government sponsored African consultative bodies of which Thema was an influential African member. Lastly, in pursuance of the ideal of racial harmony and cooperation between the different races, Thema corresponded during the period with liberal humanitarian organizations like the Aborigines Protection Society, whose members he had met while in England with the South African delegation in 1919.

In addition, Aggrey's visit resulted in the establishment of Joint Councils of Africans and Europeans. (44) Among prominent African and white members of these Councils were Thema, S. Msimang, D. S. Letemka, C. S. Mabaso, H. Pim, Dr. Bridgeman and C. E. Loram. (45) Thema was Joint Secretary with J. D. Rheinalt Jones of the Johannesburg Joint Council established in 1921.

With time, the Councils came to be regarded as arms of the Chamber of Mines and were severely criticised and Members were derided as "good boys" employed by the Chamber of Mines. (46) In a satirical piece published in THE WORKERS HERALD, for example, a writer wrote about the Johannesburg and other Councils:



"The year 1924 has been a remarkable one in the history of the African labour movement.... In defiance of the enemy's strength, Durban, Natal and the notorious city of Johannesburg, came under bombardment and they were both captured. We refer to Johannesburg as being notorious because it was there, the English capitalists have succeeded to capture men of the African race, men with intellectual ability to preach the gospel of cooperation between exploiters and the exploited black. We may just as well make ourselves understood that we would welcome cooperation between white wage earners and black wage earners but not to be used as tools to encourage English capitalists, who for 200 years under camouflage and hypocrisy, have sucked the blood of African workers to prevent our onward march to emancipation. Let the African workers not be deceived, nothing tangible would come out from the Joint Councils of European and Natives. An exploited race need not look to the exploiter for emancipation from the shackles of slavery." (47)

By 1929. with the resignation of Kadalie from the ICU, the Union was itself supporting the arms of the Councils. In the words of Kadalie:

"The Joint Council of Europeans and Natives got hold of Ballinger. The members of the ICU (were) well aware that before the advent of Ballinger the Joint Council had no good word for the Union. In Ballinger, the European membership of the Joint Council had a good asset by means of which to obtain a measure of control over the ICU. At present, the policy of what little (remained) of the ICU is dictated by that Body. It was the European members of the Joint Council who told Ballinger to discard the organization of farm natives...." (sic) (48)

The ICU in the mid 1920s was one of the most popular African organisations in the Union and its criticism of the Council reflected the views of some of the prominent African leaders of the period. But African criticism of the councils was not restricted only to the



members of the ICU or THE WORKERS HERALD. Disenchantment with the councils spread among other Africans in the Union. A letter from an African reader published in UMTETELI WA BANTU expressed quite succinctly African reaction to the Councils. It read:

"The Spirit of the Joint Councils has all elements of Anti Native principles. It is a movement definitely designed to perpetrate the South African spirit of subjecting the African Race to perpetual race inferiority in the interest of the superior race. Its chief aims have been to absorb the Bantu leadership and to render Bantu organizations ineffectual. There can be no doubt that Bantu leadership has virtually passed into the hands of the Joint Council authorities. Our leaders who are associated with the Joint Council movement find glory and honour in flouting and breaking up their own National Organizations." (49).

Within the Councils themselves, criticism was expressed over the apathy of black and white members. A number of Africans, among them Letanka, Muabaza and Mabaso, resigned their membership after criticism by ABANTU BATHO. Thema continued his membership and was regarded as one of the prominent black members of the educated elite in the Councils, by their white colleagues.

#### Thema and the Bantu World

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THE BANTU WORLD was established in 1932 by Beotram F.G. Paver, an English speaking South African, Izak la Grange, an Afrikaner, and Thema, an African. The trio

was reminiscent of the composition of the leadership of the Phelps Stokes Commission. The brains behind the establishment of the paper was Paver, an advertising salesman who has been credited with the thinking and planning of the paper. (50) Launched originally in a two-roomed shop in Von Welligh Street, it was introduced to European business establishments, and it organised two trade exhibitions in which European business goods were exhibited for Africans.

The paper's policy aimed at the creation and promotion of a spirit of harmony and goodwill, between blacks and whites because, in the words of Thema:

"The 2 races had made South Africa what it was... The white man supplying the brains and the black man the brawn... The Country was smiling with life and beauty because of the cooperative action of the two races." (51)

The race problem in the Union, the paper's founders believed, could be solved not by the stirring of racial feelings and the setting aflame of the embers of racial hatred, but by: "Men and those who (realised) that in God's scheme of things Europeans and Africans were in (the) country to live side by side whether they liked it or not." (52)

It was hoped that the paper would be an embodiment of the spirit of cooperation between blacks and whites



in the Union. Its primary aim was to foster among the different races in the Union the realisation that there were two sides to the racial question and to encourage each group to understand each other's point of view, in order to be able to effect a settlement of their disputes amicably. (53) Paver was the paper's Managing Director, Thema (by now a seasoned journalist) was the editor of the newspaper and remained editor until 1953 (54). He was also with Isaiah Bud M'belle, on the board of Directors of the Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd. Thus, Thema was well on his way to attaining the kind of position advocated by Washington and Du Bois. After Argus printing had bought over Bantu Press, Thema and Bud M'belle lost their position as directors, although Thema continued the editorship of the paper. Very few independent Black newspapers were able to continue publication during the period 1929 and 1932, (the years of economic depression) and the the BANTU WORLD under a white controlled Argus Printing Press, became a major avenue for highlighting the hopes and aspirations of Africans. Thema a member of the evolving petit bourgeoisie class, as editor, was a prominent figure in this new development.

His position as editor contributed in no small way in making the paper attractive to the African readers during its early years. Paver could allow Thema control



of the paper because by the 1930s, Thema's ideas in the words of Switzer "conformed to the policies of the newspaper's proprietors" (55) He thus used the paper to extol the Bookerite and Du Boisian virtue of self-help, self-discipline and commercial advancement. He also in the paper criticised government attempts to withdraw the Cape African franchise, contending that rather than eliminate the right of Africans in the Cape to vote, that right should be extended to Africans in other parts of the Union.

In line with Du Bois' idea of the talented tenth, Thema believed the educated petit bourgeoisie African should articulate the hopes, grievances and aspirations of the masses. (56) Thus, his editorial comments in the early 1930s criticised the lack of employment prospects for Africans, racial discrimination and segregation, the hated pass laws, (which he had dealt with during the 1920s while he was with ABANTU BATHO,) African education and other Government policies antithetical to the interests of the African Petit bourgeoisie and the generality of the people. In addition, he used the medium of the paper, during its early years to enlighten the people about the activities of the ANC, an organization in which he was a prominent member of both the provincial and national bodies. He also highlighted the successes of the ANC before the First World War.

However between 1935 and 1952, the editorial comments and other articles in the paper were highly critical of the ANC and it was believed by many within Congress that the paper's criticisms were damaging the movement's image. In addition, the paper later came to be regarded by some as a propaganda agent for the South African Institute of Race Relations, while others, like the editors of AFRICAN LODESTAR, the official organ of the Transvaal ANCYL, saw it as part of the capitalist press.

(57) The paper's role was a source of great disillusionment to many blacks and well intentioned whites, who had hoped that with the demise of many of the black run newspapers which had operated in the Union before and after the First World War, THE BANTU WORLD would become the leading organ for the dissemination and articulation of the grievances, the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed majority.

As the chapter on the marginalisation of Pan African figures in the region would show, Thema's role as editor of the paper was to adversely affect his position as a leading political leader among the Blacks in the Union.

Thema, the Native Representative Council (The NRC)  
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and The ANC Youth League  
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The Native Representative Council was established in 1937 after the series of segregation acts of the 1930s. It was regarded by some Africans as an embodiment of the Government's political segregation policies. Others, like Jordan Ngubane, saw it as an institution established for the benefit of Blacks in the Union. In his "Should the Native Representative Council be Abolished", for example, Ngubane argued that the Council should be regarded as a:

"great unifying factor among the various groups comprising the African Communities, as Basutos, and Xhosas all went as representatives of one community to discuss common problems and present a united front against common obstacles." (58)

Lastly, African members elected into the Council maintained that the Council should be regarded as a forum where representatives of the people could consider all proposed Government legislations, affecting the Africans and recommend to Parliament or other Provincial Councils, proposals for legislations in the interest of African Communities.

In a motion proposed by Councillors D.D.T. Jabavu and B. Xiniwe, for example, and adopted by the 1946 session of the NRC, the Councillors maintained that the Council should be regarded as an experiment in Government and as an attempt by the white administration to provide a machinery for consultation between the



African people and the Government. It was also a method of cooperation between Africans and Europeans. (59) They went on to enumerate the number of benefits that had accrued to blacks as a result of the Council's activities. Among these were the introduction of pensions and allowances (old age, blind and invalidity), and an increase in the expenditure on Black education from R700,000 in 1937 to R2,000,000 in 1945. (60) A number of commissions had also, they pointed out, been appointed to investigate affairs affecting Blacks in the Union. These included the Miners Psthis Commission, the Mine Wages Commission, and the use of Beer Profits Commission. (61)

They admitted, however, that the pension of 10s a month introduced was too meagre, while many of the recommendations of the Commissions established had been turned down by the Government. (62) In addition, Thema and other Councillors (63) argued that while there was an increase in Government expenditure for African education, the amount expended was totally inadequate to deal with the situation. They were also critical of the Government's refusal to accept the principle of compulsory education for all African children.

In November 1941 the Cape Town branch of the ANC had endorsed the growing criticisms levied against the

council and had started a campaign for the boycott of the council by African members.

By the middle of the 1940s, the Annual Conference of the ANC at Bloemfontein had declared its support for the call for a boycott of the council. In addition, the All African Convention (the AAC) and the Cape Voters Association also issued calls to voters to cease collaboration with the Government by boycotting elections into the NRC. It also called on all members of the Representative Councils (MRCS) to resign their membership of the council immediately. (64) Lastly, members of the ANCYL joined in the general clamour by African political organizations for a boycott of the Council.

The ANC Youth League and the AAC (65) became two of the most vociferous critics of the NRC. Members of the Youth League expressed the view that the NRC was like a toy telephone used by members of the Council, who knew there was no one on the other end of the line. They demanded a boycott of the elections into the Council and warned that if Africans participated in the elections, it would be construed as "an indication that they were willing to collaborate in their own oppression." (66) They called not for the indefinite adjournment of the NRC but for its abolition and its replacement by direct



African representation in Parliament. Non collaboration on a countrywide basis was to be used as a strategy by Africans in the continuing struggle for liberation, they argued.

By 1947, the AAC, the ANCYL, sections of the ANC and the Non European Unity Movement (the NEUM) were in favour of a boycott of the Councils. Councillors like Champion, Xiniwe, Thema and Mabude, accepted that the Council was not productive. In 1946, for example, Thema had said of the role of the NRC in Black politics:

"This may be the beginning of the parting of the ways and I want to say that we on this side of the colour line have a clear conscience.. In the political field, this segregation policy does not give us the representation which we are entitled. It does not give us the representation which will enable us to make Parliament realise when we make demands that these demands are made by people who are living with the white people in this country. This policy (thus) failed to give us equality of opportunity under segregation... For ten years we have been asking for these things, but the government has not considered it necessary to see to it that something is done... The Government says we shall allow you to talk and we have talked, but we are tired of talking and cannot go on talking and talking when no one listens to us. So rather than talk we shall just sit down. We don't want to have more talk. I was going to move a resolution or rather an amendment to the motion, that we do not adjourn this conference but just sit down and refrain from talking." (67)

Unlike Youth Leaguers, Members of the ACC and sections of the AAC, however, Thema's solution to the problem was not a boycott or an adjournment of the



Council (but as the above quotation has shown) he had called for a sit-in, in the Council by African MRCs.

Dismissing calls for a boycott of the NRC by members of the AAC, Thema had argued that if

"NRCs accepted Convention policy then they should have nothing to do with Europeans. If a lawyer who (defended) an African in European courts (was) earning a living and not collaborating, then MRCs were also earning a living. The Bunga had done many things. It had granted bursaries, and planted trees. If (he was) to go to the people in Petersburg and (told) them to have nothing to do with the Bunga they would think (he) was mad" (68), he had concluded.

The motion proposed by Councillors Jabavu and Xiniwe at the Ninth session of the NRC in 1946, overruled Thema's motion and called for an adjournment of the Council unless the Government was prepared to take urgent steps to reform some of the more obnoxious laws affecting Africans in the Union.

For the Youth League, however, the NRCs should not only be adjourned but it should be completely abolished. Congress members who continued to support elections into the Council Lembede had maintained:

"Preferred the path of conciliation, retreat and downright opportunism. The policy of indefinite adjournment was considered escapist as it (revealed) an unwillingness to stand up to the demands of the situation."

A. P. Mda, for his parts, called for a fearless war on MRCs until a genuine people's leadership was installed in the ANC leadership hierarchy.

The Presidential address by Xuma, at the 1947 ANC Annual Conference, reversed the 1946 decision of Congress for a boycott of the NRC and MRCs themselves were reluctant to call on voters to boycott elections into the Council that year. For some Youth Leaguers, however, the boycott was to be seen as an appropriate weapon of the ANC. It was to be something of a rallying call around which the people must be organised. (69)

A successful boycott of the NRC, it was also maintained, would work effectively on the mental state of the oppressed black majority. To those who argued that the time was not then ripe for a boycott, ANCYL leaders contended, in the words of Sobukwe, that:

"Just as one learnt to swim not by studying the specific gravity of water, but by plunging into the water, so also it (was) with the boycott. Men would learn to boycott, by boy-cotting."

The question of the boycott of the NRC in the 1940s further divided members of the different black political organizations. A separate study would, however, be needed to identify the reaction of the councillor's Constituency to the continued membership of the

Councils, before any conclusions could be drawn with respect to the attitude of the masses to the NRCs. Among some sections of the leadership cadres of the major Black political organizations, however, MRCs were becoming increasingly isolated from the mainstream of black politics.



## Conclusion

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The chapter on the life and career of Seloape Thema has amply demonstrated the way in which many complex threads can come together in a man's life. It has shown in addition as was stated in the introductory chapter how political leaders in the subregion in general and South Africa in particular can wear different hats at the same time or at different times during their career life span.

His early acquaintance with Aggrey during his visits in 1921 and 1924 made him a convert to the Bookerite and DuBoisan ideal of multi-racial cooperation, self help, self reliance and protest politics in sharp contrast to the period before 1921 when, as editor of ABANTU BATHO, he espoused militant African Nationalist, Pan African and anti-white ideas. These have been aptly illustrated in the early sections of this Chapter. From being a militant African nationalist and Pan Africanist, and the editor of ABANTU BATHO one of the most vocal, independent, African newspapers in the Union, Thema became an active and important member of the series of joint consultative Conferences held between 1923 and 1936, a prominent member of the European and African Joint Council and retained his membership of the Native Representative

Council even at a time when African leaders in the All African convention, the ANC Youth League and other African Organizations were calling for a boycott of the Council.

By then his marginalization from Black politics was well on the way and the penultimate chapter of the thesis will examine this development in the Post World War II period.

## Notes and References:

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1. Earlier, Thema's people had been removed from Byattadi, on the banks of the Letaba River to be settled in Mafarane. See R. V. Seloape Thema. FROM CATTLE HERDING TO THE EDITOR'S CHAIR, unpublished sketch. SOAS. London.
2. Ibid.  
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3. Ibid.  
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4. Later the area was renamed Veerkraal or Fontein, *ibid.*, p. 9.  
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5. Thema worked with his cousin Tandabantu and Mr. Van Heerden's two sons, Cornalius and Joachim. *ibid.*, p. 13.  
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6. Among those who had gone to Kimberley were Jonas Thema, Mokele Raphela, Jeremiah Thema, Joel Mambolo, Samuel Thema and Amos Tshwen. *Ibid.*, p. 7.  
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7. *Ibid.*, p. 25.  
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8. *Ibid.*, p. 26.  
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9. *Ibid.*, p. 37.  
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10. Thema took the name Victor from Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy. *Ibid.*  
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11. Richard, Thema has maintained, meant the strong hearted. He adopted the name because he was impressed with the career of Richard "the Lionhearted, one of the leaders of the Crusaders against the forces of Islam". *Ibid.*, p. 38.  
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12. Thuwne was situated 6 miles from Donhill. *ibid.*, p. 38.  
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13. His attempts at raising extra-funds for an increase



in the salaries of untrained teachers brought him in conflict with Church and State, and this eventually led to his resignation from the School. Ibid.

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14. Thema was awarded the Hutton scholarship. Ibid., p. 47.

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15. Ibid.

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16. Ibid., p. 50.

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17. Ibid., while not attempting to defend or justify

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Chaka's cruel and tyrannical actions, Thema has maintained that his cruelty could not be condemned without his bravery, skill, courage and his driving ambition of uniting all the African tribes under the Zulu nation being admired. Ibid., p. 49.

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18. Sobukwe, we have been told, reinterpreted the Nongquase legend in a poem which was used during the Defiance Campaign. Information obtained from interviews with Hamilton Keke and Nyati Pokela. London, 1984.

19. R. V. Seloape, Thema, Op. Cit.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

21a. C. Legum. "Nationalism in South Africa".

J. C. Anene and G. Brown, (ed.). Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries. London University Press, 1966.

22. R. V. Seloape, Thema, op. cit.

23. Ibid.

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24. Ibid.

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25. Ibid.

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26. Ibid.

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26a. See, for example, article in the Lagos Daily News, 1913, by Herbert Heelas Macaulay. -----

27. See R. V. Seloape Thema, op. cit.

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28. ibid.  
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29. For details of Thema's personal experiences with the law enforcement agents in the Union, see Ibid.  
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30. R.V. Selope Thema, op. cit.  
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31. For details of the career of M. Xaba and Gumede, see T. D. Mveli Skota, The African Yearly Register,  
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The Orange Press, 1933, and G. Carter, and T. Karis, (eds.), From Protest to Challenge:  
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A Documentary History of African Politics in  
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South Africa, 1882-1964, Vol. 4, Stanford.  
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Hoover Institution Press, 1972 - 1977.
32. For details of the activities of Duse Ali Mohammed, see I. Duffield, "Duse Ali Mohammed and the Development of Pan Africanism, 1866-1945", Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1972.
33. ibid.  
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34. ibid.  
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35. ibid.  
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36. ibid.  
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37. ibid.  
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38. See Abantu Batho, 11.11.1920.  
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39. Abantu Batho, 20.3.1920.  
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40. R.V. Selope Thema, op. cit.  
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41. See I. Duffield, op. cit.  
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42. R.V. Selope Thema, op. cit.

43. Ibid.  
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44. For details of the activities of the Joint Councils, see J. Jope, "South African Joint Councils. Black and White Cooperation Between the Wars", South African Historical Journal, No.4, 1972. See also B. Hirson, "Tuskegee, the Joint Councils and the All African Convention in the Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th century, Vol. II, Collected Seminar Papers, ICS, London, 1981.  
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45. Ibid.  
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46. See the Workers Herald, January 1925, Nicholas Hyman Collection, London.  
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47. Ibid.  
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48. Kadalie has maintained that he resigned the secretaryship of the ICU because its policy was being dictated by members of the Joint Councils. Kadalie, C., "Ballinger Found Out", The Workers Herald, dated May, 1929.  
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49. See letter to the Editor, Umteleli Wa Bantu, dated 9-7-1932.  
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50. See R.V. Selope Thema, "Twenty First Birthday Number. The Rise of our National Newspaper", The Bantu World, 14th June, 1943, Nicholas Hyman Collection, London.  
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51. Ibid., p. 1  
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52. Ibid., p. 1  
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53. Ibid., p. 7  
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54. See L. Switzer, "Bantu World and the Origins of a Captive African Commercial Press in South Africa" Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 14 No. 3  
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April, 1988 pp. 351-369.

55. Ibid. p. 353.  
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56. P. Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism Berkely,  
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University of California Press, 1917 P 244. Also Ibid P 354

57. See The Lodestar, Vol. II, November, 1955, p. 1.  
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The article in the Lodestar was referring to the  
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newspaper's activities before 1955.

58. See J. Ngubane, "Should the Native Representative  
Council be Abolished?" N. P. 1946. Hoover Institute's  
South African Collection.

59. See Union of South Africa: Verbatim Report of the  
Proceedings of the Native Representative Council.  
Adjourned Meeting of Ninth Session held at Pretoria  
14th and 15th August, 1946. Volume I, pp. 61-67.

60. Ibid.  
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61. Ibid.  
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62. Ibid.  
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63. Among members of the NRC in 1946 were Chief Maserumule,  
Champion, Mathews, Jabavu, Xiniwe, Sakwe, Mabude  
Godlo Masaka, Albert Luthuli, Mshiyeni and Mosaka.  
Others were F. D. Rodseth, the Under Secretary for Native  
Affairs, W. M. de Villiers, the Chief Magistrate of  
Umtata, and M. C. Liefdelt, the Chief Native  
Commissioner of Natal. Ibid.  
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64. Inkundla Ya Bantu, 17.7.1947.  
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65. For details of the AAC attitude towards the boycott  
movement and the NRC, see I. B. Tabata, The Awakening  
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of a People, Spokesman Press, London, 1974.  
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66. See "Mr. A. Lembede V. Mosaka," Inkundla Ya Bantu,  
17th July, 1947. -----

67. See Union of South Africa, Verbatim Report of the Proceedings of the NRC. Adjourned meeting of the Ninth Session held at Pretoria on the 14th and 15th August, 1946.

68. Quoted in I. B. Tabata, op. cit., p. 18

69. Inkundla Ya Bantu, 17.7.1947.

### CHAPTER III =====

#### SECULAR PAN AFRICANISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE BOOKER T. ----- WASHINGTON AND DU BOISIAN EXAMPLE 1920 - 1945. -----

A number of writers on the subject over the years have seen secular Pan African as being an indigenous product of the South African condition. Walshe in his article entitled "Black American Thought and Political Attitudes in South Africa"(1) has contended that Pan Africanism in South Africa was generated from conditions within the country. For Roux, aspects of Du Bois, approach to the race problem which dominated ANC leadership thinking during the inter war years was "largely coincidental"(2) while Shula Marks has rightly asserted that: "Long before Dube encountered Tuskegee and its illustrious head ..... he had been introduced to the notion of practical education and self help"(3).

The Chapter will argue that the response of Africans to the stresses and strains of western settler Colonialism in Southern Africa was similar to the Bookerite panacea for the plight of diasporan African in the United States of America. In addition, it will argue that the dividing line between evangelical and secular Pan Africanism was indeed very thin or in some cases even non-existent. The Chapter will reflect this close tie between the two strands of the phenomenon and the



activities of their leaders. Lastly, it will attempt to trace the relationship between two of the leading U.S. diasporan Pan African leaders, (Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois) and religious, political and social leaders in the region.

The colonisation of Southern African in general and South Africa in particular left a great impact on the region. As Tewodros II had said of the colonization process in parts of Africa "First the traders and the missioneries then the ambassadors, then the cannon .....". (4) had succeeded in changing the political, cultural, economic and social age of the people. Colonization imposed on the people new life styles, new problems and new solutions. Africans of the various kingdoms and tribes lost most of their effective authority and economic power through the process. They were collectively oppressed and exploited by an alien minority. Western imperialism as Hooker has so rightly suggested encroached on African traditional life and culture (5); cultural imperialism meant that African traditional mores and norms were being replaced by European expectations and ideals, and the foundations on which these were built were destroyed. Land alienation and labour exploitation were two main features of western imperialism. Having subjected Africans to these conditions, attempts were made to establish a culture

which will make them internalise their oppression. Through the educational system, western religious practices and the mass media, Africans were made to believe that they were responsible for their plight, and were encouraged into thinking that if a few of them could try to emulate Europeans they would be improving their chances of a happy life as well as being a credit to their oppressed brothers.(6) In various parts of the Union Western imperialism failed to provide the African population with the necessary ingredients for the acquisition of the new western values, which would allow them to fit into the new social, political and economic order. Various wars of resistance by African groups in the region against the imposition of alien rule culminated in the 1906 Bambata uprising when Bambata called on his people to liberate by force of arms what had been taken by force by the colonialists. The defeat and beheading of Bambata marked the end during this early period of armed resistance to the imposition of alien rule. After this Africans began to devise new methods of challenging the system. Various influences of western imperialism, determined the response of Africans to white colonial domination.

Reverse parallelism has been indentified by Hooker (7) as one of the three strategies (8) adopted by leaders to confront Western cultural influences. These

leaders were not only leaders of separatist churches but they included secular leaders like John Dube and Max Yergan. This implied the establishment of parallel educational institutions (in parts of the region) to those established by the states, by white missionaries or by diasporan church leaders for African elevation and improvement. In the U.S.A. institutes like Tuskegee, the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute in Mississippi, the Mount Meigs Institute at Waugh in Alabama, Hampton, and Fisk were used as model institutions for those established by diasporan independent Church leaders in South Africa. The chapter on evangelical Pan Africanism has shown that some of these institutions were established before the convergence of indigenous and diasporan interests, or more specifically, the active involvement of the AME, the NBC and other diasporan led independent Church missions in the educational field.

Secular leaders like John Dube regarded as the Booker T. Washington of the Zulus (9) had also seen the acquisition of industrial and commercial education, self help and self reliance as the panacea for African success. As early as 1897 in his appeal to U.S. diasporan leaders, Dube had said:

"I am glad to have the opportunity to voice the interest of my people the Africans to my people the Afro Americans. I have come down to Tuskegee



to learn something of industrial education, for after working among my people in my own land I found that the kind of work done at Hampton is the kind of work my people need" (10).

He maintained the view, that the greatest need of his people was industrial education and that without it

"(they) will sink into the vices of civilization instead of profitting by its virtues." (11).

Although he spent six years (between 1887 and 1891 and 1897 and 1891) (12), in the U.S. The passage quoted above indicates that he had, as Marks has suggested become acquainted with Bookerite ideals before he met Booker T. Washington or before he enrolled at Hampton. His Ohlange Institute among the Zulus was to be run entirely by Africans, and it included among others a Blacksmith Shop and a printing school. The initial reaction of the South African administration and white missionaries to his school was hostile, and government education grants were from the insitution because "the school was not under the supervision of a white man"(13) Ohlange Students were also prevented from taking examinations organised by schools under the charge of white missionaries.

Before Dube left for the US, he had attended Amanzimtoti and must have been introduced there to the ideas of practical education and self help. This again emphasises the close relationship between secular and

evangelical Pan Africanism.

Other secular leaders like Max Yergan of the YMCA assisted in propagating for some time the Bookerite ideals of self help and industrial education for African advancement. These leaders believed that their role as placators rather than agitators could achieve the best results for Africans in a hostile environment.

Booker T. Washington and Southern Africa, 1920 - 1940.  
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Although Washington himself, we have been told, "did not personally invest any major portion of his time or capital in assisting black Africa" nor encouraged the nationalist and Pan Africanist aspirations of Africans (14) who admired his approach to the race problems in the South, his influence in Southern Africa continued well after his death in 1915. Many who had had contact with him, either as students of Tuskegee or through official or private visits to the institution, (14a) returned to the Union as influential teachers in institutions of higher learning, or as leaders of black organizations in the country, during inter-war years. Others who had encountered the Bookerite ideals in the union, through the activities of diasporan and indigenous secular and religious leaders operating in the region, had their ideas shaped and moulded by

Washington through personal correspondence with him or through visits to the Institute. Many of these held important positions in Church and State matters, as educationists, Church and political and social leaders of their people. For example, John Dube, (15) the ANC leader between 1912 and 1917, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, (16) President of the same organization between 1930 and 1936, and A. B. Xuma, (17) President between 1940 and 1949, had either attended Tuskegee, or had, through correspondence with Washington and leaders of other black institutions like Hampton and Wilberforce, become dedicated admirers of Washington's ideas. Others, like D. D. T. Jabavu, Daniel Sharpe Malekebu, Charlotte (Manye) Maxeke and Sol Plaatje, all supported aspects of Washington's ideals of accommodation, self help and race solidarity, at a time when these were increasingly being questioned by blacks in the U.S. Daniel Sharpe Malekebu, for example, in his booklet MY VISION, EAST, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA OF TODAY, hoped that the PIM would become the Tuskegee of the Central and Southern African region, while the determination of John Langlibalele Dube to transform Ohlange Institute into another Tuskegee has been well documented by researchers. (18) These have highlighted the respect leaders of thought in Southern Africa had for Washington and the Tuskegee ideals.

There were also a number of secular and religious



diasporan African leaders from the West Indies and America, who were eager ambassadors of Washington's ideas. Among these were missionaries of the AME and Baptist Missions, who, by the 1920s, had taken over control of a number of black insitutions of higher learning in the Union, and other parts of Southern Africa. In 1925, for example, the Rev. Francis Herman Gow, formerly at Tuskegee, was appointed principal of Wilberforce Institute in the Union and he was succeeded later by an ex-president of Wilberforce University in America and a Bookerite adherent, Bishop Gregg, following his transfer to Bethel Institute in Cape Town. Other black institutions of higher learning, like Amanzimtoti and Blythwood, had in their employment during the period under review Religious and secular leaders, who were admirers of Washington's ideas, ideals which dominated black political thought at the time. While their functions were primarily religious, they could rightly fall into Creham's (19) evengelical humanitarian catergorization, in as much as their policies attempted to provide a solution to the contradictions within the evolving capitalist South African society with all its unpleasant realities. Others, like Bishops G. B. Young, D. H. Sims and R. R. Wright, AME Bishops in South Africa, carried on the tradition during the period 1928 to 1940.

Increasing scepticism of Tuskegean methods meant that many diasporan blacks in the U.S. were willing to support the Du Boisian panacea for black redemption in the struggle between Du Bois and Washington. Many were becoming increasingly critical of the methods advocated by Washington. They were willing to support the NAACP and Dubois' methods in their struggle against racial and other discriminatory practices in the North American diaspora. A number of Southern African and diasporan leaders continued to emphasize the Bookerite ideals in the region. Many believed that without the barest democratic or political rights, the ideas of race solidarity, self help, advancement in commercial and industrial education, and political accommodation and collaboration were the best means of achieving their objective. These would ensure that whites were not alienated from their cause. This way it was hoped, Africans could build a strong power base and work gradually towards the fulfilment of their dreams and aspirations. John L. Dube's Zulu adage, "hapho Ake Emakhoma Amanzi Ayophinde Emefutiri (where - there was once a pool, water will collect again) many saw as a reflection of this strategy adapted by proponents of the Tuskegean ideals.

At a time, therefore, when Booker Washington's ideas were getting out of touch with the aspirations and

feelings of his people in the American diaspora, when his policy of nullifying local whites and his ideology which maintained that self-help and not civil rights was the best way out of the dilemma facing diasporan blacks was coming under intense criticism from black Americans, diasporan and Southern African leaders were exporting his ideals to the region.

Increasingly, however, proponents of the Bookerite ideals in Southern Africa were becoming irrelevant to the new conditions in Southern Africa. A number of them, among them, Thema and Yergan, were growing frustrated with their failure to achieve meaningful changes in the society. By the mid 1930s. A number of them began to adopt aspects of the Du Boisian approach particularly his emphasis on the use of democratic instruments for the emancipation of blacks from institutionalised social and political segregation and racism. Dr. John Clarke, in a recent lecture to members of the First World Harlem, has rightly suggested that the ideals of Du Bois were not a rejection of those of Booker Washington, although both men placed emphasis on different aspects, both held similar ideas about the educational priorities of Africans.

The Bookerite ideal of collaboration and conciliation which has been described by Flyn (19) as



the Trojan Horse approach, was adopted during part of the period under review by diasporan and indigenous leaders operating in the region. They had succeeded in instilling in Africans (young and old) the ideals of hard work, thrifty habits, self-help, self-reliance and black solidarity with time.

Max Yergan, as the next chapter will show became frustrated with the failure of YMCA policies to bring about meaningful changes in the region. His non-political approach to the problems in the region could be said to have ended in the 1930s with his flirtation with radical black groups in the Union, and later with his membership of the All African Convention, an organization which called for the enfranchisement of non-whites. His active involvement with African political organizations could be seen as a shift from his earlier position in the 1920s.

The YMCA, which he was representing, had been founded in 1844. By 1853 the first YMCA for coloured people had been organized in Washington DC, with Anthony Bowen as its first President. Although Yergan arrived in the Union in the early 1920s, the Association was operating in the Union before the end of the first World War.

It was committed to the development of cooperation between the different racial groups in the Union, and hoped that an appeal to the dominant, oppressive white minority in the region would lead to greater understanding between the races, which would lead to a solution to the problems of race, class and land alienation in the country. In line with the Bookerite ideal, YMCA representatives shied away from politics.

#### Du Bois and South Africa 1920 - 1945

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The NAACP, Du Bois' organizational base which succeeded Washington's NNBL (The National Negro Business League) and the Niagara Movement as the prominent black organization in America was, by the 1920s, showing signs that its commitment to the Pan African ideal involving non-diasporan Africans was wanting. Although the 1919 and 1921 Pan African Conferences were financially and ideologically supported and sponsored by the NAACP, the association voted after the 1921 Conference to withdraw its official support for the Congress movement. Du Bois' interest in Africa in general and Southern Africa in particular could not however be seriously questioned.

In spite of this, without an organizational base between 1933 and 1944, and with an NAACP whose members were not keenly interested in the Pan African Congress

movement, Du Bois' activities didn't have the same impact on the masses as did Garvey's. Shepperson has rightly pointed out that his impact was felt more among leaders in the region. Like Booker T. Washington before him, his ideas and programmes were transmitted to the Southern African region by other secular and religious agencies, among them independent Churches and other indigenous secular organizations like the All Africa Convention.

In contrast to Washington's apolitical stance, Du Bois called for full social and political equality and the enfranchisement of non-whites. This was, it was argued by leading proponents of the ideal, the most potent force for obtaining equality. Those who supported Du Bois' ideas advocated a political struggle for the achievement of their aims, a struggle that would make use of the democratic instruments of the State for the attainment of their goals. But since the instruments of the State the Constitution, laws and Government reflected the political, social and economic ideology of the dominant white minority in South Africa, and the political aim of the State could not be divorced from the prevailing economic and social structure of the country, a political struggle as advocated by Du Bois was bound to fail to achieve any meaningful success, during the period under review in this chapter.



For DU Bois, his Pan African ideals as represented by the series of Conferences between 1919 and 1927, meant the centralization of the race effort and the recognition of a racial front. His meetings of white liberals and members of the black educated elites, in Africa and the diaspora, were part of his Pan African programme of "bringing together for periodic conferences and acquaintanceship the leading negroes of the world and their friends."

Unlike Marcus Garvey, however, who had the UNIA as an organizational base and support, Du Bois, after the 1919 Conference, had no organizational base for his activities in the Southern African subregion. This meant, among other things, that the UNIA could reach many more people than Du Bois, particularly the down-trodden masses.

In spite of this and his Association's antipathy to the Congress movement, Du Bois made strenuous efforts to get South African representation at the four Congresses before 1945, with which he was directly or indirectly involved. His private papers have revealed that between 1921 and 1945 personal invitations were sent by Du Bois to leading political figures in the region for participation at the 1919, 1923 and the proposed 1925

and 1929 Conferences. In 1921, for example, invitations were sent to Dr. Abdurrahman of the APO, to include APO representation at the Conference. (20) Similar invitations and literature on the proposed 1921 Conference were sent to S. M. Makgatho, the then President of Congress, (21) the Department of Native Affairs in Cape Town, (22) and the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei. (23) The South African Native Congress had planned a nine man delegation to the 1919 Conference and intended to have Plaatje then in Canada and the US, represent it at the 1921 gathering. However, financial and other constraints meant that there was no official SAANC representation at both Conferences. Du Bois, however, delivered a paper prepared by Plaatje at the Conference, maintaining that the author preferred to remain anonymous. (24) In the paper, Plaatje attempted to justify the significance and relevance of the Pan African Congress movement for blacks in the diaspora and in Africa. He also outlined a number of avenues open to British West Indian and African Colonies for making representations to the Colonial Office and the British Government which he maintained Black, South Africans did not possess. In the paper prepared for the conference, he had written;

"Some of our friends question the utility of a Pan African Congress, but if the European nations,

with all their economic and political power, if the white race with all their aeroplanes, their anti-aircraft, their battleships and submarines, find it necessary to form a league of nations to protect their interest, surely the African race, who live so helplessly at the mercy of their exploiters, should be impelled towards a closer union, if only to counsel one another on how best to free the appalling difficulties by which they are surrounded. For instance, our friends from British West Africa and the British West Indies have access to the Councils of the British Empire under facilities which probably we of South Africa will never know. How, then, could we profit by that advantage or where could they deliberate and assist us to mitigate the rigours of white rule in another part of the same Empire, if not through such an Assembly?" (25)

He outlined some of the disabilities faced by black South Africans, and maintained that constitutional appeals for changes were futile without the franchise.

The Conference resolution signed by Du Bois, Rayford Logan and Ida Gibbs Hunt among others, demanded for settler African countries, like Kenya, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa,



"the restoration of rights to the land to the 'natives', a recognition of their right to a voice in their own government, and the abolition of the pretention of a white minority to dominate a black majority, and even to prevent their appeal to the civilized world." (26)

It also urged,

"the development of Africa for the benefit of Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans." (27)

Although Du Bois' 5th Pan African Conference in Tunis, scheduled for 1929, did not materialise, his interest in Southern African politics and their leaders was again emphasized when he forwarded invitations to John L. Dube, D. D. T. Jabavu and Milner Kabane. In his letter to Dube at Ohlange, Du Bois enclosed six circulars relating to the proposed Conference, and expressed the hope that "Representatives from South Africa, from the Congress of South Africa and any other local organization could be encouraged to attend the Tunis Conference." (29) Chief Gladstone Mjokweni was also invited to the Conference.

Part of his Pan African programme involved the discovering of the leading minds and ability among negroes everywhere in the continent. These were to be educated and made to realise their duty to guide the masses in their respective countries to understand not only their national situation and difficulties but also

other international problems. Lastly, those identified educated leaders should be urged to seek alliances with modern forces (30). In pursuit of this part of his programme, Du Bois maintained contact with Southern African leaders, either through correspondence or personal meetings during visits by these leaders to America. D. D. T. Jabavu, for example, while on a study tour of Tuskegee, was urged to meet Du Bois in 1913 by Catherine Impey (31). Others, like Plaatje, met Du Bois during his visit to Canada and America between 1920 and 1922. He met Du Bois in New York, and was a guest speaker at the Annual Meeting of the NAACP held in Detroit. (32) In the 1930s, both Dr. A.B. Xuma and D. D. T. Jabavu also attended the July 1937 Conference of the NAACP and addressed the gathering. Xuma gave a paper entitled "On the Basis and Nature of repression we face in South Africa", while Jabavu's paper to the conference was entitled "Africans and Modern Politics" respectively. (33)

Du Bois also maintained personal correspondence with a number of black leaders in the Union. In a reply to a letter from the Reverend E. Mdolomba, (33) for example, he wrote in 1930.

"I am afraid my answer may be too late, but I hasten to say that the great note of encouragement

in the South African situation is the regular meetings of the 'natives'. Only in this way can you establish your freedom, send the facts concerning your situation to the newspapers of England, America and the Continent. Let the whole truth be known. Do not be too timid or conservative".

Remember if you ask little, you shall get little. The time has come for the Black man in Africa to assert himself, to have a voice in his government and to deserve a modern education. Above all, he must seek and maintain a place in industry with the wages and safeguards that working men today are demanding."

Du Bois' ideas also reached the Southern African region through the CRISIS, which he edited until his resignation in 1933, and which became one of his chief instruments of propaganda for his Pan African ideals. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the CRISIS enjoyed as wide a circulation in Southern Africa as did Marcus Garvey's NEGRO WORLD, copies were sent regularly to leading political figures like Charlotte Maxeke, (35) a founder member of the Women's Wing of the ANC, Sol Plaatje, (36) who had been receiving the CRISIS for a year in South Africa before his trip to England, and the editors of some South African newspapers, among them



IZINDABA ZA BANTU in Natal. (37) It is also possible that the CRISIS did manage to reach members of the public in other parts of Southern Africa. Following the publication of General Smut's article in the February 1930 issue of the CRISIS, in which he expressed the view that the "native African" was the "most patient of animals next to the ass" and Du Bois' reiteration that it was only through cooperation and understanding by the races that the problems of black inequality could be solved, an anonymous correspondent from Portuguese West Africa wrote to the CRISIS enquiring how the Congress movement could be resuscitated. (38)

In addition to letters of encouragement to African leaders in South Africa, Du Bois in 1946 worked for the endorsement of black leaders like Jabavu and Mahabane of the Non-European Unity movement, the Pan African Congress and its supporting organizations. Indeed Du Bois was to be given authority by Mahabane, the then President of the Unity Movement to sign the petition by the Congress in 1945 on behalf of his Movement. (39)

During the early part of the period under review in this Chapter the ideas of Marcus Garvey were also around in the region as the separate Chapter on Garveyism will illustrate. (40) His pleas for racial solidarity confidence, and concerted action for the betterment of

the black man's lowly status, his demand for "a strong united black nation which will be able to demand justice instead of sympathy from the ruling powers of the world" were common ideals shared by a number of Africans in Southern Africa (41). 'Africa for the Africans' a term popularised by Joseph Booth and other evangelical Pan Africanists before 1920, was also part of the Garvey propaganda. Long before Garveyism became popular in Southern Africa or before UNIA activists worked hard to spread the Garvey message, African political leaders like Selope Thema, (as his biographical sketch will show), espoused militant African nationalist ideas similar to those espoused later by Garvey and the UNIA.

John Hendrik Clarke in a recent lecture to the 'First World' in Harlem entitled "African History, Community and the Emergence of African Intellectuals" has suggested that the ideals of Washington were not a rejection of the ideas of Du Bois, and that the ideals of both men were useful at a point for the emancipation and development of Africans in Africa and in the U.S. and West Indian diaspora. (42) The failure of one to meet the aspirations of blacks made the other a necessity.

A number of factors in the union led to increased tension and resentment among the non white population



and these left them more amenable to new and more radical influences. In addition to the ideas of Garvey and the UNIA, Marxism-Leninism espoused by the South African Communist Party was another influence supplementing those shaping African thinking in the post-World War I period.

Disillusioned with the failure of Europe and America to accept that Africans were to enjoy the benefits for which the first world war had been fought and with attempts by the South African government to disenfranchise Africans, and appropriate the most fertile lands in the Union in return for land in the reserves, Africans found themselves in dire economic conditions. Unemployment, increased taxation in parts of the union like the Transkei, inflation and the introduction of dipping regulations increased African economic and social degradation and led to much discontentment, and a marginalization of sections of Congress leadership from its fellowship. The Bookerite ideals of cultural and economic subordination, and conciliation, hardwork and christianly love was proving inadequate to cope with the new situation, as the lot of large sections of the African population either worsened or remained unchanged. Those like John Dube, Sol Plaatje (43) and others who had espoused those ideas early on in their careers, and who had incorporated some aspects of



the Du Boisian ideals into their thinking found themselves increasingly at variance with the more radical elements in congress. Sol Plaatje's sense of horror at some Congress members who had demanded strike action by Africans in the Reef in support of their claims, clearly demonstrates this point. Speaking at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the SANNC in Bloem-fontein on the issue, he had said:

"They came to the Congress with a concord and determination that was perfectly astounding to our customary native demeanour at conferences. They spoke almost in short sentences nearly all of which was 'strike, strike ..... It was only on the second day that we succeeded in satisfying the delegates to report on getting to their homes, that the socialist method of putting black against white will land our people in serious disaster."

(44)

Others like Selope Thema (as the biographical sketch on him later will show) never consciously adopted Bookerite ideals, but were convinced by Aggrey during his visit to the union to accept the Du Boisian ideals of interracial cooperation, and the important role of moderate political demands in African advancement. For a while, after the period of intense radicalisation of

Congress fellowship, proponents of the Bookerite and Du Boisian ideals succeeded in holding on to key positions in the National Executive of the SANNC in South Africa.

In the then Nyasaland, Malekebu whose PIM educational institution he had hoped would become in future another Tuskegee had decided to incorporate aspects of the Du Boisian approach in his posture, and the Chapter on evangelical, Pan Africanism will show that he utilised effectively features of both Washington and Du Boisian ideals in the pursuance of his goals.

The incorporation of the Du Boisian ideals proved inadequate to deal with the situation as it affected Africans in the region. Increasingly, Africans began to look for strategies which would lead to more meaningful gains. The World War II acted as a catalyst for the rejection of ideas prevalent in the region before the war. Even before then, leaders like Yergan had begun to search for alternative strategies for the advancement of blacks in the region. His flirtation with more radical groups in and out of the union led to his marginalisation from the Y.M.C.A. and in time from the Pan African movement in both Africa, the United States, and Britain.

A. B. Xuma, who during his twelve year stint in the US had imbibed aspects of the Bookerite ideals, and for whom Ralston believes Washington was a mentor, returned to the Union in the 1920s and became actively involved in congress affairs. By the 1940s, he was President of the ANC but soon fell foul of members of the youth league of the movement who were adopting a more militant African nationalist line. Interracial cooperation an intergral part of the Du Boisian ideal came under attack by adherents of the new pan Africanism, within the ANCYL.

With time, leaders of this old pan Africanism in both South African and the then Nyasaland became marginalised figures in their countries' politics.

They had worn different hats at different times in the course of their careers or different hats at the same time. This created a picture of inconsistency in their policies and these ambiguities in their political and personal lives will be highlighted in the biographical chapters on some of these figures later on in the work. In addition, members of their constituencies were being forced to change their attitudes by the conditions within the country and at times they had a hand in shaping the ideas of their leaders.



The proponents of both the Bookerite and Du Boisian ideals belonged to members of the aspiring petit bourgeois class. Although the class system in South Africa was still in the process of formation, and the situation was still fluid, one can rightly suggest that the Dubes, the Plaatjes, the Xumas, the Yergans and the Themas belonged to this class.

If one can easily identify the articulators of the various strands of Pan Africanism in parts of the region in terms of their position in their communities and while one can rightly suggest that they wore different hats at the same time or at different times, the identity of the recipients of their ideas cannot so easily be identified. Further work is required if one is to be able to define the constituencies of the articulators of the various strands of Pan Africanism this will then provide answers to questions such as who were those changing from the ideals of Washington to those of Du Bois and who are those who followed the Du Bois strand of Pan Africanism from the start? Were they in the rural or urban areas? Did they appeal only to the educated, those still in school and institutions of higher learning or did their constituencies include the uneducated rural poor?

The chapter on Max Yergan, one of the Pan African US diasporan leaders who operated in the Southern African sub-region will show that his constituencies were mainly institutions of higher learning and schools. Dube's college in Natal also catered for students. More work is required to ascertain whether they also attempted to reach out to the unemployed, uneducated rural poor.

As late as the 1940s however, it has been suggested that the ANC-Youth League appealed mainly to the elite members of the society as it failed to reach out to the 'Sotsies', the uneducated or the rural poor. It could be suggested that the same was true of the parent body of the movement during the period before the second world war. The wearing of different hats at different times by the leaders was a bid to satisfy the aspirations of a people whose demands were changing and a government determined to maintain the status quo.

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## CHAPTER IV

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### MAX YERGAN: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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#### Education:

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Like other characters in the real political life in the region during the period before the second world war, Yergan's presence in the archival records particularly as it pertained to his early family life is indeed very shadowy. Thus very little is known of his family background. We do know however that he was born in North Carolina in 1892. (1) In the late 19th and early 20th century in the south, blacks who gained admission into institutions of higher learning were given scholarships to study in the North. Max, we are told was educated at Saint Ambrose and Shaw University in Raleigh in North Carolina. Shaw University had been founded and supported by the Baptist Home Mission society. It offered undergraduate degrees in the liberal arts and was well known for its teacher education curricula. (2) It also had one of the first medical schools for black Americans in the country. Yergan attended the Bible study Institute at Shaw, conducted by Willam A. Hunton, David D. Jones and C.H. Tobias. He seemed therefore to have studied theology and as a student he was twice elected president of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1912, he accompanied the

Shaw delegation to the Kings Mountain Studies Conference. After graduating, he attended the YMCA Training Institute at Springfield Massachusetts between 1914 and 1915. Although details of the funding of his University and post-University education are not available, one can reasonably suggest that the YMCA must have provided some kind of financial assistance to the young Yergan. After graduating, he was appointed a YMCA travelling secretary by the YMCA International Committee working among students in Southern American States. In this capacity, Yergan was actively involved with the running, organization and linking together of YMCA branches in the South. This was a job he did with much distinction, according to his employers.

#### His YMCA Career:

During the war, Yergan responded to an appeal by the YMCA for volunteers for war service and worked in India in 1916, where he spent two years visiting mission stations and College Camps, (3) mostly in Bangalore and Bombay. He later accepted the National Secretaryship of East Africa under the English National Council. (4) He also received the active support of the International YMCA Committee in America. The process of gaining admission into the region for Yergan and his stay in the East African region were crucial years for the young



man, who had become part of Jones' programme of installing in parts of Africa, Black Americans in the Aggrey mould who would articulate the Bookerite ideals of cooperation between Black and White in counterpoise to Garveyite or Du Boisian ideals. In East Africa he worked with injured soldiers with the King African Rifles, and the African carrier Corps who were assembled for service in the region from various parts of the West Indies and Africa.(5)

Also in East Africa, Yergan organised internominal activities and study groups, attempting to forge unity among Africans of different religious groups. He established night schools and other literary activities in six centres. In particular, seven YMCA secretaries taught manual and clerical skills at a technical school established by the association.(6)

East Africa was a major theatre of war during the first world war. Able bodied men had been recruited from the Kamba, the Luo and the Kikuyu and they participated (with recruits from other parts) either as carriers or fighting soldiers. The experience of cooperation by groups during the war provided an early experience of inter-tribal cooperation not only by Africans from East Africa but also cooperation by diasporan Africans from the West Indies, and Africans from Nigeria, and the Gold

Coast who were part of the West African Frontier Force. (7).

These must have been very crucial years for the formation of his young mind. Yergan himself has maintained that while in East Africa working with African soldiers, he came to realise the great potential for Black Americans in uplifting the African, and forging close links between the African in Africa and the Black American in the North American and West Indian diaspora. YERGAN also worked outside military circles during his stay in East Africa, and established civilian Christian mission groups in parts of the region.

In addition, he was able to understand the plight of Africans under colonial regimes in the region, and to identify the role the YMCA could play in alleviating their sufferings.

The YMCA his sponsoring association at the time, it must be noted contained members with differing political persuasion. There were those who supported the Bookerite ideals and those who preferred the emerging Du Boisian ideal, as represented by the NAACP, and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Although Yergan was forced, through illness, to leave East Africa before the end of his service, his enthusiasm and dedication to the cause had convinced

government and YMCA officials that the organisation could play an important role in the emancipation and upliftment of blacks in Africa. This was particularly so along safe lines.

This, the coloured YMCA in conjunction with other world wide organisations hoped could be achieved through a deep sense of missionary endeavour, religious, agricultural and industrial efforts, and through the promotion of cooperative credit adapted to meet African conditions. After a period of recuperation in America (following the illness that brought an end to his stay in East Africa) Yergan was appointed to serve as a YMCA recruitment officer and as a field secretary in France. Later he became Chaplain of the US army stationed at Camp Lee in Virginia.

At the end of the war, Yergan toured institutions of higher learning in the country, speaking about his war time experiences and raising money for his proposed task of helping in the redemption of Africans in Africa. Attempts by Yergan to return to East Africa after the war however met with some difficulties. According to King, (8) following the attempt by the English National Council of the YMCA to seek formal approval for Yergan's work, the Council was informed of the Colonial Office's reluctance to allow the introduction of a different



calibre of African from those already in East Africa.(9) Officials in East Africa it seems were suspicious of the influence of Black Americans in the region, particularly after the Chilembwe episode.

Enquiries about Yergan's character obtained from J.H.O. Oldham, endorsed the fact that he was one of the safe Black Americans who could be permitted to work in East Africa. He was also vetted by Moton and Aggrey before he was given permission to enter the region.(10) Before he was allowed to enter the region, however, the deliberations of a meeting held by six Black Americans and one Englishman was to have momentous consequences for the YMCA in Africa in general and for Yergan's work in particular. The meeting had decided that in view of the possibility of opportunities for YMCA work in parts of Africa, demonstrated by YMCA activities during the war, it was desirable to appoint the first national secretary to work in the Southern African subregion under the auspices of the English national council.(11) In addition, they decided that for such a secretary to obtain financial and moral support from America and the coloured men's department of the international committee, he must be a regular secretary of the foreign department of the YMCA. He should also be a Black American whose work should be financially supported by the foreign department of the International Committee.

Money for the activities of the Secretary should also be raised by the Coloured men's department, from Black Americans and from friends of Africa.(12)

Yergan who had rendered service with the YMCA during the war was appointed the first National Secretary for Southern Africa.(13)

Before leaving for South Africa, Yergan went on a fund raising tour realising over \$2,300 from subscriptions given by Black American groups in St. Louis, Brooklyn, Pittsburg, and Indianapolls among other cities for his work in Africa.(14) He married Susie before he left America for his work in the Southern African Subregion aboard the Finland in 1921, in his own words to "carry the spirit of Livingstone to Africa".(15) His mission was also to plant the YMCA in the continent and explore possibilities for Black American Students to work in Africa.(16) Black American Students, the YMCA believed could be encouraged to "give expression to their pent up desire to go to the rescue of their unfortunate brothers of Africa".

#### Yergan and The YMCA in South Africa

He arrived in the union in December, 1921 and initial government reaction to his work in the region

was suspicious, and cautious if not hostile. By then, government administrators, white missionaries and other white South Africans were unsure of Yergan's pedigree. Could he be another Black American in the early independent Church leader mould? Could he be a supporter of the ideals of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA? These and other fears determined early government reaction to his stay. He experienced initial difficulties in obtaining suitable accommodation in Johannesburg. He later settled in Alice a little village in Cape Town although his operational constituency extended over the entire southern African subregion, as far as south West Africa, Portuguese East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland. In the union itself, he operated in the Orange Free State, Natal, the Transkei the Ciskei, and in the Cape.

His primary aim, Yergan maintained, in a letter to Moorland from Fort Hare in 1922,(17) was to help Blacks in the region. He worked mainly among students and teachers in black and white institutions of higher learning in the region, who, he enthused, were the most important groups in southern africa. He indicated in reports home to Moorland, in November, 1922 that:

No initial effort was necessary to get (the) goodwill (of Black students) since there was a boon sealed and delivered through the bond of



blood and colour."

In addition, he observed during his stay that the real student recognised this racial affinity and accepted the soundness of the doctrine of hard work and co-operation, both with his fellow blacks and members of the other races. The African also realised in the words of Yergan that:

"His African standards will not alone suffice, but that standards tinged with an international and a universal flavour (were) required in the age in which he lived and in which he hoped to make his mark." (18).

He was privileged, he went further to state, to be associated with the student movement in a country where he had to deal with a people in the making. What greater privilege could one have, he enthused, "than that of working with the plastic student mind," who in future would be regarded as part of the talented tenth in the society. These in the opinion of W.E.B Du Bois were those educated elements in the society who it was hoped would lead and direct the generality of the people, and those who were educated along the right lines, "civilised" and redeemed. Reiterating this sentiment and his ideas about the role of the talented tenth in the upliftment of Africans in South Africa, he wrote later in his "Memorandum on the Social Institute of Fort Hare in 1932":

"There is required a number of native Africans who have had efficient training in correctly observing social conditions and in formulating and carrying through programmes calculated to improve these conditions. Such trained people will constitute the new Bantu leadership." (19).

His policies in the region aimed at the development of interracial cooperation between Black and White, and the encouragement of an intelligent and just relationship between both groups. He also hoped to act as a restraining influence on Blacks and counteract the widespread and growing suspicion of Europeans by the masses and the emerging black educated leadership. In addition, he aimed at welding together the different groups among the Bantu peoples in the region, (20) and strove for the upliftment of blacks through regional development, education and improved social efficiency. His activities in the region were an embodiment of the Bookerite and Du Boisian ideals.

Particular emphasis was placed on character development, and unity in progress was seen as essential to the welfare of a part as well as to the entire population.

Dr. Mott, (21) the Student Secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA between 1888 and 1915, and later Chairman of the International Missionary Council had

laid the foundation stone for Yergan's work among students when he had established a student movement in the country during a visit to South Africa in 1906. By 1918, the Students Christian Association was holding its third annual conference at Lovedale, under the then chairmanship of D.A.W. Roberts, President of the teachers christian association (the TCA). The conference was attended by delegates from the union and other parts of the subregion.(22)

After Yergan's arrival in 1921, the number of Student Christian Associations established in institutions of higher learning increased. This was because of the view held by Yergan and the YMCA that next to the church the SCA ('Native' Department) was the most powerful force for good in helping shape the ideas of blacks and prepare them for the future. (23) By 1923, the number of SCAS had risen to 23, with a student membership of over 2000. In 1929, there had been established in the region thirty student christian associations with a total membership of 2500. There were over 3000 SCA members in forty SCAS by 1933 (24). It was hoped that these associations would not only contribute to the spiritual growth of its members, but that they would also encourage inter-tribal unity and give students a vision of an Africa lifted and served by Africans in cooperation with other helpful races. (25)



Practical services of leadership based on better understanding between European and African students was also encouraged, as was a christian solution to their difficulties. The particular challenge of this association in the region was Yergan maintained, the assistance of blacks in their struggle to qualify for those requirements which will equip them for assimilation into the state system.

He initiated interracial discussion groups in student centres, colleges and universities, and organized interracial staff and Student conferences. These were organised at St. John's College in Umtata, in the Transkei, at Blythswood Institute near the village of Ngamakwe, in Fort Hare in the Ciskei and at Amazimtoti among the Zulus. These inter denominational conferences incorporated Baptists, methodists and independent church members from all parts of the Union. members from all parts of the Union. The conferences were repeated two years later at the same venues. Also, in 1925, Yergan toured Basutoland under the auspices of the Paris Evangelical Society, visited student centres and held large meetings in ten cities (amongst them, Likhoele, Mokiya, Maseru, Teja Tajenerig, Leribe and Hose (26). These meetings were attended not only by students and

teachers but also by members of the Basutoland Congress Association. (27) A similar YMCA tour was undertaken two years later by his deputy, Reverend Mcwana, during Yergan's trip home on leave.(28)

His work, however, was not limited only to the student population in the region. He worked closely with teachers, whom he maintained occupied an incomparable position in the country, in terms of their role in influencing the entire life of the people in the Southern African subregion. (29) His appointment as the Secretary and Treasurer of the Native and Coloured Branches of the TCA in the region, meant he was closely involved with TCA members in the entire region. By 1925, membership of these associations had risen from 183 to 800 in each province of the Union and in other parts of the Southern African region.(30) Regular contact was maintained with TCA members through private and public meetings, personal interviews and training conferences, where the value of interracial cooperation was stressed.

In the mid-1920s, Yergan visited Training Colleges and Institutions of Higher learning at Lemana in the Northern Transvaal, and in the Transkei. He held meetings with teachers in Sulen Kama, Gillespie and Baziya. The meeting at Sulen Kama was attended by representatives of the entire Gumbu District, and it was

felt that through the teachers, the YMCA could serve the entire people in the District. (31)

He achieved a remarkable record of success gaining the support of black and white in the region. In all his endeavours, he worked closely with religious and political leaders among the black population, many of whom shared the ideals of Washington and Du Bois.

In government circles, he established contacts with magistrates in large areas, who were concerned about the influence of radical black ideas on Africans under their control. Assured of his moderation, Yergan was on a number of occasions asked to address large black audiences. He was by then seen as someone who could deliver the goods, in terms of producing servile Africans willing to accept the status quo.

Young lecturers at some of the white institutions of higher learning in South Africa were highly impressed by his activities, and he was invited on a number of occasions to speak at Stellenbosh, to white students in Pretoria and Cape Town, (32) and to contribute articles for the student journal of white universities on student work among blacks. In addition, in 1927, students from Stellenbosh and Wellington held three day conferences at Fort Hare and Lovedale under the auspices of the YMCA.



Other white supporters of Yergan's programme in the union before 1930 included L. Marquard, of Bloemfontein, Smith of Grey University College, Kriege of Johannesburg. D.B. Bull, R. Phillips, A.W. Roberts, N. Gardiner and H.A. Hunter also gave their support to his work in the region.

Within the coloured YMCA in the United States of America at the time, there were people of two main ideological persuasions in Pan-African circles. There were those that represented the Bookerite ideals of cooperation and those that were supporters of the Du Boisian ideal of achieving equal opportunities for Blacks through the use of the press, petitions, the ballot, and legal and moral pressures

By 1915, the NAACP, had begun to pose a serious challenge to the Bookerite tradition and this was manifested in black organizations throughout the country. Following Washington's death in 1915, attempts were made at reconciliation and the establishment of a united Front. The first American Conference in New York called on Black Americans to bury old suspicions and both Bookerite and NAACP supporters came together under James Weldon Johnson, a former protege of Washington. Du Bois himself became the Director and Publicity Secretary of the Movement. Other Black American

organizations like the YMCA, also reflected these contradictory influences. Thus for example, Yergan's work in South Africa could receive the blessing and support of Mordecai Johnson (33), the first Black American President of Howard University and an NAACP activist who founded local branches of the movement in Charleston, and also that of Robert Russa Moton, (34) who succeeded Booker T. Washington as Principal of Tuskegee in 1915. Indeed, the Institute provided regular financial support for Yergan's work in South Africa. At the same time, Yergan's work seemed to have been endorsed by the CRISIS under the editorship of W.E.B. Du Bois. Max and Susie Yergan whom he had married before his trip to South Africa had their work in the region lauded in editorial comments of the journal, while Susie Yergan got a few articles published in the journal. In the 1930s, the CRISIS published a number of articles lauding the efforts of the Yergans (35). These included Susie's "Africa our Challenge" published in 1930, another article published in December 1932 which referred to Max Yergan as a greater man than Aggrey and H.E. Bryan's "Max Yergan uplifter of South Africa" published in the same year.

Similarly, in South Africa, secular leaders like D.D.T. Jabavu, John Knox Bokwe, and Dr. A.B. Xuma, men of differing political persuasions were all supporters

of the cause advocated by Yergan. Religious leaders like Bishop Vernon of the AME, and the Reverend Macwana were all close allies. Like some of the other characters treated in the biographical sections of the work, Yergan could move in different worlds at the same time or at different times without much apparent contradiction about attitudes and policies at least until his conversion in the 1930s.

Yergan arrived in South Africa with what Anthony has described as an affinity for the romantic objectives of African redemption and a belief that it was: "possible for white and black to find a common basis for a bright future. A future of mutual respect and goodwill." (36)

As a greater price however he contended will have to be paid. His early dispatches to his mentors in America would suggest that on arrival in South Africa he had absorbed some of the paternalistic attitudes towards Africans common among white missionaries in parts of the continent. He and Susie believed that Africans were backward and needed redemption and civilization. They were backward according to Susie Yergan not because they were innately inferior to whites but because they had not been brought up along the right lines. Lack of progress in Africa she believed, was not the result of



innate disabilities, but was largely due to conditions imposed on the continent and its people by external forces.

The African, Mrs Yergan maintained in the Crisis article, was "backward because he got out of touch with progress and because he was a victim of what were in a measure harsh circumstances" (37)

As a result of these circumstances the Yergans believed in the early 1920s that it was necessary to interpret and explain to Europeans African customs and their way of life. They believed that when the two races were well acquainted and understood by each other, racism would be a thing of the past, and through the social education of both groups, through religious leadership and the cooperation of leaders of all races, a new multi-racial society would be established. It was only by these processes that Africans, coloured and whites could find a future of mutual goodwill and respect.

Yergan's programme in the region, before his conversion like Washington's and Du Bois' recognised the presence of the various racial groups in the country and the contribution each group could make to the development of the region.

Integration between black and white, he maintained, and the improvement of conditions among blacks, could only be achieved if whites in the Union changed some of their beliefs and attitudes towards the rights of Blacks in the society. He attempted to create an atmosphere of goodwill among whites, which would enable them to recognise the essential humanity of Africans.

David Anthony, in his MA Dissertation on Yergan, has rightly observed that Yergan had "absorbed the prevalent attitude of white paternalism towards Africans before he left the USA." (38)

Although one must stress that the altruistic element in Yergan's mission was noble, he also took with him to the Southern African Subregion an attitude of cultural chauvinism, which was strengthened by his belief that the indigenous culture of Africans and their belief systems were inferior to those of the West, and that these would in the end have to be replaced by western civilization and Christianity. Black Americans had been saved from this backwardness by their contact with the diaspora during the era of the slave trade. In his letters back home, he attempted as Anthony has shown, to compare white South Africans with their black counterparts and their brothers in the diaspora. He

regularly cited the achievements of their brothers in the North American diaspora in contrast to the under-achievement of Africans in the African continent. Like other Black American missionaries and secular leaders before him, Yergan held up the ideal of Western Civilization as the means of African advancement.

The Yergans believed that their early duty was to assist in the civilization of the African in the region. Writing in the Crisis in 1930 about the challenges they faced in the region, Susie said:

Therefore it seems those of us whose steps are a little quieter and firmer should reach out a hand to help her on this arduous march, . . . . . advantages of her American Brothers and Sisters, and is looking to them to help her. If others fail . . . . . the old system of tribal rule, with all its defects was suited to the needs of a primitive people. (39)

The Yergans therefore embarked on a programme aimed at uplifting, redeeming and civilising the African people. Initially, Yergan's works met with hostility from the government and other whites. But with time, his work was endorsed not only by missionaries but also by government officials and university lecturers. His "encouragement of sane guidance among black future leaders" received the support of many white liberal leaders. He served on interracial and civic committees and participated in numerous missionary conferences. He



appeared as a guest speaker at a number of special meetings arranged by Native Affairs Departments, Government officials, traders and missionaries, where he emphasised the value of interracial cooperation and goodwill. He was also actively involved with the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, inspired by Aggrey during his visit with the Phelps Stokes Commission on education in 1921.

By now he had been recognised as a Lame Black, who posed little problems for the white administration. After encountering initial government obstacles for almost a year he was eventually granted admission for a period of six months renewable every six months. His early utterances had proved so acceptable that he was granted domicile rights by the government without any undue pressure.

By the late 1920s Yergan was doing very little good for the African. In line with the attitude of the YMCA under whose auspices he was working in the Southern African subregion, he attempted to organise interracial cooperation while at the same time separating economics from the issue of race. His erroneous belief was that if whites and blacks knew and understood each other, the race problem will disappear. He failed in the process to deal with the more fundamental aspect of the problem. It

was therefore not surprising that in the words of a South African Government official.

"Everybody (had) confidence in him (Yergan).  
..... the white people (used) him increasingly  
at public meetings, especially among students. He  
(was) too able a man to waste upon the uneducated.  
His appeal (was) to the leader, and he (helped) to  
promote confidence in him that they were willing  
to hear his criticisms."

His ideas about the inferiority of the African seemed to have been in line not only with ideas expressed by white and diasporan missionaries, but also coincided with the sentiments of white South Africans. His panacea for the redemption of the Africans in the region also proved inadequate to achieve meaningful changes. One is forced therefore to agree with Anthony's general summation about Yergan's early years in the region. He and his wife Susie did go to the region with a paternalistic attitude towards Africans, and this was reflected in their reports home.

Nevertheless, he achieved two main things before his conversion. These were, his project for training Africans and other non-Europeans for christian service and general social service in South Africa, at the proposed social training Institute and YMCA centre at Fort Hare, and the Bantu and European christian conference he organised between June and July 1930. The conference at Fort Hare, was he believed "an assertion

that mutual understanding (was) a necessary precedent to the solution of problems that arose from race contacts and a realization that such a solution can only be sought in an atmosphere of Christian trust and goodwill."(40) One of the principal aims of the conference was the assembling of representative leaders both the Europeans and Africans of Southern Africa and the diaspora to "face the needs and fact of (their) common life and together seek a way out of their difficulties."(41)

The Conference, it was hoped, would provide a forum for representative spokesmen of the various racial groups to discuss the insurmountable racial problems in the region. It was attended by one hundred and fifty African and sixty European student leaders, carefully selected by Yergan and the SCAs and TCs, from all over the union, the then Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and Basutoland. Seventy Black and eighty white professionals were in attendance at this historic conference. Among them were teachers, newspaper journalists, religious ministers, doctors and politicians.(42) These included J.H. Hofmeyr, the liberal member of the South African party, A. Kerr, the Principal of Fort Hare, and A.B. Xuma. Diasporans were represented by Dr. J.R. Mott, Chairman of the world students christian federation, Mr. Miller and the Black American Dr. George E. Hayes, one



of the secretaries of the federal council of churches of North America.(43) Like the wider Pan-African conference of Du Bois in the period 1919-1927, participants at the conference outlined the disabilities of blacks in the region and offered solutions to what has been described as the "ultimate political problem in the world".

The conference could be seen as providing a forum for the exchange of views about the problems in the region. It also gave participants the opportunity to discuss ways of solving these almost insurmountable problems. In addition, organisers of the conference used it for the raising of much needed funds for YMCA work in the region. Lastly, the conference gave the opportunity for putting into practice Yergan's ideals of interracial cooperation.(44)

His second major achievement, the social training and YMCA centre was also opened during the conference, and it had a distinct black and white American flavour among its contributors. Roland Hayes the Black American musician, donated a percentage of the proceeds of one of his New York concerts to the Institute's building fund, while there were also contributions from other black friends of the YMCA in the United States.(45). In addition, donations towards the building

came from white philanthropic organizations in America. Rockefeller, for example, donated \$25,000 while a further \$15,000 was contributed by the Phelps Stokes Commission and other white friends of the YMCA.(46)

Fort Hare was seen as the centre of higher learning in the entire Southern African Subregion. It attracted students from different parts of the union and other parts of the region.(47) It was hoped that a centre located in Fort Hare in the Ciskei would unite the different students together by giving them common ideals of service and the possibility of sharing in making possible a social vision for all.(48) It would also serve as a rallying point and conference centre for students in the institution and its environs, and thus help in breaking down tribal, denominational, and other evils which separated the groups. The centre was also envisaged by Yergan as the YMCA Headquarters in Southern Africa.

The social training Institute, it was hoped, would act as a research centre for the study of anthropology, psychology, economics and the problems of rural dwellers in the region. It would thus provide practical and theoretical training in the social services which, in future would produce a crop of social welfare officers who would assist in improving the social conditions of

blacks in the entire region. Lastly it was envisaged, that students and teachers at the institute would work among residents of adjoining villages, and provide a link between the educated talented tenth and the masses. Thus they would have the opportunity of carrying out programmes formulated in the Institute, calculated to improve the economic and social conditions of the generality of the people.

#### Yergan disillusioned and Marginalised from the Y.M.C.A

As early as the 1920's events within the YMCA and a number of the government's labour laws had begun to cause serious concern to Yergan. In a letter to Moton in January 1926 for example, Yergan complained of the fruitless efforts he had been making to get the government to consent to another YMCA representative in the region. The YMCA he had also been informed had not placed an extra worker on its 1926 budget. He had managed, he continued to raise some money locally from students and 'poor' teachers' and had written a strong letter to the committee to find the balance of about \$500 needed for the extra worker.

He also in the letter criticized the colour bill which he maintained would debar Africans from work where machinery of any sort was used. The policy according to



Yergan of:

"employing civilised labour had also turned many natives out of work who were employed in the railways and in other industries controlled by government"

The object of these legislations, Yergan contended was to curtail the industrial progress of Africans and force them to work as farm labourers for whites where the conditions generally held little or nothing for the improvement of a man and his family. Africans were in the face of these difficulties abandoning trivial tribal and sectional differences and divisions and were uniting to oppose the legislations. He left the country for Europe in June 1926 where he was billed to attend three Conferences, the missionary conference in Sweden, the World YMCA Conference in Finland in AUGust of the same year and the World Student Christian Conference in Denmark.

In the same year, while threatening to enact a sedition bill to stop black agitation gaining ground in the country, Justice Tielman Roos, contended that the education of the African did more harm than good. This was in direct contradiction to the role of the educated African envisaged by Yergan. Lastly, the African and European Christian Conference he organized before his departure had failed to provide suggestions stipulating

how under the providence of God, Black and White in the region could live together in peace and harmony.

It seems reasonable to suggest that by the middle of the 1920s Yergan was growing increasingly disillusioned with both the YMCA and the situation in South Africa. His methods had also failed to achieve meaningful changes for the African. His proposed institute for training social workers had in Yergan's words been "blocked by the South African government and others who opposed it". The expansion of YMCA work in the region was also being hindered. He believed by the reluctance of the Association to employ more hands. In addition, Justice Tielman Roos, contended that the education of the African did more harm than good. This was in direct contradiction to the role of the African envisaged by Yergan.

Lastly, years of educating Africans with a view to redeeming them by intergrating them in the society, brought nothing but further repression from the government.

He therefore appeared to have started his search for new alternatives from this period. According to Roux, Yergan was invited to join the ICU, although there is firm evidence to suggest that he neither took up the

invitation nor that he played a prominent role in the activities of the Union.

However, even if he did, he would have had to do it secretly, since membership of the ICU and the travelling secretary of the YMCA were mutually irreconcilable.

Before, leaving America, Yergan and the YMCA appealed for financial support for his endeavours in the Southern African subregion. In particular, the treasurer of the National Council of the YMCA appealed for support for two additional American secretaries to extend the YMCA work, for the construction of a modest Association building in the campus of Fort Hare to serve as a social focus; for five villages, a training centre for African workers, the national headquarters for the YMCA and a college Association centre. (49)

There is also evidence that Yergan received regular financial support from Tuskegee for his work in Southern Africa.

Lastly, it is possible that some whites in South Africa must have seen some good in the work Yergan was doing in the region to offer him both financial and moral support. He must have been seen as someone who could deliver the goods in the interest of white South



Africans and the perpetuation of their dominant role in the society.

The period was a crucial one in the life of Yergan and a source of a sharp change in his career and attitudes. While he was on leave in Europe, he realised the pronounced differences between the liberalism of Europe as compared with the racial prejudice still prevalent in America.

Yergan had received adequate financial backing from Rockefeller (who donated \$25,000) Phelps Stokes and other sympathetic white organizations within South Africa itself, for the scheme while white liberals who saw him as one who could deliver the goods were willing to offer moral and financial support. In spite of these considerations, the scheme failed.

In 1932 he went home on leave and was awarded the Spingarn award "as a missionary of intelligence, tact and culture". He also in the same year resigned his membership of the World Christian Federation, following a disagreement with F.D. Millar the Federation's director. The controversy between Yergan and Millar is clouded in mystery and David Anthony has rightly suggested that the only version of the controversy available to the public is that provided by Yergan

himself. Those by Millar and the YMCA are not available. Yergan accused Millar of interfering in his official and private activities in South Africa and demanded an apology which Millar was reluctant to offer. He also referred to an attempt to defame his character, which he maintained caused much suffering to his family and himself.

Anthony suggested that Yergan could have been involved in activities which were damaging to the reputation of the YMCA in the region.

Before he returned to South Africa, Yergan visited the USSR in 1935. Very little has been recorded of his Russian visit. On his return from the USSR he demanded certain changes of emphasis in YMCA policy which he believed would make the movement less respectable in the conventional sense and less popular with the Government. These changes would, however, be more meaningful for the people they were devised for. These changes he explained were necessary because YMCA work in the region was non-productive and failed to provide adequate answers to the social, political and economic problems of the African.

He gave a damaging indictment of the role of YMCA and Christian student associations in a letter (50) in

which he suggested that by claiming to be politically neutral, the YMCA was failing to challenge the system and that to varying degrees it must owe, "its existence to the same forces and policies from which South African government sprung."

By 1937 there were also reports that Yergan was associating himself with members of the South African Communist Party. Increasingly, he began to look towards communism as a doctrine that "offered christianity its supreme opportunity as a force for social regeneration." (51) He was also said to have been fraternising with other radical groups in the Union of South Africa.

Anthony has rightly suggested that Yergan didn't "go through an orderly or logical development of political consciousness." (52) It is clear however, that given the events above Yergan had started questioning the methods advocated by the YMCA even before he went on leave in 1932. After his holidays, he announced his resignation from the YMCA as its travelling secretary in 1936. This marked his complete break with the Association. He had also finally abandoned his Christian apolitical approach and was leaning towards a more dynamic and radical stance. He expressed his disillusionment and the hopelessness of the position of the African in a letter



to Slack in 1936, when he had written:

"The government of South Africa is not only not interested in the development of Africans, but is quite definitely committed to a policy which is destructive of any real growth among Africans... I believe that the serious evils to which I refer are inherent in the type of imperialism and its logical manifestations operating in South Africa. In terms of the effective arrangements operating there both the material resources, as well as the great mass of the population are exploited by the minority in the interest of the overseas imperialist power, Great Britain and the local governing power. . . and the business of any government representative. . . and the deeply rooted convictions of the dominant class in South Africa is to maintain the status quo."(53)

He intensified his criticism of the YMCA and its methods which he maintained failed to address the fundamental social, economic and political disabilities of the majority black population in any meaningful way. Accommodation, cooperation and political neutrality as espoused by the YMCA, the TCAS and SCAS were supportive of the policies of successive South African governments. No organisation could claim political neutrality he maintained, since

"Their very existence is owed to the white South African administration and peoples, and they therefore were reflecting the same political and social sentiments of the oppressive white regimes in the region.(54)

His conversion from Booker T Washington's programme of non-involvement in political activities to Du Bois' belief in Black political assertion for the acquisition

of the franchise became clear with his 1936 split with the YMCA and his active involvement in politics. He outlined this new position in his letter of resignation to Slack where he explained the incompatibility of his new position with his continuing association with the YMCA when he wrote:

"The service which I could now render to Africans would be considered by the government to be of a political nature which it is hardly possible for a South African government (sic) to approve . . . I am not justified in running the risk of possibly embarrassing the international committee by that course of action which I firmly believe to be right and in the interest of the good life for Africans as well as the mass of non-ruling Europeans in that country."

The process of the emancipation and upliftment of Africans in the region could, Yergan believed, no longer be divorced from the acquisition of political rights. Freedom, he believed, was never given to the oppressed by the oppressor. It must be demanded by the oppressed. Therefore Africans must organize politically and engage themselves in protest activities if fundamental changes in the society must take place. Liberalism, he concluded, had failed in its aims, and Africans must be assisted in their struggle to organize themselves whereby they can unite in resisting exploitation by the white minority. (55a).

Yergan's Career After Marginalization.

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Having resigned his appointment from the YMCA, Yergan left South Africa, and the Association was left in charge of a Mr. Mosese who had helped him with work in the region and a new travelling secretary was to be appointed.

Yergan for his part, was to be involved as organiser and director of the International Committee on African Affairs, (55) a committee made up of people interested in African affairs and who in the words of Yergan, were: "Very realistic in their approach to the problems of that continent". (56)

The Committee according to Yergan in his letter to Xuma dated 4th February, 1937, would among other things inform US and European public opinion with regard to what is happening to and in Africa, undertake constant research with regard to the policy of those European governments that dominate Africa as well as the policy of the Union of South Africa. In addition, the committee aimed at finding and training a number of carefully selected Africans and the development of a co-operative movement in Africa to encourage an indigenous form of coordinated efforts to keep people who are interested in progress of the African informed with regard to what is happening in other parts of the world. (57)



Before he left, he had been working actively with the members of the All African Convention, which was established after the four Hertzog native segregation bills were proposed in 1935. This brought home clearly to leaders of thought in the country the realisation that early efforts at meeting the challenges of white domination were ineffective. Other TCA officials were also prominent at the inaugural meeting of the AAC in Bloemfontein in December, 1935. D.D.T. Jabavu was the Conventions President, A.B. Xuma one of the Vice Presidents and Z.K. Matthews, its Clerk draughtsman. Max Yergan himself was the Conventions Foreign Secretary.

At the second AAC meeting in Bloemfontein on June 29th 1936, Jabavu expressed sentiments earlier expressed by Yergan when he maintained that the policy of moderation and interracial cooperation had failed to win equality of opportunity for Blacks even in "god's good time". Organized Christianity had also failed to bring about meaningful reforms in the society.(58) According to the Preamble to the Constitution of the Convention, the four main principal aims of the Convention were:

- (a) united action in the improvement of the economic and political powers of the African;
- (b) to work towards the reinvigoration of inactive African Organizations and the mobilization

and organization of Africans into AAC affiliated societies and communities.

(c) to formulate and effect a national programme for the development and protection of the interests of the African people; and

(d) to act as a mouth piece for the wishes of the African people for their social, political and economic demands.(59)

The ten point programme of the convention contained a programme of democratic demands, which, among other things, called for the abolition of all segregation and colour bar legislations, the right of Africans to representation in all State Councils, particularly in the House of Representatives and for a vigorous campaign for black enfranchisement.(60) Lastly, the programme demanded, for Africans, the right to organize trade unions and to take industrial action.

It also called for an end to what it called police terrorism(61) against the African worker. Among the other programmes were, agitation for the reduction in taxation seen as the first step in the abolition of the "Native Poll Tax" the radical abolition of all pass laws and their substitution by an income tax receipt.

Although Yergan left South Africa in 1936, he expressed the view that he believed that he would be able to serve the AAC even more effectively from his American base, since in America he was in touch with



other international movements all over the world. He will also be fairly free to keep in touch with Africa by periodic visits to the continent. By now it is reasonable to suggest that his conversion to Du Boisian methods was complete. Indeed there is evidence in the Xuma papers to suggest that he recommended to Xuma that he attend the NAACP meeting at Detroit during the first week of July in 1937. (62) He also established links with the National Negro Congress on behalf of the AAC.

Later, Yergan was appointed one of the AACs Vice Presidents with responsibility for outside relations particularly those in the West Indies, parts of Africa and South America.

In America, he was appointed lecturer on Negro history and culture at the College of the City of New York. Here he maintained, he had the opportunity to "dispel many of the inaccurate and prejudiced views which people on the other side of the Atlantic (entertained) with regards to Africa".

In 1938, Yergan, wrote his "Gold and Poverty in South Africa", which was published by the international Industrial Relations Institute at the Hague. (64) The paper epitomised Yergan's new stance based on the realities of the situation in South Africa which he had



observed during his fifteen years in the country. It also adopted a different posture to the early position taken by Yergan while he was with the YMCA. The low standards of the African were no longer the results of his backwardness. This he explained in 1938 were the inevitable consequences of the denials of fundamental political and economical rights and opportunities. (64) The low standard of living he explained must be seen in terms of the basic evils which accounted for it. He attributed the causes of these social ills to the economic structure of the society which he said was based on: "its labouring population and the presence of natural resources from which this population produced the country's wealth." (65)

Though completely marginalised from the YMCA Yergan continued his association with the Southern African Sub-region through his membership of the AAC and the Council on African Affairs. The CAA's relationship with South Africa was intensified during the immediate post world war II period. Between 1947 and 1948 the Council sent funds and food items to relieve African famine distress in South Africa. (66) In the same period, it opened a Research Library in New York on Africa, Latin America and the Far East. (67) The Council however soon faced difficult times. In 1949, it was listed as a subversive organization by Tom Clark, the then Attorney

General. A Grand Jury was concerned whether aid to famine victims in South Africa and to families of Defence Campaign Victims represented a violation of the foreign Agents Registration Act.(68)

The CAA was also facing financial difficulties and intra-group conflict which led to a court battle between Yergan's faction and members of Council. Robeson's faction won the court battle, and Yergan became marginalised from the Council, the NAACP and other Pan African Movements in the diaspora. Like Thema and Isa Macdonald Lawrence, therefore, Yergan could wear the hat of a Washington, a Du Bois or a Communist supporter working within the context of conventional christianity at different times. He was also like Thema marginalised from the Pan African scene. He died in April, 1975 at the age of 82.

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5. See King, Pan Africanism and Education - for details  
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8. K. King, Op. Cit.
9. Ibid  
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14. Letter from Yergan to Moorland, from Alabama, dated 4.2.1920. A breakdown of the funds collected included the following:

Association	Definite Subscription
S. Louis	\$1000
New York	100
Brooklyn	150
Pittsburg	100
Colombus	500
Indianapolis	500
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	\$2350
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A further \$550 was also promised.

15. Pretoria News 10.12.1921. Moorland Collection,  
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17. Letter M. Yergan, to Moorland dated 4.10.1922,  
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a Mr. Kikane, a Garveyite, from supporting the ideals  
of Garveyism. Moorland Collection, Howard University,  
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21. John Raleigh Mott was born in 1865 in Livingston  
Manor in New York. He was the student secretary  
of the international committee of the YMCA between  
1888 and 1915. He was general Secretary of the  
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32. Letter Yergan to E.C. Jenkins, dated 4.4.1922, Moorland Collection, Howard University, Washington DC.

33. Mordecai Johnson Wyatt was born in Paris, Tennessee in 1890 the son of a Clergyman. He attended, Morehouse College, the University of Chicago and Rochester Theological Seminary between 1911 and 1916. He was President of Howard University and was an active member of both the NAACP and the YMCA. He died in 1976.

34. Russa Robert Moton was born in Rice in Virginia in 1867, and received his undergraduate and post graduate education at Hampton Institute, Lincoln, and Howard Universities. He also attended Wilberforce University and Oberlin College. He was principal of

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35. See Copies of the Crisis for 1931 - 1932.
36. D.H. Anthony, Op.cit  
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37. S.W Yergan, Op.cit  
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38. D.H. Anthony, Op.cit  
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47. Among African leaders who went to Fort Hare later from the region were Ntsu Mokklele, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Robert Mugabe, Duma Nokwo, Herbert Chitepo and Orton Chirwa.
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## CHAPTER V =====

### EVANGELICAL PAN AFRICANISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA 1920-

### ----- 1950. THE EXAMPLE OF NYASALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA -----

#### The Case of Nyasaland -----

By the 1920s, the Bookerite emphasis on the trojan horse tactic was coming to seem increasingly irrelevant and was gradually being replaced by tendencies

deriving from the Du Boisian model, as Chapter three has so succinctly demonstrated.

At the same time the Chapter argues that during the period under review in this chapter, because of the degree of government repression, which followed the Chilembwe uprising of 1915, evangelical Pan Africanism as represented by orthodox independent churches was being forced into Bookerite postures. The Chapter shows for example, how because of the proscription of NBC Churches in Nyasaland, persecution of its leaders and members and other repressive policies, Malekebu and the NBC in both Nyasaland and South Africa adopted a policy of tactical retreat to ensure their continuing survival in a hostile environment. Similarly, the A.M.E. Church and other orthodox independent Churches in the region began to stress social programmes which steered them



away from political involvement.

Unorthodox independent Churches commonly known as Zionist Churches, the Chapter shows, were also adopting an apolitical stance during the period under review in this Chapter having lost their overt political content. In general, the Chapter will demonstrate that by the 1940s, as Professor Shepperson has so rightly pointed out, evangelical Pan Africanism had lost its overt radical content.

The argument in this Chapter shows a contradiction in the direction of evangelical Pan Africanism and its secular counterpart. A contradiction that sees secular Pan Africanism being forced to become more radical as a result of the failure of Bookerite strategies to achieve meaningful changes for the African population and evangelical Pan Africanism (whose early militancy had resulted in a number of political protests in the region as is demonstrated in Chapter one of this work) being forced into a tactical retreat, thus losing its overt radicalism.

There is need if this contradiction is to be explained, to define the constituencies being addressed by both strands of Pan Africanism. It is necessary to identify the categories of leaders and their

followers, who, for example, were turning from Washington to Du Bois. Questions like who were the Garveyites or the evangelical Pan Africanists whose vision was losing all overt political overtones need to be addressed. When this is done, one can explain the contradictions and ambiguities highlighted above.

A tentative historical hypothesis will be attempted in this section although one can reasonably suggest that there was a degree of overlapping in the constituencies of both strands of the movement. Thus for example we found some evangelical Pan African leaders espousing Garveyite ideas, NBC leaders like Malekebu representing secular Pan African ideas or secular Pan Africanists like Max Yergan advocating evangelical Pan African ideals. While one can identify readily the followers of secular Pan Africanism the constituency addressed by evangelical Pan Africanism is not so easy to identify. One can suggest that as Chapter one has maintained, early evangelical Pan Africanism appealed largely to the first generation of dispossessed, mainly rural dwellers who were uneducated members of the lower classes in society. With time, other sections of the African society became attracted to the ideals of the movement particularly as changes became noticeable in its programmes. This could also partly explain the ambiguities in the careers of some of the figures



treated in this work and provide some of the answers to why some had to wear different hats at different times or indeed different hats at the same time.

Hooker, in his work on Zionist Churches, has shown the distinction usually drawn between the constituencies of prophetist and separatist Churches within the independent Church movement. While spirit medium (prophetist) Churches appealed to Africans in the rural areas, the more conventional separatist Churches had their congregations mainly in the urban areas. This he believes is too broad a generalisation, as the level of indigenization or Westernisation of Africans in the different areas had a lot to do with the type of independent Church that attracted them. Early evangelical pan-Africanism, both Zionist and separatist appealed to the first generation of dispossessed, largely rural dwellers, who were uneducated members of the lower classes in the society. It is possible that with rapid urbanisation of Africans, the introduction of a wage economy and the westernization of sections of the society that went with these, members of the lower classes, in both the rural and urban areas saw in evangelical pan-Africanism, the panacea to their problems, in a rapidly changing society, and a solution to the conflict between African and Western culture. As adherents of both strands moved up the social ladder and



became acceptable to the acculturizing agents and members of the society, the strict class distinction disappeared and changes in the programme of the movement became noticeable. This could partly explain some of the ambiguities in the lives of some of the leaders of evangelical pan-Africanism. This fluidity in the membership of their recipients could also partly explain, why they had to move in different worlds at different times or indeed different worlds, at the same time.

#### Evangelical Pan Africanism in Nyasaland

Following the Chilembwe uprising, the activities of American and west Indian diasporan and African Church leaders came under intense scrutiny.

According to returns showing the leaders and supporters of Chilembwe arrested after the 1915 rising, over one thousand and nine people were arrested, five hundred and forty seven of these were tried, acquitted and discharged, while about two hundred and eighty two were given six month terms of imprisonment and twelve lashes.(1) G. H. Hollis, a leader of the Church of Christ Mission in Nyasaland, was deported from the country, while the Resident of the area ordered the burning of the hut of Singani, another prominent leader

of the Church. Other Church properties at Mlanje and Palcombe were also destroyed.(2)

Some headmen and supporters of Chilembwe, among them Mcholcholo, D. Kaduya, Alexander Makwinja and Elliot Archirwa, were detained under the Political Removal and Detention of Natives Ordinance of 1902.(3) Some of these individuals were deported from Nyasaland.(4)

Apart from these measures, Governor George Smith, in a confidential despatch to the Colonial Secretary in 1916, had outlined the Government's plans for the suppression of independent Churches, when he wrote:

"I am sharply of the opinion that all such measures should be taken, apart from what might be regarded as religious persecution to suppress those Churches, and missions which are not under adequate European control, and whose teaching are in any way political and whose loyalty is in question. I will wait for your views before suggesting what forcible executive action in respect of existing sects and churches, it may be possible to take. It is undesirable to adopt measures which would savour of persecution, and probably result only in driving this pernicious propaganda underground where it might ferment into greater viciousness." (sic) (5)

This, in the opinion of the government, was desirable because independent Church leaders were unable to differentiate between religious and political matters, and the Governor was convinced that "sedition and emancipation from the white man's rule was the core

of their aims".(6) The Control of Mission Work on Private Estates Bill, which made for the removal of churches and schools from private estates and the prohibition of the publication and importation of seditious newspapers, books, and documents, Smith had hoped, would control and regulate the establishment and running of Ethiopian missions.(7)

In spite of these measures, the government could not prevent the regrouping of members of some independent churches. For example, PIM members were active in Chiradzulu by 1920, and there were several efforts made to resuscitate the mission in the vicinity of the old Church. Members continued to worship and hold meetings in private houses where religious services were also conducted. These meetings were infiltrated by Special Branch policemen, who reported their activities to Colonial administrators. In spite of stern warnings from the government, the meetings continued unabated. Ex-PIM members continued to put pressure on the government to allow the re-opening of the Mission, through letters to the Provincial Commissioner for Blantyre, they requested for "permission to be allowed to read their Bibles, and preach the gospel to anyone who attended their gatherings".(8) An interview by the District Officer with three ex-PIM men, Isaac J. Chambo, Andrew Mkulitchi and Simon Chiwayula, resulted in a stern



message to the Police Commissioner that Andrew Mkulichi must be watched and promptly dealt with if he held meetings or services of any sort: this was because the District Officer maintained, that: "A confessed belief that there was no redemption except by blood, and that John Chilembwe was a prophet martyr were not sound foundations for a Church." (9)

In addition, according to the MISSION HERALD "sad but encouraging letters were sent regularly to the Baptist Convention, assuring delegates of the determination of former PIM members to "wait on the Lord until a brighter day dawned." (10) some of the widows of Chilembwe's members had returned to the PIM site and had built huts a quarter of a mile from the ruined Church. They had initially returned to harvest Chimanga and had stayed. Other ex Chilembwe-ites, like Allen Chimpere, Chilembwe's Uncle James Matoga, Silas Mtala (the husband of Chilembwe's sister) and Andack Fifteen from Tete had also returned to the site. (11) By November 1915, the District Commissioner noted that 20 other widows were living at the PIM site and they were led by Allan Chimpere, whose father had been shot in Blantyre, for conspiracy in the 1915 uprising. The previous month, one Imedi, alias Kaliwali, had been convicted and sentenced for making statements considered "dangerous to good order in Nyasaland and endeavouring to excite

enmity between the Native population and His Majesty's Government".

According to S. H. Silberred, the resident of the Upper Shire District at Ncheu, Kaliwali had been imprisoned for declaring that:

"The War of Chilembwe is not finished. We are only waiting until the bush is burnt and then we will start the war again. John Chilembwe is not dead, anyone who is against him must fight with me."(12)

The assembling of ex-Chilembwe-ites (many of whom were considered dangerous) was a cause of grave concern to the Colonial administrators in Blantyre and Chiradzulu, and fears were expressed that the release of other rebels among them (Andres Nguluthohi, Chilembwe's former secretary Isaac J. Chambo, and the two sons of Duncan Njilima (13) might swell the numbers of those assembled in Chiradzulu and pose a greater threat to a Government which saw a new Ethiopian uprising in every part of the Protectorate which was remotely connected with the PIM. The Governor's thoughts were made clear in a minute on the Chilembwe settlement. The administration wanted to "disperse (the) nest of Chilembwe-ites", to guard against "the reassembly of (supporters of Chilembwe) anywhere in such numbers as to conduce to the perpetuation of his memory". (SIC) (14)



Several ex-Chilembwe-ites arrested by the administration in the then Portuguese East Africa were also released on the grounds that their offences were punishable with death,(15) and there was no extradition treaty between the two countries. It was also believed that some of the Chilembwe fugitives who fled following the failure of the rising in the Shire highlands were hiding in Portuguese territory and were being sheltered by Chief Mekanijira (16) Chief Mekanijira had come under the suspicion of Governor Smith, because of a purported letter delivered to a Portuguese traveller by an unknown Nyasa which contained "savage threats against Europeans and predicted the approaching dissolution of the universe". The letter also stated that the world must be set on fire to show that Chilembwe had gone to war.(17)

Nearer home, by now the almost paranoid Governor Smith's administration deplored the reassembling of ex-Chilembwe-ites at the new Jerusalem site and planned to have them dispersed.(18) It was also suggested that Government should prevent the creation of a new PIM settlement, as this would facilitate the perpetration of Chilembwe's memory. All united prayer meetings and other forms of services were also banned by the government. Lastly, in its bid to obliterate the memory of Chilembwe, his children, John(19) and Donald, were taken away from Chiradzulu to the Henry Henderson Institution



to be educated by the government, since it was felt

"Undesirable for them to return to life in a village where they might assimilate inaccurate accounts of their father's position and his conflict with the authorities."(20)

The PIM and other independent missions like the Church of Christ Mission and the Watch Tower Movement were proscribed, all in an attempt to contain what Smith had described as the "ebb and flow of Ethiopianism" and the possibility of the movement being made the means of organised revolt fraught with dangers to lives and property of non natives....."

The Government also attempted other methods aimed at neutralising any possible threat by former ex-Chilembwe-ites in the Blantyre-Chiradzulu District. Wade, the Resident, for example, was hoping that a reliable headman in the district might marry one of the widows of Chilembwe's rebels, or that some trustworthy Muslims might take a fancy to one of the widows, in which case the government could recognise them as headmen.(21) Although this was desirable as it would bring Chilembwe's supporters into the orbit of the indirect rule system of administration then just being introduced into the District, the Resident admitted that it "would be a difficult "deus ex machina to achieve by official action".(22) The spirit of Chilembwe and other

militant independent churches was, however, not killed by these measures.

By the 1920s, there seemed to have been a change in the strategy of the Government of the then Nyasaland. By this time it was obvious to administrators in the country that they had failed to prevent the resurgence of the work and teachings of some of the missions which had been officially proscribed by the government after the Chilembwe uprising. Ex Chilembwe-ites, for example, as has been illustrated in the last chapter, were regrouping, as were followers of other independent churches in the country.

A new policy was therefore necessary to stem the tide of the re-emergence of the Ethiopian 'threat'.

It was believed by Colonial officials like Ankertill that rather than drive the movement underground, it was expedient to accord to adherents' greater freedom of action and some degree of recognition. This way, it would be possible for their activities to be closely monitored. If, on the other hand, they were prevented from carrying on their activities in the open, within reasonable limits, they would work underground, as they had been doing for some time.

The administration should thus recognise their existence and not completely suppress them, since he argued that: "Much capital would be made by any 'native' leader, that, in spite of Government disapproval, he was able to carry on his activities in secret." (23)

If, on the other hand, they were

"permitted or even encouraged to come out into the open much of their evil influence would disappear and the obvious deficiencies of their doctrines as compared with those of properly established missions would soon become apparent to their potential followers." (24)

Following this shift in Government policy, Churches like the Watch Tower, the Church of Christ and the PIM were allowed to re-open their missions.

The Chief Police Commissioner expressed the Government's new policy in approving the re-opening of the Church of Christ at Namiwawa, when he wrote that:

"Frederick Nkhonde (the African pastor of the Church) was to be allowed to re-open the Church on the same conditions as was granted to the Watch Tower, as it would mean they (the Government) would be able to have some sort of control over their services." (25)

The government was still apprehensive about the leadership of these movements and would have liked them



to have been under the direct supervision and control of reliable Europeans. They, however, had legislative powers to deal with recalcitrant missions. In 1922, Governor Smith had sought from the Colonial Government, powers, for repressive action should there be any seditious developments in the movement's activities that his administration would want to check. By the time of the new change in policy, the Government had wide powers which it could use against erring independent Churches and their leaders. It had the power to detain or deport "undesirables", to prevent them from entering the protectorate of Nyasaland under Section 4d of Ordinance No. 17 of 1922. It could also under Ordinance No. 3 of 1918, prohibit the possession, sale or distribution of any publications considered seditious.

These, however, did not prevent the establishment of a number of new independent Churches or the re-opening of old ones. The Reverend Handcock Phiri, who had left Nyasaland for the Transvaal in 1916, established the AME Church in Nyasaland in 1924, and soon the Church expanded to Rumphu, Nkhata Bay, Lilongwe, Mlanje and Blantyre.

The Seventh Day Baptists previously associated with the Booth movement and the Church of Christ, after the Chilembwe uprising continued their activities in

Chinteché and other parts of the District. The mission was headed by Charles Domingo, and had among its preachers Paulos Njiko, Village headman Yeremiah Msumera, and Paulos Mhlango. Mhango, who had been a follower of Kamwana, was leader of the mission. His teachings were thought to be "anti white and thoroughly mischievous". Colonial administrators, like Hoole, pointed out, justifying this assertion, that Mhango had, during Aggrey's visit to the then Nyasaland, maintained that all whites were to be cleared out of the country and that Africans were to get full possession of their land. In anticipation of this, he had sent a deputation to Livingstonia to meet Aggrey and take over control of the country. With the release of Alexander Makwinja(26) and others, from political detention in Dedza in April, 1925, an attempt was made to extend the new Church. By 1930, the Church had branches in Chiradzulu, Blantyre, Ncheu, Cholo, Mlanje and Lilongwe.(27) He laid claims to the ownership of Shiloh Estate, which he contended had been given to him by Mr. Miller of the Zambezi Industrial Mission. In 1931, a letter from Joseph Booth to the District Commissioner, Blantyre, in which was enclosed a letter from Mr. Miller, confirmed that the occupation of the estate by Alexander Makwinja would never be disputed.(28) A schism developed in the Church, and the Cholo district branch seceded from Alexander Makwinja's Church, and



established a new Church with fifty-nine followers. Another schism led to the formation of a new sect called "The American Sabbath Tract Society". The Dedza branch of the Seventh Day Baptist Church also attracted members of the PIM Church in the District.(29)

Another important independent church which was established in Nyasaland in the 1930s was the Mpingo wa Afipa wa Africa, which was an alliance of three Churches, the African Reformed Presbyterian Church on Karonga, the "Christianity of Freedom" and the Black Man Church of God, which is in Tonga, Nyasa West. Mwase, the leader of the Black Man's Church of God, which is in Tongaland, was also the leader of the Mpingo wa Afipa wa Africa, and in 1933 he had applied for permission from the Government to start a society, "The Nyasaland Blackman's Educational Society", which, among other things, aimed at establishing schools for the education of Africans. In his application for the adoption and sanction of the scheme addressed to the Government in 1934, he stressed that the scheme was

"neither denominational nor particular to a single tribe . . . It was (intended to be) national and coextensive with the Blackman as a race within and outside Nyasaland . . . Those whose interests, whatever (their) locality are arrested (sic) and are inclined to may comply with and adopt it without misgivings of (any) sort . . .(33)



The Society aimed at, among other things, improving "the impoverished condition of the Blackman educationally, physically, and intellectually, by the establishment of a High School purely controlled by Africans. It was stated that members had obtained verbal consent from Nyasas working in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, as well as the support of Tonga headmen and Chiefs.

While a number of these independent churches still emphasised the assertion of Africans, many had lost the radicalism of the Chilembwe era. Foreexample, Jordan Njirayafa's African Church was in touch with the PIM and was considered pro-British, and both Kamwama's Watchman Healing Mission and Peter Nyambo's Church could fit into Mapuranga's moderate independent Church categorization. The emphasis of churches like Mpingo wa Afipa wa Africa, the AME and the NBC were now more on educational and other social improvements than on political gains.

The Providence Industrial Mission and its leader Daniel Sharpe Malekebu were key examples of the pressures on evangelical pan Africanism. These pressures forced Malekebu to tread a very careful path in the 1930s, while maintaining a high political profile in his preaching and social activities. In a colonial setting, hostile to independent churches after the 1915 rising, Malekebu wearing the mantle of John Chilembwe's successor had to satisfy the Nyasaland administration that he was law abiding, creditable and that his activities were purely religious and social in content.

While manifesting Chilembwe's spirit of self reliance, race pride and hard struggle, he had of necessity to eschew overt political activities, and present himself as a religious and social figure.

As late as 1926 PIM members were being closely watched by Nyasaland authorities. The terms of conditions under which the PIM was allowed to hold meetings for example, stipulated that it was mandatory for Malekebu to be present at these meetings. He had to work hard at convincing Nyasaland authorities of his sincerity of purpose. Some of his early activities after the reopening of the mission could thus have been his attempt to allay the fears and suspicious of the government. His invitation to the DC to adjudicate at a

"native baby show" at the mission in 1929 and to the celebrations afterwards, could be seen as a method of disarming a suspicious administration. His application for membership of the federation of Protestant-missions in 1929 (a body Chilembwe had refused to join) his cordial relationship with the education department of the colonial administration could be seen as part of the same ploy, aimed at making it difficult for the administration to move in against the newly reopened PIM.

Thus in May 1927 he and other PIM workers had attended the government sponsored conference held in Zomba to discuss the problems of African education in the country. A few days after the conference, Sir, C. C. Bowring, the then Director of Education, paid his first visit to the mission.

Because of the various subtle checks and balances imposed by the administration on independent Churches allowed to operate in the country in the 1920s and 1930s, Malekebu was forced to adopt Bookerite postures to be able to retain the government's confidence and approval for the continuation of the mission's work.

The preoccupation of this mission with education, social services and evangelisation, created an image of



him and his followers as being apolitical. Its opposition to European rule, which transcended tribal and other divisions in the whole of the Southern Africa, belied any such pretensions. Overtly however Malekebu's preoccupation was with non-polical matters.

Thus after the reconstruction of the New Jerusalem Church, (which became a monument to Malekebu's aspirations and the crystalization of his assertion that Africans were doing great things without supervision by whites) the mission concentrated on the provision of schools, dormitories, prayer houses and other Churches in different parts of the protectorate.(36)

The mission also contributed to the general improvement in the condition of life of the people. Roads and bridges were constructed by PIM members. Places formerly considered as fallow roads were cleared and new communities started. Village markets were also established and these assisted in generating interest in agriculture. The mission itself cultivated a thriving garden which in 1927 consisted of one acre of maize, one and a half acres of sweet potatoes, 2 acres of beans and 2 acres of cassava.(37) In his assessment of Malekebu's contribution to Nyasaland, a village headman, commenting on the importance of Malekebu's agricultural contribution said: "Dr. Malekebu has done a great work

in this country, but the greatest of his work is in the making of a market"(38)

The FMB of the NBC gave special attention to the development of health services in the continent. In its 1928 Annual Report, the mission identified the importance of the provision of health services in parts of Africa when its foreign secretary wrote:

"We have to answer the call of millions of sufferers in Africa without hospitals, doctors, nurses and medicines ..... Great is our task. We must not stand idly and let other groups go to the rescue of our own group. We must go to them with our knowledge of medicine, we must build hospitals, ..... this is our job. It is our God given task. To this end God brought your forefathers and mothers into this country. To this end he put them through the institution of slavery .....(39)

These policies attracted many new members to the PIM. Chiefs flocked to the mission, requesting schools, medical facilities and prayer houses. The PIM responded enthusiastically to these demands and prayer houses were opened even in some predominantly muslim villages.

Emphasis by the Malekebus and the PIM on religious, educational and other social services highlighted vividly how the mission was driven to Bookerite postures by the nature of Nyasaland politics in the 1920s and 1930s as did Malekebu's frequent use of the rallying cry of African self reliance, self assertion and



achievement.

PIM membership however continued to grow at a phenomenal rate. Its meetings were attended by people from different tribes and religious persuasions and PIM congregations were made up of Angurus, Atongas, Yaos, Tumbukas and Achewa, among other groups.

The evangelical pan African ideals of Malekebu, the PIM and its home mission was however maintained.

The National Baptist Convention for example aimed at the establishment of one unified Baptist Church in Southern Africa under the leadership of Malekebu, and attempted to rid it of sectarianism and secessionist tendencies. Salaries of ministers were sent to Malekebu who then paid them out to ministers in different parts of the region. The outstations schools and prayer houses of the PIM in Nyasaland and other parts of the Southern African subregion, transcended tribal boundaries and in this way encouraged the development of a national and pan-African spirit.

By 1935, in spite of the acute problems facing the Malekebus, (40) the mission in the opinion of the District Commissioner for Chiradzulu had become the most important mission operating in the country (41). "It was



'undoubtedly growing fast" he warned' and was a "very important body with powers for public good or evil" Malekebu himself was idolised by PIM members.

Although this section has argued that Malekebu and the PIM were forced into overt apolitical Bookerite postures, his activities had covert political implications. It can rightly be suggested that like other independent church leaders, he expressed his opposition to the Nyasaland administration and some of its policies in a religious way. If Malekebu the religious figure was forced by political circumstances to adopt apolitical Bookerite postures, his role in the Chirodzulu Native Association had more overt political implications. Tangri's suggestion that "the CDNA was an extension of the PIM" 42 illustrates succinctly the point made earlier on in this chapter and in other sections of this work, that pan African figures in the region were forced by ambiguities of survival to wear different hats at different times or even at the same time. Even here Malekebu was forced to keep a low profile in collaboration with the Chiefs thrown up by indirect rule.

DANO, the catalyst which prompted the formation of District Associations throughout Nyasaland, had among other things effectively made traditional rulers

District Administrators and had recognised them as the approved channel of communication between the government and the people. The CDNA and other native associations were seen as political forums where, through the Cooperation of traditional rulers and new men, constitutional protests could be made against policies of the government detrimental to the interests of the people in the constituencies of the various associations.

The Chiradzulu District Native association inaugurated in November 1929 (three years after Malekebu's return home) aimed at "(a) providing all possible assistance for the Government, especially by keeping it informed of African public opinion, (b) assisting the African by representing him in all political matters, by keeping him informed of and explaining the objects of legislations both new and those already in force, and lastly it planned to organize public meetings for the discussion of subjects of general or special interest" to the people.(43)

The inaugural meeting of the CDNA was attended by over 400 residents of the district. In compliance with the general constitution of Native associations in the country, and in a bid to give a degree of credibility to the association, in the eyes of the Government, Chief

Mpama, one of the Chiefs in the District, was appointed President of the new body. Leading Chiefs in the area, among them chiefs Onga, Malika and Malambo, were also prominent at the inaugural meeting. Chiefs Onga and Malambo were appointed deputies to Chief Mpama. 'New men' were also appointed, in the persons of Njilima as secretary of the body and Malekebu as a member of the executive.

The CNDA, like other associations throughout the country, became a secular forum for the articulation of the aspirations and grievances of Africans in the District against some of the objectionable policies of the Colonial Administration in spite of the presence of Government officials at their meetings. Although these protests were of necessity within constitutional limits, and moderate, they were similar to those made by Chilembwe in the pre-1915 rising era, against the injustices and abuses of the settler community and some Government authorities.

The CNDA in the late 1920s and 1930s had to deal with many of the problems Chilembwe and his lieutenants tackled in the pre-1915 era, and these were reflected in the minutes of the association between 1929 and 1934. In 1931, for example, the perennial problem of land scarcity and alienation were discussed at the meeting



and a recommendation put to the government for the acquisition of estates located in the midst of Africans, and seemingly unused by their owners for use by Africans in the District. In particular, four examples of unused land were mentioned for appropriation at the meetings. These were, the estates of the late Mr. Hastings Thomas, those owned by Mr. Sabbatini (a one time employee of Isa Macdonald Lawrence) and two others at Fort Robert near Chikoja and Njuli.(44)

The problem of land alienation had been one of the main grievances of Chilembwe's followers before the uprising. The Commissioner of the enquiry who, among other things, looked into the cause of the rising, recommended greater security of tenure for African tenants, particularly those on European estates, and had severely criticised the tangata system and its misuse by white landlords. The 1917 Native Rent (Private Estate) Ordinance (a direct result of the Commission's recommendations), did not change significantly African conditions on lands in the protectorate,(45) and in 1946 another land Commission concluded that the problem of land alienation had been intensified by greater pressure on the land, and recommended the acquisition of privately owned land by the Government for redistribution to Africans.

In Chiradzulu itself, a considerable number of Africans were ejected from European owned estates in 1933,(46) and there were reports of "bad feelings on Bruce estates in 1937". Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioner in Zomba also noted that there were disturbances on the Magomero estate.(47) In 1946, another land Commission concluded that the problem of land alienation had been intensified by greater pressure on the land, and recommended the acquisition of privately owned land by the government for redistribution to Africans.(48)

Other wide ranging grievances discussed by the Association included the plight of African workers living on European private estates, taxation and the tangata system, tobacco prices and the system of indirect rule.

Describing conditions on the BUA estates at one of the CDNA meetings as unbearable, P.H. Mtenje, of Bangwe, said:

"A few years ago, Mr. Shearer asked to buy the land ... He promised to pay me and at that time gave me eighty-one yards of calico, 1 muzzle load of gun, and one piece of brass wire which equalled 27 yards of calico (sic)... At the beginning we gave labour to the land as tangata. We had to pay 6s for many years and now we are required to pay 20 shillings per annum. My people are very poor. We find it very difficult to find 6s to pay



government hut tax, which is our duty to do. How much more difficult must it be to find 20 shillings. Besides this, we plant corn, we sell it all trying to find the amount of money required by the company. We and our children have to go without clothing and bare necessities of life. Schools are very poor. Christians sleep in huts as we do, they are just as bad off as we are. We wonder what we are paying this tangata for. We have no good house. I have to go everywhere trying to borrow money to help my people. I seem as though I am not a Chief working very hard for the company. (Sic) They do not give me one penny to buy salt with, when I complain and ask for these burdens to be lightened on my people, they tell me I must go in (sic) government land. As I look on the ..... land, I see no land remaining there where so many of my people can go. I look in the air, I see I cannot fly there... I cannot help however to think that with the large sum of money and labour we have been paying the company these many years, we owe the company nothing in view of the smallness of the amount paid me for the land as stated above." (49)

The grievances of tobacco growers and traders also formed a major part of the discussions of the CDNA. Complaints about the weighing of tobacco produce, and the early opening of tobacco markets (which resulted in good tobacco being damaged in the rush to get to the markets as early as possible) were constant subjects at CDNA meetings. Fears were also expressed about Indian traders moving in and taking over the trade and undercutting markets where Africans raised money both for the tangata and the hut tax.(50) The aggressive methods used to determine those eligible for taxation and the equally vigorous methods of tax collection were also criticised by CDNA members at its meetings. It was reported that young men and underage girls were being



taxed, while young girls were having their breast measured to check if they were of taxable age. This forced many young girls into early marriages in their bid to avoid taxation.(51) A report by Administrative Officer Eric Smith on the Direct taxation of blacks in the Nyasaland Protectorate in 1937, recommended the abolition of the Plural Tax on additional wives and huts, the taxation of widows and spinsters, and the system of taxation in the country, which he maintained might force women to marry against their will in order to find money for the tax. The report also recommended a graduated poll tax on adult males as a substitute for the hut and tax ordinance, and the repeal of the 1934 hut and poll tax Amendment, No. 2 ordinance.

In addition, Malekebu and members of the CDNA requested the appointment of a paramount Chief for Chiradzulu.(52) According to the District commissioner of Chiradzulu, Mpama, one of the five principal headmen of the area had hoped to use the Association as a political weapon for "establishing and providing his claims to sole chieftainship in the District."(53) There was disappointment again for the CDNA, as the police commissioner reiterated the Government's earlier stand that in view of the very mixed nature of the Chiradzulu population, it was impossible for the Government to appoint a paramount chief for the district.(54)

By 1935, Chief Mpama was taking no interest in the Association's activities, while other chiefs were viewing the CDNA increasingly with distrust. By then, though the CDNA, like other "native associations" was moribund, and Malekebu had succeeded in using the CDNA in welding the already cordial relationship that was developing between muslim and other chiefs in the villages surrounding the mission and the PIM. This relationship was further strengthened in the early 1930s by Malekebu's membership of the Chiradzulu District Council, an appointment that was initially vetoed by a suspicious Provincial Commissioner of the Southern Province. These objections were, however, overruled by members of the Executive Council.(55)

Although these Councils performed only advisory advisory functions and their meetings were controlled and directed by District Commissioners, Malekebu's membership was symbolic and important in as far as it again brought him in close contact with District Chiefs, and more important perhaps was the major role of these Councils as the only recognised link between the native associations and Central Government. All recommendations by the associations however had to go through the District Councils.

Lastly, while initially the CDNA, like other District Associations in the protectorate, was concerned primarily with grievances affecting the people of the district, there were plans towards the eventual unification of the Associations in the Protectorate. There were, for example, very close links between the CDNA and other Associations in the region. This was particularly true of the Blantyre Native Association, of which Isa Macdonald Lawrence was an active member. It would form an interesting study to find out how many more PIM members scattered all over the Protectorate were indeed leaders and members of other District Associations.

It is hoped that it has been shown that the CDNA with its claims of being the rightful representative of the people of Chiradzulu, could not have been apolitical; and that its leader must have been an acknowledged political representative of his people. R. Tangri(56) has suggested that there was indeed a high degree of Pan Africanist perspectives in their outlook. If this was the case, then Malekebu's Pan Africanist activities with the PIM and his role in the CDNA, as one of the important figures in one of the prominent and dreaded associations, must mark him as a leading nationalist and Pan Africanist personality of the inter-



war years in Nyasaland.

In spite of the limited successes of the CNDA, it was an important medium for political protests and could thus be seen as a political challenge to the newly established policy of indirect rule. In addition, since politics in the Southern region of Nyasaland was all about land alienation, labour migrancy and the tangata system, it revived the grievances articulated by Chilembwe and his lieutenants, the non-amelioration of which eventually led to the rising.

By mid 1934, however, following the "battle of the minutes", and the effective restrictions imposed on the Associations, the CDNA, like other Associations, began to decline. Its final demise was further hastened by an internal scandal within the Association over the alleged misappropriation of its funds. Although other Associations in the South continued to function after the mid 1930s, the CDNA ceased effectively to exist in 1934. Although there has been no evidence to suggest that Malekebu was implicated in the scandal, the demise of the CDNA seemed to mark the end of his direct involvement in politics in Nyasaland.(57) By now, his wife, Flora was seriously ill and their requests to be allowed home for medical attention were becoming more urgent.

Before they left for America in 1938, however, Malekebu had succeeded in utilising the old and new forms of protest in the Protectorate to portray himself as a modern version of a reincarnated John Chilembwe, a secular and evangelical pan Africanist leader.

His influence, moreover, in the evangelical field was not limited to Nyasaland in the Southern African subregion, nor were his activities confined purely to PIM work. By 1934, the activities of the PIM had spread to Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the then Portuguese East Africa, South Africa, Bechuanaland and Basutoland, and Malekebu as the pivotal character in the Baptist movement was a prominent political and religious figure in the area.

As a result of the compromises Malekebu was forced to adopt, he became increasingly obsessed with the survival of what he had built up over the years, and he gradually became marginalised from the political and indeed religious scene.

With the coming of the new radical politics in the 1950s, he was found wanting. For example he failed (as the Chapter on the marginalization of Pan African Figures will show) to support the anti-federation riots

during the period.

Not all independent churches during the period under review belonged to this frame of reference in both Central and Southern Africa. There were religious leaders like Peter Nyambo who also belonged to the semi secular pan Africa group under Sheppersons classification of pan Africanism with a small p. Nyambo exemplified the close relationship between evangelical and secular pan Africanism which was maintained during the period under review in this chapter. A brief sketch of his career would vividly illustrate this.

Born in the Ncheu District in Nyasaland in 1884, Nyambo, who was an Angoni, was involved earlier on with Joseph Booth and other non evangelical protest groups. He had first come in contact with Booth at the Plainfield Mission at Cholo in 1901, and was one of those taken to England by him in 1903. He later left for London where he took a two-year theological course at the Danscull Hall Bible college in Holloway. He was employed as a missionary by the Mission, and in 1906 his work took him to a number of European countries, among them Italy, Switzerland, Holland and Germany, before he left for Kenya in 1907 where, he assumed duties as an assistant to the missionary of the new Seventh Day Baptist Church at Genida in Northern Kenya. He returned



home after a five year absence, and worked for a number of years in this same capacity with the Mission's Church at Muono in Chiromo.(58)

In Nyambo's words, he established six schools "at the other side of the river (a new country never before entered)" but he fell out with the head of the mission in Malamulo, after being persuaded to hand over the schools and a promise of a supervisory position over them.

He returned home to Ncheu in 1910, but disgruntled with the position of Africans and their treatment by government authorities, he left for South Africa, where he again came in contact with Joseph Booth. He thus continued the line of Nyasas who went to other parts of the Southern African subregion.

Here, he became involved with secular and religious forms of constitutional protest. He was cited as the secretary of Booth's British Christian Union, and in 1913 forwarded a petition to the press in which he urged the British to provide educational facilities for Africans in the region, and to maintain a lasting peace in Southern and Central Africa.

The following year, Peter Nyambo was one of the

signatories to "the Rhodesia Nyasaland Appeal" which was to be presented to King George on behalf of Africans north of the Zambesi River and Southern Rhodesia. He travelled to Britain with the petition which, among other things, criticised the ill-treatment of Africans in the region, where, the petitioners maintained conditions were so intolerable that it was even impossible for Africans to live a peaceful life. In addition, the petition enumerated a number of injustices of the system, some of which included, high unemployment among Africans, excessive taxation without representation, constant harassment and imprisonment and social discrimination.(58) and (59)

Lastly, the petition called on King George and the British government to redress these grievances and to allow educated Africans equal representation in the Legislative Council and other government bodies. He spent two years in England before returning to Southern Africa in 1917. There is no evidence to suggest that there were any fundamental changes made in government policies as a result of the petition, whatever changes in policy were affected must have been occasioned by the First World War and the Chilembwe Uprising.

Nyambo's method of protest contrasted sharply with Chilembwe's although it is not quite certain what effect

he had on Chilembwe and his supporters. In South Africa, he established the Sister Nannie Rescue Home, in 1922 in Cape Town, and became involved with the African National Congress, becoming at one stage the Chairman of the Cape Town branch of the organization. According to Skota, he was, in the 1930s, General Secretary of the African Universal Benefit Society in Cape Town.

He returned to Nyasaland in 1943 and established a Church, "Calicica Makolo" (The Church of the Ancestors) in his home district of Ncheu in the central province. With this church, Nyambo was attempting to go back to the Ancestral African Gods, and was moving towards a syncretist type of religion. More importantly, it was retreating into a church with little interest in politics.

#### The Union of South Africa

Diasporan and African leaders of independent Churches faced difficulties similar to those experienced by their counterparts in Nyasaland.

Independent Church leaders from the U.S.A. and the West Indies found it extremely difficult obtaining permission from the South African authorities to enter



the region, while those already in the Union experienced considerable opposition to the implementation of their industrial, medical and educational programmes.

Bishop Vernon(60), the AME Bishop who arrived in the country in 1921, was supposed to have been deported from the country although he had obtained a valid visa for South Africa from London.(61) His mission, the AME, also failed to obtain a government grant in aid from the South African administration, while some of its educational institutions were refused state recognition. The hardest hit of the missions were those with diasporan heads. Diasporan church leaders were generally refused Visas to enter the country as they were considered impractical and were branded as agitators whose main concern was to stir Africans to rebellion.(62) Thus Bishop R.R Wright and his wife were almost prevented from entering the country in 1936, after his appointment as Bishop of South Africa. Even those diasporan missionaries allowed to enter the country "were not welcomed in the country" in the words of Berry, and in the execution of their educational, industrial and medical programmes, their missions encountered stiff opposition from the Government.

In spite of these constraints the AME Church in South Africa in particular and in the Southern African

region in general, during this period, continued to grow. In 1938, the mission had about thirty nine schools and institutions of higher learning in the South Africa and other parts of the region including those at Evaton, Dewett Kensington, Rabbscraal and Graaf Reinet.(63) By 1945, it had over four hundred and ninety congregations, three hundred and twelve church buildings and a total membership of around 64,852. (64)

The National Baptist Convention was also in the field in South Africa during the period covered in this Chapter, like their counterparts in Nyasaland, NBC workers in South Africa faced acute problems in their efforts to continue the work of the mission. In 1917 the Rev. Herbert Payne and his wife appealed for help from the Baptist Brotherhood of America against persecution by the British Government in South Africa. The Paynes were originally refused entry in the country and were eventually allowed to stay six to twelve months on a visiting visa at the end of which they had to leave.(65) the harassment of mission workers continued in the 1920S. The Reverend B.P. Koti for example talked of the obstacles placed on his way by government officials to hinder the progress of his work. He maintained that the "civil authorities (refused)" to allow him build a hut in which to live and on which to pay taxes".(66)



In spite of these constraining influences, the NBC like its AME counterpart, continued to grow in South Africa and other parts of the region. In order to be allowed to continue operating in the region, the mission and its leaders on the ground had to tread carefully to allay the fears of a suspicious government. Religious and social matters took priority over radical political demands. They, like their Nyasaland counterparts, were being forced into apolitical postures.

It could well be argued, however, that the fears of the South African administration of missionaries were without foundation. Page's work has shown how diasporan independent church missionaries in the Transvaal were more of a moderating influence on indigenous(67) church leaders than a radicalising one during the period leading up to 1914. By the 1920s, both the Baptist and the AME missions were channeling their work more towards educational, social and medical programmes, towards the redemption and upliftment of Africans in the region than towards inciting them to rebel against constituted authority. The Bookerite ideals of self help, self reliance upliftment, industrial education and black solidarity as a panacea for progress by Africans was stressed consistently by American and West Indian diasporan and African independent Church leaders. Even the government commission set up to look into the



Ethiopian movement in 1922, exonerated the churches from "anti-Europeanism" when it maintained.

"The 'natives' as whole (were) sensible law abiding people, who were not hostile to the white man, and after full consideration of the matter, the commission exonerates, the separatist churches(68) from the charge of anti-Europeanism".

Hill and Pirio have shown in their work on Garveyism, that a number of AME diasporan missionaries in South Africa were some of the vocal opponents of the Garvey movement in the union(69).

Leaders of independent churches in the Union and parts of Southern Africa, under diasporan leadership still looked towards some type of political cooperation between Africans in the region and those in the diaspora as a long term solution to some of their problems. In the words of the whites,(70) "they still expected that some day the two groups will be united"(71) while they continued.

"Some Black Americans believed that they were in no way connected with Africa and wished to have nothing of it, Africans in the region continued to have a vision of the tramp of millions of American negroes marching to join their African kin in their steady progress towards a brighter future"(72).

Some leaders of independent churches also had visions of creating a united christian union in the

southern African subregion.

The PIM under Malekebu attempted to create a United Baptist assembly in the entire Southern African subregion.

PIM membership in Southern Africa was not confined to Nyasaland. There were thousands of Nyasaland migrant labourers in South Africa and Southern and Northern Rhodesia. According to a Government report by J. C. Abrahams, a senior Provincial Commissioner, there were 44,703 male Nyasas in Southern Rhodesia. In 1936 the figure had risen to 70,362.(73) Although the 1913 immigration act, and the first world war reduced emigration by Nyasas to South Africa, the increase in agricultural and mining activities in the country led to an upsurge in the demand for migrant labour. In the main, Yao migrant workers from Southern Nyasaland, Liwonde, Zomba, Chiradzulu and Blantye were employed in semi-skilled positions, while the Amanganja and Anguru, from Zomaba, Blantyre, Milange, Cholo, Chikwila and workers from the lower shire districts preferred agricultural work and formed the bulk of Nyasas on tobacco farms.(74) These seemed to have formed the core of Malekebu's constituency in Southern Africa.

As early as 1927, Nyasas from the PIM mission in



Chirazulu had started a PIM affiliated church in South Africa, under the leadership of the Reverend Mongani.(75) After initial difficulties, Malekebu made his first visit to South Africa in 1934, at the invitation of the church of the Branch of the New Jerusalem Baptist Temple in Messina in the Transvaal. The W. W. Brown Memorial Mission in Johnnesburg, headed by the Reverend J. S. Mahlangu, with one central church and several outstations in Pretoria, Mkwane, in Mount Frere, Umtata, Harding and Rooderporf, and the Bechanan Mission School and the Middledrift and Freeside Schools, financed largely by Baptist Churches in America,(76) provided the Malekebu's and the Baptists with a wide constituency in South Africa. under Malekebu's leadership, the mission in South Africa was also extended into Swaziland.(77) His prominent and influential position in South Africa was acknowledged by the home board in 1945, when he was appointed acting principal of W.W. Brown Memorial Station, the Board's largest mission station in South Africa. He was also supervisor of over fifty churches, 2 schools and an overall staff of thirty.

After some initial difficulties in gaining permission to enter the then Southern Rhodesia, "with a prayer and hard work"(78) Malekebu entered the territory in 1933, preaching and baptising in different



stations. Between 1933 and 1952, with no recognised PIM church building in the territory, services of the mission were held in private houses and in the open air.

It was not until May 1952 that the foundation stone was laid for the construction of the Holy Trinity Baptist church of Salisbury, whose headquarters

were at Chiradzulu. In the same year, the Reverend Charles Papu, a product of the Middledrift mission in Cape Town, extended the boundaries of the Mission further into the Southern African subregion when he was appointed at an Assembly meeting by the PIM and its members in the region, to establish a new church and school of the African United Baptist Church Assembly under the Foreign Mission Board in Basutoland. (now Lesotho)(79) The moving spirit behind the movement for the extension of the Baptist Mission to Basutoland, was Malekebu, who, in Rev. Papu's words, was "working for the people of Southern Africa, through the PIM people, in whom they had unbounded confidence."(80)

Following the visit by C.C. Adams to missions in the Southern Africa subregion in 1947, Malekubu's pan-African position was confirmed when he was appointed supervisor of all the missions of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention. The freelance independent work done by the Rev. S.N. Magamgo of

Litchenburg in the Trasvaal (until then, outside the jurisdiction of FMB of the NBC and PIM), was brought under Malekebu's control, while the Rev. Mahlangu's popular yearly Baptist Assemblies were discontinued and his activities brought under Malekubu's direct supervision. This, according to Adams, "was recognition of the need for Baptist Missionary work in the region to be systematised, welded and coordinated into a workable system, thus making each section feel it was: "part of a whole and thus give opportunity for consultation both on secular and mutual problems."(81)

A new organization, the African Baptist Congress of Africa, was inaugurated, covering Nyasaland, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and East Africa. It had a women's auxiliary and a youth wing, which aimed at fostering an intensive programme of evangelization and christian education. It was fashioned after the National Baptist Convention in America, and it embraced Baptist Churches in the then Nyasaland, East Africa, Angola and the then Northern and Southern Rhodesia.(82) Regular assemblies were held yearly in Chiradzulu on the second Tuesday in August of each year, and singing, praying and preaching in different Southern African languages were a prominent feature at these gatherings. Malekebu in one of his reports to the FMB of NBC maintained that members of the congregation at these assemblies "felt

they were one and brothers in Christ". The Assemblies were attended by delegates from all over the region, including all Baptist Ministers affiliated to the PIM, and members of their church congregation. The programme of these Assemblies, according to Malekebu, pointed the way for the real advancement of Africans in the region and their success showed in his opinion.

"The power and magic of the Assemblies in bringing people of Africa together in one big Christian Union for worship."

A similar system under the supervision of the Rev. Major J. B. Falconer had earlier been established in West Africa, and it was hoped that the two systems would later be consolidated into a grand whole through the holding of bi-annual meetings at a mutually arranged place." (83) This was a significant policy, not only for the two separated units but also for the whole of the Christian region covered by both units. It seemed also to have been a realization of Malekebu's vision of a universal, Christian Union covering the whole of the African continent.

Its political ramifications could be understood, if the policy is seen in the context of the wider aims of the National Baptist Convention, the parent body in America, and its associated Foreign Mission Board.



According to Baptist historians, the Southern Baptists collaborated with the American Colonization Society (the ACS) after the abolition of the slave trade to encourage Back-to-Africa Schemes, and make them more realistic. They were, according to Baptist source, one of the largest contributors to the society. William Garrison's finding which questioned the sincerity of the ACS in its support of the abolition of the Slave trade, and his assertions that Baptist coloured missionaries working in Liberia and Sierra Leone were inadvertently promoting and aiding the society in its design to perpetuate slavery in the name of religion and charity ended the cooperation between Southern Baptists and the Colonization Society. By 1875, they had ceased to operate in conjunction with the society in Liberia. Work was resumed in the 1880s by the foreign Mission Board of the NBC. Between 1887 and 1912 the FMB of the NBC sent around 26 missionaries to parts of Africa, among them Chilembwe, Cheek and Mother Emma B. Delaney (84). Though not expressing explicit political sentiments, Pan African sentiments were frequently asserted by leading individuals connected with the Mission. This was demonstrated quite succinctly, for example, when a writer in the MISSION HERALD, the official organ of the FMB of the NBC, wrote about the need for the mission to support emigration to Southern Africa. He had written:

"There is no need for us to remain in economic, mental, and physical slavery. While such a beautiful spot beckons our Jewish refugees, we as afro-Americans should see in time where we can plant our feet on solid ground in our motherland. . . . Do you ever think of the utterances of Dr. Morgan who was a friend of home missions, and who once prophesied that inasmuch as shiploads of slaves were sold into the USA, our new freedom would give us the true vision of shiploads of Afro-Americans (who) would go back to redeem Africa?

There are 7 million in Nyasaland for whom you can pray, among whom you can work out the economic problems and turn into a Kingdom for our Lord. Israel migrated why cant we emigrate? "Bread on the Water", good soil, iron and silver ore. A gold rush is already the hope of the English Empire. You can save souls and make a veritable land of 'milk and honey' so far as prosperity is concerned. . . . There is still an open space if we sleep not. I repeat that we deserve a first place somewhere and that is not USA. We must make it as do other groups. Do you wish for their races to build a city and then come and take first place? The cost of more liberty is too dear to be handed out gratis. . . . Make a way and it will be yours and you will have a place on which to stand."(85)

In spite of the fact that the above given extensive quotation was masked in religious terminology, its political connotations cannot be denied. In addition, although the nonpolitical nature of Baptist Missions have been stressed by personalities connected with the mission, it has been clear from its policies, particularly in South Africa, that its programmes had political motivations and implications. The outcome of the Chilembwe rising in 1915, which denied them access into Malawi for over a decade, and the persecution, imprisonment and proscription of its members in other



parts of the Southern African subregion necessitated a new approach to the achievement of an old ideal.

Between 1926 and 1950, Malekebu had gone some way in achieving that ideal. As leader of the African Baptist Assembly and the PIM, he was, in the opinion of Dr. Harvey, the present Corresponding Secretary of the FMB of the NBC, like a religious and cult figure, and was almost worshipped like a king. By 1950, the mission had one of the largest followings in the country, with thousands of supporters in Southern Africa.

Considering the conditions under which independent Church Leaders, like Malekebu, operated, they were careful not to express political views, since they were operating within a system, where the government was unsympathetic and hostile to their presence in the region.

Malekebu and other independent Church leaders, as the chapter has shown had to maintain a low profile in order to continue operating. Through these compromises however some like Malekebu, became obsessed with the survival of what they had built up over the years. Malekebu in particular finally became marginalised from the political scenario as his apolitical Bookerite posture was at variance with the new radical politics of the post World-War two era. During this period, as the chapter on



the marginalisation of Pan African figures will show, he was found wanting.

However, according to Roux, there were two hundred and seventy two independent churches on the Government register in 1933 and Moots, and Mkele have suggested that the number had risen to over eight hundred by 1946. The AME, NBC and a number of churches treated so far belonged to what Sundkler has classified as orthodox independent churches.

There was also a group of unorthodox independent churches which became known as Zionist churches which operated in parts of the region. Scholars who have studied a number of Zionist churches in the region see Zionism as an idealised retreat, a collective response to poverty, a call for an alternative subculture, a preparation for the realization of the second coming or a response to white domination.(86)

The underlying ideology of Zionism was millenarian and members were largely syncretists.(87) More importantly to this work was the tendency of Zionists to withdraw themselves from the mainstream of societies religious, political and social activities. This self exclusion among other things meant non-participation in informal politics,(88) trade unions or formal local

politics. J. P. Kiernan has also suggested that in his study of a group of twenty two Zionist groups in Kwa Mashu, members were "primarily engaged in erecting a barrier between themselves and fellow Africans".(89) He also suggested that Zionists didn't participate in the activities of the Advisory Board as members and few who contested elections into the Board were voted for. Political questions were not even discussed among members.

It has been argued that while it is true that early Zionist churches, like other separatist churches, were part of the revolt in church and state, with time they too gradually lost their overt political content. Comaroff has suggested, however, that their apparent retreat into political escapism, their construction of their own vision of Zion captured in symbols and rituals was not an idealised retreat. It was, she contended,

"an attempt to express resistance in seemingly apolitical guises, in a situation of severe political oppression."

However, as Richard Werbner has rightly pointed out in his review article entitled "The Political Economy of Bricolage", (90) the Zionist message, as advocated by the ZCC, does not fit into Comaroff's protest thesis. Instead it was a message accepting "a divide between Church and State with a lawful place for each".(91) In



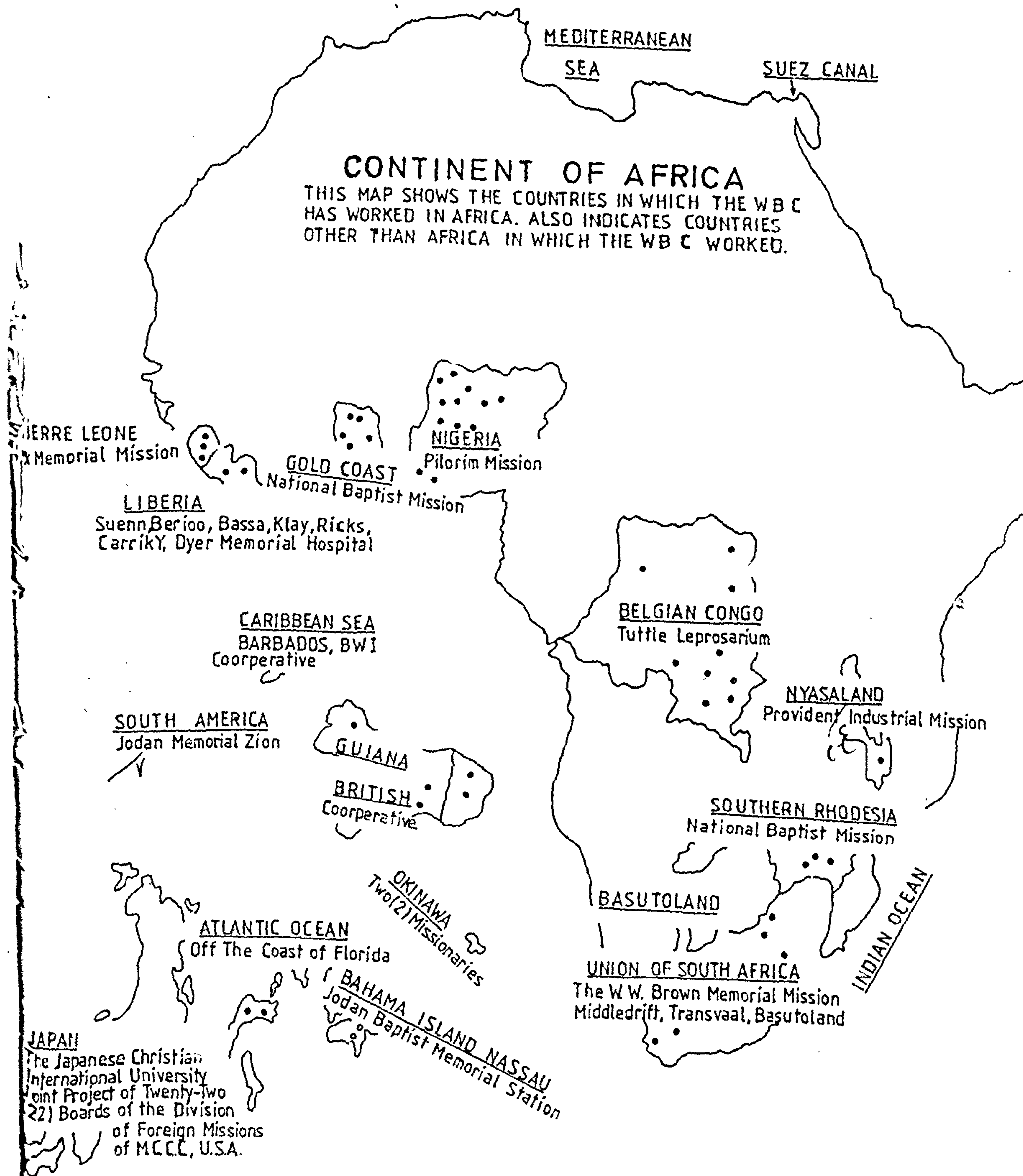
short, the political content in Zionist churches in South Africa has been emasculated. They have become marginalised from the political scene.

Separatist independent churches had gone through a similar process. The change in government policy in the then Nyasaland which allowed independent churches to operate openly, to allow administrators to monitor and control their activities, meant they no longer posed an imagined threat to the government. A similar change in government policy in South Africa encouraged 'safe' church leaders by issuing licences and privileges to these churches and their leaders. Some of the separatist churches, like the African Orthodox church, for some time affiliated to the Garvey Movement, for example, continued their radical rhetorics, and retained their political content. By and large, however, missions like the AME, the NBC and even the AOC, emphasised their political character and stressed their interest in industrial, medical, agricultural, educational and other social programmes necessary for the 'uplift' of Africans. Both Page(92) and Hill and Pirio(93) have argued in separate studies that the South African government at different times between 1900 and 1940, had misunderstood the role of diasporan church leaders in the region. Rather than instigating Africans to revolt, they had over the years been moderating influences on



their African brothers in Christ.

Opposition from Government quarters had forced them to change their postures. However by the 1940s, it was clear that the methods advocated by some separatist churches could not solve the problems they were trying to tackle. They were not questioning the system, but wanted their members to enjoy the benefits of the system. Their solution, however, was not the panacea for African political, economic or social redemption, as increased industrial and educational development, Christian brotherly love, and hard work, failed to achieve equality for blacks within a system that was oppressive and unjust. With time they became marginalised from the political scenario in the then Nyasaland, South Africa, and other parts of the region.



F M B of N B C

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18. *ibid.*  
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19. Wade's minute to Moggridge, the Blantyre Resident, expressed clearly the Government's intention of dispersing the rest of the Chilembwe-ites. Wade to Moggridge, 8.1.1916, C0525/62, PRO, London.
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25. Minute by the Chief Commissioner of Police, enclosed in *Ibid.*, p. 17. in response to  
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Frederick's application to the President of Zomba for permission to re-open Church.
26. For details of Paulos Mhlango see A. Hoole, "Historical Survey of Native Controlled Missions ... Nyasaland" Mss Afr. 5 997/67, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.
27. Alexander Makwinja was born in Matipa. He had joined the Seventh Day Baptist Church while he was in Pretoria and had started holding services in Matipa since 1925. He had received permission from Mr. Colville and R.H. Murray in Likoswa to hold services anywhere there were

Christians. Ibid.  
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28. Ibid., p. 2.  
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29. Ibid.  
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30. The African Reformed Presbyterian Church, Karonga, was established in 1932 by Yafet Mkandawire of Mwandwe, an ex Minister of the Livingstonia Mission. According to Colonial administrators in the Protectorate, he attempted to replace the Deep Bay Area Chief with a member of his Church. Ibid.  
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31. 'The Christianity of Freedom' Church was founded in 1934 under one Charles C. Chinula, an ex-Minister of the Church of Scotland, who was later defrocked.

32. 'The Blackman's Church of God which is in Tongaland' was established by the Reverend Yesaya Mwase in 1933.

33. Submission for an Application to Government for adoption and sanction of the scheme, entitled "The Nyasaland Blackman's Educational Society", dated 18.8.1934, A Hoole, op. cit.  
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34. Ibid.  
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35. Financial support for the construction of the Church came mostly from PIM members in the region, while the Church building was constructed by an indigenous construction firm. See Annual Report of the PIM in the Mission Herald, November/  
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December, 1933, p. 34.

36. By 1934 for example there were 25 prayer houses in different centres and districts in Nyasaland. The Delaney Howard dormitory for Girls, the Moore Memorial dormitory for Boys, Spellman Hall, a PIM hospital and a PIM school were some of the more important social projects undertaken by the mission. Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC 1935.

37. See 47th Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC, Detroit, Michigan. 7-12 September, 1927.

38. D.S. Malekebu, My Vision, East, Central and



South Africa Today. ND, NP.  
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39. 48th Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC submitted at Lousville, Kentucky September 5th-10th, 1928.
40. The Malekebus faced acute financial problems. they had had to depend on local subscriptions and donations from PIM members in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa for financial support throughout the 1930s. A letter from the Malekebus published in the annual reports to the FMB of the NBC highlighted their dire financial plight.
41. The mission had adherents in Ncheu, Dedza, Milanje, Lilongwe, Kasungu, Zomba, Blantyre and Chikwawa.
42. The district Commisioner of Chiradzulu, was convinced that Malekebu and other PIM members were the real executives of the Association.
43. See D.Venter, "From Interest Groups to Party Formation in Colonial Malawi: The Role of Black Voluntary Association as Precursors to the NAC".
44. See Minutes of Chiradzulu Native Association of 21.3.1931. NSD1/3/5, Chiradzulu Native Association. Malawi National Archives.
45. The 1921 Land Commission revealed that the 1917 ordinance had not improved the position of African tenants on European estates.
46. See annual report of the native affairs department, Zomba, 1933.
47. G. Shepperson and T Price, op cit., P. 496, 77, 98.  
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48. For details of land problems in the then Nyasaland, see Co 525/144 "Memorandum on land in Nyasaland" Also N. Leys, Kenya, London, Hogath London and L.K. Meek, Land Law and Customs in the Colonies, London,  
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52. See NS/1/35. DC Chiradzulu to Senior Police  
Commissioner, Blantyre, 5.2.1935. (Malawi  
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53. Ibid.  
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55. CO 626/8 Executive Council Meeting Minutes,  
15.5.31, PRO, London. Also minutes of meeting  
held on 11.6.1936. Ibid.  
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Register, Johannesburg, 1932.  
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59. See Appendix I, Strong Representations from  
the North, 1914.
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Vernon and his work" African World Supplement  
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29.3.1924. p.1 British Library.  
  
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1.6.1922 P. 127.
61. For details of Vernon's ordeal with South  
African Officials, See L.A Berry, A Century  
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62. See 45th Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC.  
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63. The mission also had Churches in Luderitz, Windhoek, Keetsmanshoop and Walvis Bay, although the last two were later closed down. AME work was also extended to Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland and Basutoland.
64. See "South Africa will Celebrate its Golden Jubilee in 1946, AME Missions in South Africa" Voice of Missions March, 1945 pp 8-10.  
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65. Details of the new celebrated case between the Paynes and the immigration department are obtained letter. Immigration Department Cape Town dated 12.4.1917 to J.E East and "AN Immigration case Muskogee, Oklahoma, September 5th - 11th, 1917 pp. 20-24.
66. See letter B. P. Koti to the 47th Annual Report of the FMB of the NBC. Detroit, Michigan, 7-12 September, 1927.
67. See C. Page, Black America in White South Africa, Church and state reaction to the AME Church in Cape Colony and the Transvaal" PhD Dissertation Edinburgh University, 1978.
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92. C. Page, Op.Cit.  
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## CHAPTER VI

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### GARVEYISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA, ----- SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND BASUTOLAND, 1918 - 1939. -----

#### Garveyism in South Africa -----

"Garvey did not believe that equal rights could be pursued through the Courts, nor did he develop a (programme) for engaging the powers of class, capital and racial domination . . . on American soil. It is not clear . . . that he understood how to go about it." (1)

According to Martin, Garveyism was more prominently manifested in the Southern African subregion (during the inter war years) than in any other part of Africa (2). This is reflected jointly in the number of UNIA divisions in the region, and in the extent to which Garveyites infiltrated other political, religious and industrial organizations during the period. There were, according to figures provided by Tony Martin, (2) more UNIA divisions in the then Basutoland, South West Africa and South Africa than there were, for example, in Liberia, the then Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and in the former French West African colonies.

It could also be said to have left a lasting influence on future political leaders like Anton Lembede, regarded in some South African circles as the Garvey of the Union in the 1940s, and Madzunya, (3) a

one-time leading Africanist in the ANC Youth League. In addition, the ideology of Lekhotha La Bafo, (4) in the then Basutoland was influenced to a certain degree by the ideas of Garvey and the UNIA. It could, however, be argued that in the Union the source of influence might well have been early Ethiopianism, for South Africa had a long and rich tradition of Ethiopianism, as Chapter I of this work has shown. Both ANC and PAC leaders are today eager to point out the indigenous influences that gave rise to their Pan African sentiments. While some of Garvey's ideas were considered ultra radical and utopian by an early ANC Youth League pamphlet, it has been suggested that the ideals of the movement came of their own in the 1940s and 1950s. (5)

Although it has been claimed by PAC sources that A.P. Mda, Jordan Ngubane, Robert Sobukwe and Peter Roboroko, (6) modified aspects of the ideology of men like Lembede, traces of Garvey's ideas could be found in the 1959 PAC Manifesto. The movement's emphasis, for example, on a racial and national struggle, as opposed to a class struggle, their fiercely anti-communist position and their initial rejection of white membership into the movement, bear traces of the ideals of Garveyism.

In addition, in defending the PAC against press



criticism, their leaders, among them Sobukwe and P.K. Leballo, argued like Garvey before them, that since neither the press nor their enemies made them, they could not be destroyed by them. While this might be a mere coincidence, the similarity in the language used is rather striking. In addition, an ANCYL pamphlet, written probably in the early 1950s, while being critical of the role of Afro-Americans in the struggle in South Africa endorsed and defended the slogan "Africa for the Africans" as preached by Garvey and the UNIA, when it said:

"When Marcus Garvey first preached Africa for the Africans, South Africa was not politically prepared to receive such a message. Regarding American Negroes, it was utopian and diversionary at the time. Today, the slogan has come of its own . . . It must be and it is becoming the guiding principle not only of a few visionaries but of huge liberation movements . . . Continental Africa is a black man's continent. Its history is bound up with the 150 million Africans . . . It is in this context that the slogan must be understood . . . As far as Africans are concerned, they must cease to be intellectually and politically intimidated by slanderers of the slogan. Africa for the Africans is correct . . . It must accurately sum up the aspirations of a people for a free United democratic and prosperous Africa."

(7)

Here again, "Africa for the Africans", while popularly used by Garveyites, had been coined by Joseph Booth years earlier, and the influence could have been Ethiopian and not Garveyite. This would again corroborate the arguments of PAC members interviewed,

who maintained that while not attempting to underestimate the influence of Black Americans to the development of Pan Africanism, racial distrust, insecurity of land tenure, racial discrimination in Synods and Conferences, and squalid and overcrowded housing conditions were important indigenous influences.

The period after the first world war witnessed a series of explosions which marked the beginning of intense militancy among the people.

In addition, a number of other factors made South Africa a fertile ground for UNIA propaganda. As has already been mentioned, Evangelical Pan Africanism had, since the 1870s introduced into the region a tradition of protest along the lines of the ideas advocated by Garvey and the UNIA through the activities and writings of men like Joseph Booth and Henry McNeil Turner, and newspapers like the VOICE OF MISSIONS, the official organ of the Coloured National Emigration Association.

(8)

Evangelical Pan Africanism not only introduced Pan African ideas into the region, but it left in Southern Africa a number of AME Baptists and indigenous independent church leaders.



In addition, there had been in South Africa since 1900, a number of those that have been referred to by Hollis Lynch and J.S. Burger as 'pan Negro Nationalists like Captain Forster Harry Dean, who were attracted to the ideals of the Back to Africa Movements, and who advocated the African diasporan emigration to Africa and the establishment of independent Black states in the continent.

Although no links between Captain Dean and Garvey and the UNIA have been established, his ideas were similar to those of Garveyites.

Like Garvey, his panacea for ridding Africa of white colonial domination, and for the emergence/growth development of a sound economic base for Africans was the establishment of commercial links between diasporan Africans and their African counterparts in Africa, race pride, and emigration to the continent. Shipping activities were to play an important part in this programme.

He arrived in Cape Town in 1901, aboard the 'Pedro Gorino' and cooperated with independent church leaders like Bishop Coppin. He undertook a mission to Pondoland on behalf of Coppin and the AME church, to construct schools and churches in the country. He also attempted



to purchase land in both present day Mozambique and Lesotho for the establishment of his proposed black state in Southern Africa. He left the region in 1914 before the ideology of Garveyism became popular in Southern Africa, and returned to the United States of America.

Other diasporan Africans were attracted to the Union in the 1880s and 1890s following the discovery of Gold in the Transvaal in 1886, the Anglo-Boer war, and the widely held view of South Africa as a country of untold economic opportunities for diasporan blacks. According to Noer in Britton BOER, AND THE YANKEE, THE US AND SOUTH AFRICA, there were over 1000<sup>African</sup> diasporan Blacks in the Union by the turn of the century.

Although many preferred to call themselves Black Americans, Page's study has suggested that a large number of them were West Indians (9) and a number of them became founder members and dedicated activists for the UNIA.

The importance of the South African ports to World Trade also meant that a number of Black sailors, both from the diaspora and West African countries, were regular visitors to the region. In the then South West Africa, for example, there were a number of West African

sailors from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Liberia living in Luderitz. Both the W/berman and the Elder Dempster Lines used West African sailors. Police and other security agents in the region reported the activities of Black American agitators at meetings. At a meeting in November 1923 held at the market place in Pietermaritzburg, for example, Holan, a black American activist, urged race pride, self assertiveness, unity and solidarity. He also promised help from Blacks in the diaspora in the post liberation period when he said:

"I have come to induce you to leave these silly ways of yours working under another race. I have come to show you that you are foolish and should learn to help yourself. We are of yours and are grieved at your troubles. When you have combined, we will come to you and send millions of Americans to teach you how to rule yourselves. We have made our own name in America, because we are combined (sic) and we let no white man go between us. I will return again to you." (sic) (10)

Another Black American activist, referred to only as Moses in Government documents, addressed a National Provincial meeting of the ANC at which John Dube was present. He offered Black American assistance for the liberation of black South Africans and informed the gathering that he had been selected by the UNIA headquarters in New York as a roving propagandist. He told of the Black Star Line fleet of ships, the Yarmouth, the Kanowha and the Shadyside (11), and of the



determination of his organization to free the entire African continent. In addition, he spoke in glowing terms of the independent black republic of Liberia, with its black magistrates, lawyers and mayors (12). Lastly, he maintained that their leader "Magascavo, would eventually become leader of the free Black Republic." (sic)

Other itinerant agents toured towns, farms, locations and townships, spreading the UNIA message, some under the guise of preaching religious sermons. Government informants were usually at these gatherings, but since their identities were unknown and they soon left on their ships for other ports, the South African Government could usually do very little about their activities.

A number of UNIA members infiltrated the ICU and the ANC, and attempted to use both movements as ancillaries of the UNIA. They also succeeded in establishing very close ties between the UNIA and other black movements in the country.

In addition, UNIA divisions were established in Qumbu, Tsolo, Nggamkiwe, Evanton, Pretoria, Claremont, Goodward, West London, Jokiekowe, Mount Fletcher, Cape Town and Mount Frere. Soon, in the words of Mphaelele in



letters to the NEGRO WORLD in the 1920s:

"Garveyism was taking possession of the hearts and minds of black South Africans with his ideas rapidly becoming their watchword." (13)

This substantiates the view about the spread of this Garveyism in the 1920s and the vision of black Americans coming to free their brothers in South Africa. Aggrey commented after his trip to the Union as a member of the Phelps Stokes commission: "Everywhere I had gone (they) had asked .... about the fleet coming from America. I told them I (knew) those ships and one was leaking."

In schools, among farm workers, miners, ANC members and unemployed youths, the message of Garvey was being spread in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Mofutsanyana, a former member of the South African Communist Party, Garveyism was very popular in Congress circles, while Mphahlele has maintained in his autobiography that in 1933, Peter Abraham often addressed students of Adams College about the virtues of the ideals of Garveyism. (14)

UNIA protest meetings were held in the 1920s and 1930s, and the 7th March was celebrated annually as Garvey Day. At rallies to mark the occasion, ICU and ANC leaders were prominent speakers. Other UNIA meetings were organized to protest against a number of Government

policies, which were considered unjust. In the Orange Free State, for example, a protest meeting attended by over 1,200 people was held under the auspices of the UNIA in 1930, to protest against the Government's policies.

According to Mafutsanya in the interview with Edgar referred to above, Black Americans in the 1920s were seen as educated brothers, who would free Southern Africans from white oppression and domination. (15) With time, as has been reiterated by Perham in her 10 AFRICANS and by Bradford, this vision of Black Americans as liberators soon became part of the popular folklore, not only in the Union but throughout the Southern African subregion. [16] In the then Nyasaland and South West Africa, for example, black American liberators were expected to fly over the region, bombing whites, or would rise up from the ground as armed soldiers. While in the then Northern Rhodesia they were expected to arrive on motor bikes. (17)

In the Transkei, among black workers in the mines, on white farms in the Eastern and Western Cape, the Government maintained that foreign activists were urging their people into increased militancy, which it was forced to quell by police action and in some cases stiff jail sentences for their leaders. Where such foreign



activists were diasporan blacks, there is every possibility that in the early 1920s they were Garveyites. Nevertheless, one should readily avoid crediting the Garvey Movement solely with the increased militancy in the Union during the immediate post-world war one period.

In addition, many other Blacks who had little connection with the Garvey movement or who were Africans connected with the movement, were mistaken for diasporan Africans. Among the more prominent examples were James Aggrey, (18) and the Wellington Lieutenant, Mbijana, who used the name John Mackay and operated in Tsolo and Qumbo. He told his supporters he was one of the <sup>African</sup> diasporan emissaries sent by Garvey, although he had been identified as a Grigua. In addition, Wellington Buthelezi(19) himself posed as a Black American liberator, working among Blacks in Edendale, Aliwal North, Queenstown, King Williams Town, the Herschel District and, later, the Ciskei. He worked closely with the <sup>African</sup> diasporan Garveyite Ernest Wallace, and this must have convinced his followers of the authenticity of his claims. Other Wellington lieutenants, like Joel Biltana, Edward Magola and Paul Gulwa, spread Wellington's indigenous brand of Garvey-like ideas to areas like Idutywa, Ngakakwe, Mount Fletcher and Tsolo. Lastly, Mbeke was seen in the Transkei as one of the Black



Americans sent to free their South African brothers.

(20)

UNIA divisions were operating in the Union well into the late 1930s and early 1940s. Paul Gulwa, (21) identified by Edgar as one of Buthelezi's supporters, remained a keen Garveyite in the 1940s. In May 1940, for example, he was still running a UNIA division in South Africa. (22) The division in the same year forwarded to Garvey in London the sum of £5.12s. as membership fees, £2 5s 8d. as annual assessment fees, and £2 3s.6d. as part of the monthly dues of members. (23) Indeed, his church, Umanyano, was, during the period of the second world war, regarded as a potentially subversive organization by the Government.

Regular contact was also maintained between UNIA divisions in South Africa and the Parent Body in America. In 1929, for example, the Pretoria division elected delegates for the sixth international convention of the Negro Peoples of the World scheduled to be held in Jamaica. This followed correspondence between Garvey and the Reverend C. Nyombolo of Cape Town. In this letter Garvey requested divisions in South Africa to select three delegates for the Convention who would provide the gathering with relevant data to be forwarded to friends of the movement in the League. They were

planning to petition the organization to have the affairs of South West Africa and the Union discussed by the League of Nations.(24)

Apart from activities of UNIA divisions in the Union, another source of Garvey propaganda was the UNIA publication, THE NEGRO WORLD. The Government failed in its attempts to get the publication banned in the Union or to confiscate consignments of the paper sent to different parts of the Union.

In communications between the Department of Justice and Government administrators, Government legal Advisers repeatedly maintained that by the strict interpretation of the law, objectionable must read "Ejuadem Generia", indecent and obscene. The laws, they concluded, were never designed to prohibit the importation of printed matter, containing opinions which differed from those of the Authorities, but they dealt only with indecent and obscene publications.(25) The Government therefore had no legal provision for the confiscation of copies of the NEGRO WORLD.(26) In addition, the Postmaster General advised that, while the Post Office had powers (given under the Post Office Act) to delay any postal matter (except letters) for examination; it had no power to extract a copy of a newspaper from consignments passing through the post.(27) The Government in the end had to

make annual subscriptions to the paper so that it could receive regular copies, and thus be kept in touch with the activities of the movement.(28)

Unlike other parts of Southern Africa where the paper was banned, it was still being circulated legitimately in the Union in the late 1920s. However, those found with copies of the paper faced Government harassment and sometimes imprisonment. In 1939, for example, two UNIA activities in the Union, were jailed for fostering the spirit of Garveyism after the police found copies of the NEGRO WORLD in their possession.(29)

In addition to the NEGRO WORLD, other pro-Garvey papers, like the AFRICAN WORLD, the AFRICAN VOICE and the SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKMAN, flourished in the Union for short periods, and assisted the small groups of dedicated UNIA officials and supporters in spreading the UNIA message.

Apart from newspaper publications, UNIA activists assisted in spreading the Garvey message to different parts of the Union. The examples of Josiah Gumede (30) and Mveli Skota (31), both influential ANC officials in the 1920s, have been highlighted by authors who have worked on political developments in the Union during the period.(31a)



In addition, a number of ICU officials and members were keen Garveyites, and they were active in local divisions of the UNIA in the region. A prominent example was J. Gumbs, a West Indian worker who had emigrated to the Union during the Anglo Boer War. Born in the West Indian island of Saint Vincent, he was employed in the Cape as a chemist in the late 1890s. He worked later with Haynes Mathews Chemist before joining the Indian Military Hospital at De Aar as a pharmacist during the Anglo Boer War. He was later employed on the docks and became a founder member of the ICU. He was actively involved with the 1919 dock workers' strike, and the following year was elected Vice President of Kadalie's 'keaubona'. Two years later Gumbs was elected Honorary President of the movement, a position he held until his death in Somerset Hospital in the Cape in 1933. (32) He was also a member of the UNIA and the West Indian Association in the Cape. Other ICU officials, like the Black American Johnson, (33) a dock worker, held important positions in the UNIA. ICU, and ANC leaders and their supporters attended the same meetings, and not infrequently appeared on the same platform at gatherings.

Representatives of the ICU, the ANC and the UNIA;

in the persons of Professor Thaele and Clements Kadalie, addressed the fourteenth annual convention of the ANC in Bloemfontein in January 1926, while the Garvey Day celebration organised by the Woodstock Division of the UNIA in the same year was attended by ANC and ICU officials. (34) Mr. Madumo, an official of the Cape Town branch of the ANC, addressed the meeting and spoke of the necessity for black unity in the region. Indeed, according to sources, it was Kadalie who prevented UNIA members who were also prominent ICU figures from turning the ICU into an arm of the UNIA. This notwithstanding, it is clear from the available evidence that there was some connection between the ICU, the Independent ICU and the UNIA. This was aptly exemplified by a letter from J.J. Magode to the UNIA headquarters in New York, published in one of the January editions of the paper. (35) In it he sought financial support and solidarity from the UNIA for the resumption of the publication of the NEW AFRICA, the mouthpiece of the Independent ICU. Parts of the letter read: "We take much interest in the UNIA and hope that a day shall come when we shall join hands together as brothers and sisters of Africa." (36)

In South Africa itself, in spite of the difference in some aspects of the ideology of both the ICU and the UNIA and Kadalie's insistence on the independence of the ICU from any other movement, there were important

similarities in their ideologies. Both movements also appealed to the same constituency. It was therefore not surprising that both movements tended to give moral and other forms of support to each other. Indeed, Bradford has suggested that:

"Sometimes both movements merged with one another, (while) sometimes competition for the same ... constituency led to violent clashes and even one death." (37)

"Attempts at separating and distinguishing the two movements" Bradford continued, had been made difficult by scholars who, in her words, had "embraced all protests in the capacious arms of Garveyism." (38)

One can also add that the task of scholars in attempting to detangle the activities of both movements have been made more complicated by the fact that UNIA and ICU members and their supporters had put on different hats during the period. Sol Plaatje, for example, we have been told by Brian Willan in his recent biography, (39) attended a number of UNIA meetings while he was in America in the 1920s, although there is no evidence of his involvement in UNIA activities in the Union during the period. Gumbs, Gumede, Mveli Skota, and Thaele, were ANC, ICU and UNIA members at the same time.



Whatever movement they represented at different times, however, it would be reasonable to suggest that like other elite leaders in the region UNIA leaders were unable to cope with the mass militancy in villages, towns, on farms, and in the mines. They couldn't offer the type of leadership needed at the time, for although they were Africans, they were nonetheless part of an aspiring petit bourgeois class.

Many, like Thaele and Gumede, had attended missionary educational institutions in the country, and during their most impressionable years had imbibed their values, attitudes and ideas. Although they were in later years attracted to the ideals of Garveyism, these only endorsed their petit bourgeois inclinations. It was no surprise, therefore, that they could not offer the type of leadership needed during the difficult inter-war years. Their movement, the UNIA, failed to sustain the continued support of blacks in the Union. In addition, counter propaganda work by men like Aggrey (40) contributed in no small way to the demise of the movement in the Union.

The outcome of Aggrey's visits to the Union was the establishment of Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans, and later the South African Institute of Race Relations, which advocated an alternative doctrine to

the ideas promoted by Garvey and his lieutenants. Aggrey himself, in the words of D.D. Jabavu:

"had done more than any other visitor to persuade people in South African circumstances of the necessity of racial cooperation between black and white." (41)

He has also been credited with creating in the Union the spirit (among radical black leaders) which facilitated the establishment of Joint Councils. As against Garvey's message of confrontation, Aggrey advocated love and hard work, whilst against non-violent passive resistance and non cooperation he urged "all the time cooperation". (42)

In the Transkei, at Lovedale, Amanzintoti, parts of Durban, Ladysmith, Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and Natal, Aggrey carried with him his campaign against Garvey and his Black Star Line. In the Rand, for example, which had earlier witnessed the 1922 miners' strike, Aggrey said during his second visit in 1924:

"I am proud of you my people. Win your enemies, conquer them by love, keep your friends. Those who preach Africa for the Africans are mad. If you stood alone you would soon be in deep darkness again. That which we have we owe to the missionaries." (43)

He tried to expose the follies of Garvey's programmes and in some of his addresses referred to Garvey's dream of an independent African Republic as a

"fine and beautiful mid summer's night dream".(44)

If he was distrusted and scorned by some journalists of pro-Garvey publications in the Union,(45) and by Black radical miners, his message struck a welcome chord with a number of leaders like Thema, Selby Msimang, (46) R.H. Godlo and D.D.T. Jabavu, who were all members of Joint Councils at some time.

Two other figures supported Aggrey in his attempts at spreading this Bookerite and Duboisian type of Pan African ideals in the region. These were Simbini Nkomo and Max Yergan. The activities of Nkomo have been well documented by King (47) in his PAN AFRICANISM AND EDUCATION IN EAST AFRICA. One can also add here that his Africa Student Union organised in America and the Union's Journal the STUDENT WORLD were making quite an impact on the student population in the Union. Aggrey, in an article entitled "The Native Students of Africa" outlined the vital role of black students as future leaders of their people and the importance of Christian education on them when he wrote:

"The well nigh universal restlessness in British Colonies (was) a sigh of hope. Undirected or misdirected, it could spell danger. But if under God we can find the way, this dangerous lightening of race awakening may be harnessed into a mighty and useful dynamo, that will shed abroad the light that shineth and maketh all things new. The World



Student Christian Federation will miss a very fine opportunity to do a work with far reaching results. If it [did] not pay special attention to the future leaders and moulders of sentiment in Africa, the students scattered all over the Continent. Local organizations could easily be affected . . . For years to come, the leaders and teachers, even in the coming Government Schools will be mission products. We (have) in schools thousands of students who are to shape the destiny of Africa, with the help and guidance of their intellectual, industrial, moral and physical as well as spiritual teachers." (48)

Max Yergan, as the brief biographical sketch in Chapter four has shown, worked through the YMCA to spread a similar message. In addition, in his private relationship with Africans he also attempted to discourage interest in the Garvey movement. His YMCA Student Christian Bulletins reached hundreds of students, and his TCA bulletins interested large numbers of teachers. Lastly, Nkomo's copies of THE STUDENTS WORLD (49) influenced to a certain extent by the ideas of Booker T. Washington and Du Bois reached many more, who were not of Yergan's Student Christian Associations.

Lastly, while a new breed of leaders were leaving institutions of higher learning in the Union, a number of former Garveyites who had symbolised and played a role in perpetuating the dream of the liberation of black South Africans by their brothers in America lost their lives. THE BLACKMAN in the late 1930s carried obituary notices of the deaths of former Garveyites like R.L. Williams, (50) M.C. Kekana (51) of Lichenburg

Division, and Mrs. Onfroy of Division 203 in Habana Marionao (52). Gumbs and a number of others had died in the early and mid 1930s. With the collapse of the Black Star Line scheme, the Garvey movement lost some of its propagandists, a number of whom had gained employment on ships to spread the UNIA message and the dream of an independent African Republic. These were not the only reasons, however, for the demise of the movement in the Union. An attempt will be made in the latter part of this Chapter to outline some of the reasons for the movement's transient success in the Union and other parts of the subregion.

#### Garveyism in South West Africa.

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Swapo, in its publication TO BE BORN A NATION, has maintained that for a time:

"The influence of Marcus Garvey's Pan Africanism with its slogan Africa for the Africans was strong in Namibia, particularly so in the central part of the country." (53)

Reports of Administrators in South West Africa have also confirmed these assertions. In his report for 1924, for example, the administrator reported that:

"At one time, Luderitz was the centre of the native political movement in this country. Several Unions were in existence there. The chief of which were the UNIA and the ICU, but these have practically died out and it (was) only the South

West Africa National Congress which has some adherents . . ." (54)

Reports by Rhenish missionaries (55) working in parts of the then South West Africa have confirmed this assertion by South West African administrators and SWAPO, have given detailed accounts of the activities of a movement they referred often to as the Moravian movement or the Ethiopian movement. According to these reports, Ethiopianism and Garveyism were synonymous movements, and the close ties between the two movements recorded by them in the 1920s have made the task of separating the two movements in the region almost impossible. One of the headings of their reports entitled "A Description of Unrest and Temptations in the Community Caused by the Ethiopian Movement (The Moravian movement)" was, for instance, an example of that point. Parts of the report, however, went on to maintain that the aim of the Ethiopian or Moravian movement was Africa for the Africans, and their primary intention was to drive all whites from the country by force of arms. While this could well be said of the aims of some of the more militant Ethiopian groups, the report concluded that Garvey was their saviour and that the movement had very little or no impact on the religious community.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, activists of the movement pledged to return all alienated land to blacks who were the



rightful owners, and to replace white conquerors with Black leaders led by Marcus Garvey. (57) It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that Rhenish missionaries were referring to the Garvey movement in their reports.

To Hereros, Ovambos, Namas and Bondelswarts who had suffered at the hands of German and later South African Colonists, the message advocated by itinerant and resident Garvey activists was soothing, refreshing and most welcome.

Attempts by the Germans to conquer and rule part of South West Africa had met with popular resistance by the different tribal groups between 1902 and the First World War. The revolt by the Hereros under Mahavero against German misrule, was an example of popular resistance by the people against foreign domination. Although they succeeded briefly in destroying German owned farms, and recorded a number of German casualties, the battle of Waterberg in 1904 led to the extermination of large numbers of Hereros. Under Lieutenant Von Trolha's determined attempt to destroy the Herero nation, the war of Genocide, added thousands more to the death toll (58).

... of the ...

The Ovambos and the Namas also suffered great

losses as a result of their resistance against conquest. It has been estimated that between 30-40% of the Nama population were killed during a three year period of guerilla warfare against the Germans, while the Ovambos, led by their King Mandume of Ukwanyama, were ruthlessly crushed by the scorched earth tactics employed by the conquerors. The different groups, however, lost more than human lives. Some were deprived of their traditional rulers following the killing of chiefs and headmen, who were accused of being ringleaders of the revolts. Other symbols of their tribal life were also destroyed. In addition, large tracts of African land were appropriated, and the people were barred from grazing cattle. It was hoped that these measures would not only destroy African hegemony, but they would also force them to enter the labour market.

In spite of the ruthlessness of the German army and their determined efforts to destroy community life, the determination by the South West African people to re-establish their nation was unflagging.

Although the period between the period of German rule and the mandate administration of the South Africans saw a brief relaxation of the stringent policies of the Germans, the post transition military period witnessed further repressive laws, which, among

other things, forced blacks to work on white farms, and bolstered the system of reserves.

It was amidst this political, social and economic atmosphere and during, a period of world wide depression, that Garveyism was introduced into the region by Kroos from Liberia, assisted ably by West Indians, Black Americans and South African UNIA activists from the Union and from ships docked in ports. The phenomenon of itinerant activists identified in the Union was also a feature in the then South West Africa. The case of one such Black American activist was reported by Aarni, a missionary working with the Ukualuthi tribe. (59) George Mathews, (60) it was maintained, had passed through the area under Chief Mualas of control in 1928, and had gone on to the Ongandjera tribal areas and Ukualu on his way to Angola. On his return from Angola, he, according to Government reports in Windhoek, continued to preach sedition in Ongandjera and Ukualuthi, urging Ovambas to unite and rid their country of all whites (61) (including missionaries), and try to make South Africa a black man's country. He was welcomed by Chief Impumbu, (62) whom he had informed that he had been selected by the UNIA to spread the Garvey message in the then South West Africa. (63) He was supposed to have made an impression in some quarters, particularly among the young, and was



considered a prophet by a number of people. According to one of the Chiefs, however, George Mathews was too poor to be a great leader of the people.

Other West Indians, Kroomen from Liberia and Black American activists toured towns, villages and farms spreading the same message, and brought hopes to thousands of a dawn of a new era, and a forthcoming liberation from white control.

Blacks in Luderitz, they promised, would, in the wonderful new era, "sleep in beds of whites, live in their houses, and sell their goods in stores". (64)

In addition. UNIA and ICU activists supplemented these efforts. Officials like Bennet Ncwana, (65) Gumbs, Le Fleur and Pieterse from the Cape paid regular visits to the country.

In 1922, for example, Gumbs, as President of the ICU, received permission by the magistrate at Luderitz to visit ICU branches in the Country. He planned to return via De Aar, and the East Province, where he was expected to join Kadalie. His tour permit was granted with the proviso that he avoided inculcating doctrines which might lead to the undoing of blacks and coloureds in the region, and must advocate a message that included

the cardinal principle of interracial co-operation between the different racial groups living in the country. As a known Garveyite in the Union, it is not impossible that he used the opportunity to propagate the ideas of the UNIA.

The movement attracted the support of many of the tribes in the region. The Hereros, described by missionaries as the hotheads of the movement, were early converts, as were the Ovambos, the Hottentots and the Bondelswarts. Missionary sources have maintained that the Rehobothers and the Zwartboois were in the main not attracted to the movement, in spite of threats of exclusion from the benefits to be gained from an independent Black government. (66) Further threats of expulsion from the country did not change their attitude to the movement. In contrast, Becker has maintained that all Hereros living in the outlying districts of Windhoek were Garveyites.

According to a German colonialist journal, UNIA resident and itinerant activists experienced the strongest response in Windhoek and the surrounding farmlands. Here, many saw the movement as a vehicle for the regaining of their past glories.

Resident and itinerant UNIA activists collected

what could be considered considerable sums from sections of the black South West African community for the purchase of ships for the transportation of blacks from all parts of the continent to Liberia.

According to missionary reports, (67) over £2,000 was collected among the Hereros for this purpose, and the amount was deposited in a Standard Bank account in Windhoek. (68) A substantial amount (according to the sources) was also raised among the Hottentots by a Black American UNIA activist armed with an alleged letter from Marcus Garvey, requesting financial support for the UNIA's Black Star Line Scheme. According to the reports, the wealthy Hereros were also willing to contribute to a cause which they believed would rid the country of whites. Another purported letter from Garvey to the Black community in South West Africa talked of UNIA plans "to raise the coloured race (down-trodden for five hundred years) to the status of the nation on a footing with other races". The letter suggested that over £400,000 was needed to bring about this elysium and it was proposed to raise the amount through a levy on one guinea on all blacks in the community. (69) Unlike the detailed accounts given of the fund raising activities among the Hereros, the amount collected among the Rehoboths have not been recorded by the sources. This might be a further indication of their lack of



interest in the movement.

Lastly, another letter to blacks in South West Africa was in circulation among the Nama Church Community in Windhoek in the 1920s. (70) It exhorted them to contribute to the UNIA Convention in New York and talked of the Movement's plan for a journey by sea to Liberia, the proposed homeland for Blacks. (71)

The spread of Garveyism was not, however, restricted to the activities of itinerant activists working from ships berthed in ports without a firm base or organization in the country. There was in Luderitz, an active UNIA division under the leadership of Fritz Headly. (72) In his application to the Administration for permission to establish a UNIA division in the country, to erect a UNIA building in Windhoek and hold regular Sunday meetings, he pledged his movement's support and loyalty to the Government and stressed the non-seditious nature of its doctrines. Instead, he tried to emphasise the point that the UNIA in the country was a:

"humanitarian, charitable, educational, social and friendly organization (which aimed) at the upliftment of the Negro peoples of the world in general and South West Africa in particular." (73)

Other members of the Executive of Division 298 were

S. Raynes, Vice President, E. Davis, Secretary, A. B. Williams, Assistant Secretary, Steven Kamangang, Chaplain, and Sam Solomon, Assistant Chaplain.

The Movement in the country, HEADLY continued, planned the establishment of a universal confraternity of the Black race and the promotion of the spirit of race pride, peace and love and the reclamation of the fallen. (74) Finally, his movement, he maintained, hoped to assist in the "civilization of the backward tribes of Africa and the development of an independent nation". (75)

It is possible that, a summary of the manifesto of UNIA Division 294, like part of the preamble to the UNIA Constitution, had been couched in a language designed to obtain a favourable response to their demands from the administrators in South West Africa. However, in line with the Constitution of the parent body in New York, the division did have plans to cater for the humanitarian, social and economic needs of its members. Funds were to be established for widows and orphans. A sick benefit fund was also established for sick members of the Movement. A close scrutiny of the accounts of the division by Government Administrators have also revealed that a considerable proportion of the division's funds had been used in providing assistance with the medical



fees of less fortunate members, (76) while a certain percentage of the division's accounts had been paid to the estate of all deceased members of the division. (77).

For a short while, the UNIA made a great impact on the different tribal groups in the country, and its meetings, held usually at the docks, attracted a considerable following. According to the Secretary for South West Africa, there were three hundred and eleven members in Windhoek, and THE NEGRO WORLD was being freely circulated among local Blacks. Garvey flags, according to missionary sources, were publicly displayed in Windhoek, (78) while church members attended services with their UNIA badges prominently displayed. In addition, Africans were also in revolt in churches. Many joined the new churches under the control of Africans, while some preached about a God for Africans. They maintained that the "God of Whites was not the God of the Blacks", and held meetings at night where it was claimed they blessed the grave of the dead in the name of Garvey, the future President of Africa.

According to excerpts of reports on missionary work in the country, two evangelists, Petrus and Zachaeus Thomas, with the Rhenish Church aroused a secessionist movement in the Church to which many flocked.



Lastly, a letter circulating among the Hereros believed to have come from heaven, urged them to: "Let go of the Christian doctrine that had made them so unhappy. It had brought first the missionaries and later the Germans."

Rhenish missionaries indicated in despatches that many Hereros had given up the christian faith. According to Wleier, one of the Herero converts had, in one of their conversation, given reasons for the mass desertation of the faith, when he had said:

"Muhonge, don't think that the Hereros will ever come back, they are finished with God forever. You teachers are to blame that we are done for now. You have left us without property and rights. For us, God's words have been a disaster. Previously, we owned property, today it is the whites who own everything." (79)

The revolt of the Hereros against the Church was well organized. Their movement, it was maintained, had a Council of seers, whose members acted as emissaries and collected subscriptions among church members. Church services were also disrupted by members of the Youth Wing of the movement in churches in Polonia, Herbron and Saron. Youth wing members also dissuaded church members from paying their church dues.

Groups of people deserted the church, and attempts by missionaries to discourage members from joining the

movement proved ineffective and caused further losses. Many who remained in the church risked floggings from members of the movement.

In addition, Africans in locations and the surrounding rural areas were in a state of political ferment. An inscription on rocks in one of the locations which maintained that, "(South West Africa) was not the white man's country, but it belonged to Chief Michael and the Americans," (80) convinced some missionaries that there was the possibility of an impending revolt among sections of the Black population. The successful protest by about four hundred Herero women against the Government's inoculation orders and the increasing reluctance by many Africans to pay the excessive taxes imposed by the Government and to work on white farms, were blamed on the activities of the Garveyites, although it must be stressed that the ICU was also active in the region. Missionaries, however, believed that there was little or no difference between the ICU and the Moravian movement. By the end of 1922, they reported having sighted armed Hereros riding around some of the back streets of Windhoek. In addition, it was maintained that the Hereros talked openly of wanting to start a war against whites in the country. The young were particularly attracted to the movement, and they looked forward to the dawn of a new era when they would



be free of the missionaries and of all whites.

The worldwide depression of the post-World War I period, excessive taxation, shortage of arable land for Blacks and the severe drought in the 1920s contributed in no small way to the political unrest in the region, and many looked to the new movement to solve some of their problems.

Official concern was expressed by administrators, when it was discovered that a list of all European males was provided for the movement by a post office worker in Omahuru named Mathews. (81) With the background of the Herero revolts of the period 1904-1907, when Maharero had ordered that attacks on whites should be limited to German males, (82) Mathews' list was considered significant. Under the circumstances, Mathews was to be transferred from the sensitive position and all letters to and from Hereros were censored. (88) Government officials were also questioning the loyalty of Herero constables in the police force in the early 1920s, and plans were to be made to recruit members for the location of force from outside the respective tribal locations.

Among the Hotentots, where Garvey activists had been operating, government had to act swiftly to diffuse



a potentially volatile situation and prevent a revolt by Hottentots in NAOS Rehoboth district between 1921 & 1922. (84)

In the early 1920s UNIA activists had exploited the grievances of the people. For a three shilling subscription fee, they were promised freedom and a return of appropriated land occupied by the Rehoboth Bastards and whites.(85) Like their Herero counterparts, discontentment with Government policies had been simmering in the Naos Rehoboth District for some time. In 1921, as part of government attempts to force Blacks on to white farms as cheap labour, the dog tax had been increased. Collectors maintained in confidential government Reports, that about 25-30 Hottentots in the districts not only refused to pay the increased taxes, but were also unwilling to work on white farms,(86) thus depriving white farmers of essential farm labour during difficult times. Many had moved to farms in Naos and Gurumanas, under the leadership of two men, Andreas and Vaaluin Lawren. They complained that in contrast to Rehoboth Bastards and whites who had received justice from the administration after 1915, Hottentots had received little justice from the government. They also argued that the size of their herds made it difficult for many to find employment on white farms. Many farm labourers had left their masters for Naos and

Gurulmanas. They had been forced to move in search of grazing land for their herd. In addition, they complained of being forced into paying double taxation to the Government and the Bastards. In general, they argued that the country belonged neither to the Government nor to the Bastards, to whom they were forced to pay taxes. They urged the Government to provide them with unoccupied Government lands adjoining Portsmouth for grazing. A confrontation was averted, when the Government agreed to provide temporary grazing land for the Hottentots, and they in turn agreed to pay the dog tax. (87) Vaaluin Lawren and Franz Afrikaner, two activists, were blamed for the unrest and were recommended for deportation.

If compromises on both sides had averted a confrontation between the Hottentots in Naos Rehoboth, the unrest among the Bondelswart Hottentots (88) in 1923 resulted in the killing of 50 Hottentots. The South African forces, called in to quell the unrest suffered three non-fatal casualties. Their leaders, whom Government officials believed were actively supported by UNIA leaders, were captured. (89)

The movement's impact on Africans in South West Africa was a transient one. Garvey's imprisonment in the mid-1920s, and the failure of the Black Star Line



scheme, were among some of the factors adduced for its demise. In addition, leaders of the movement experienced repressive measures at the hands of the Government. A number of Liberians, who participated in the movement's activities were deported from the colony, while others like Vaaluin Lawren and Franz Afrikaner were recommended for deportation. Other leaders in the country were killed by Government forces. Enoch Mjilima, the leader of the Israelite settlers, was murdered by Government troops. The brutal massacre of the Israelites highlighted by Robert Edgar (90) was another example of repressive action taken by the South African Government against all forms of opposition by Blacks. Edgar's work, and materials in the Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers suggest that although Mjilima was not himself an active Garveyite, he was well informed about UNIA activities and received much encouragement from the association's ideals. Government suppression of the Israelites would, however, have demonstrated to Africans their inability to succeed in an armed conflict against the military might of their new over-lords, the South African Government.

Whites also expressed fears that in the event of a rising by Blacks, the strength of the police force would be inadequate to cope. Other petitions forwarded to the Government warned that the means of enforcing Government



laws and for dealing promptly and adequately with possible outbreaks of violence were inadequate, and cautioned against the over confident attitude of Government administrators, who maintained that reports of a possible uprising by the Hereros made by missionaries and other members of the white communities, were archaic and grossly exaggerated.

Government officials doubted the likelihood of warlike action by Blacks, and were adamant that there was no likelihood of serious large scale revolts by any groups in the country. (91) They did, however, admit the possibility of small outbreak in isolated parts of the country, particularly during the rainy season. As a precautionary step, magistrates in all districts were requested by the Government to prepare reports on the position in their area of jurisdiction. (92) A revolt by Hereros never materialized in the 1920s, and by the mid 1920s, the "national freedom movement" among the Hereros was in decline. Increasingly, many Hereros, according to missionary sources, began to question the credibility of some of the representatives of the Garvey movement who had collected funds for the new African Independent Republic. (92a). Unfulfilled promises by UNIA members in the country led to the disillusionment among the people. Lastly, the expected band of black American liberators failed to arrive "from the North, South, East and West,

over the great hills and Lake Windhoek to free them", and many Hereros were forced to look elsewhere for an improvement in their socio-political and economic conditions.

Finally, in its attempt to give the final blow to both the UNIA and the ICU, the administration in the then South West African decided to give total support to the newly established South West African National Congress. (91) Not only was the congress' inauguration seen by administrators as a very welcome expression of division within both the ICU and the UNIA, it was hoped that the new organization would split the membership of both movements. The South West African National Congress was seen as a less dangerous organization than the other two, and Administrators believed that leaders of the new congress would be easier to deal with.

The view was expressed that the dangers from a unified Black organization could be minimized by encouraging splits and divisions in the ranks into different factions. Diasporan and West African activists, with their greater intensity of purpose, were considered more dangerous than their Cape African and coloured counterparts who supported the new Congress. The Native Affairs Officer in Luderitz, therefore, suggested that steps should be adopted to take the SWA

## Congress

"Under the wing of the Government, with some unobtrusive but effective provisions for supervision by Government officials." (92)

A branch of the APO in South Africa established in Windhoek by Cape immigrants, would also (like its Union counterpart) have provided welcomed counter propaganda activities against the Garvey movement.

By encouraging the development and progress of moderate multi-racial political organizations in the country, the Government was hoping that Hereros Hottentots and Ovambos would transfer their support to organizations that could be more easily handled.

## Garveyism in Basutoland

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In a reply to questions from the Colonial Office about the extent of the progress of Pan Africanism among blacks in Basutoland, the Resident in 1923, E.C.F. Garraway, maintained that he "did not know of any attempts to introduce Pan Africanism among (Blacks) of Basutoland", and contended that the movement would receive very little support from Basutos if it was introduced in the country. (93) However, UNIA division no.849, in the then Basutoland, appeared, as Tony Martin has rightly suggested, to have been one of the best



supported divisions in the region, with a reported 500-600 monthly financial members. There is, as of now, little evidence on the actual activities of UNIA activists in the country. From a number of Government sources in South Africa, however, it would be reasonable to suggest that the type of activities carried on in the Union in the immediate post war period were being attempted in Basutoland. In a letter from the Deputy Commissioner of the Orange Free State to the Government Secretary in Maseru, for example, it was maintained that report had been recieved of:

"a so called Negro Minister (who) was travelling throughout the farming community in the province preaching sedition on behalf of a black republic"

In one of his addresses, the diasporan activist had maintained that there were UNIA agents in Basutoland, and pointed out that December was an important month in the progress of the new movement. The presence of at least one UNIA agent operating in the then Basutoland was also confirmed by George Mathews, a Garvey activist who operated in the Union. J. Mingay Gibbins would appear to have one of the UNIA agents referred to in Government despatches.

Other Basutos and Southern Africans complemented the activities of West Indian and Black American

activists. One of the most prominent Basuto who advocated the ideas of Garvey was Josiel Lafela, a founder member of Lekhotla La Bafo and a one time member of the Basuto National Council. In 1916 he had planned the establishment of an "Association to Oversee (Invalids Abroad)" which aimed at assisting in the repatriation of sick Basutos from different parts of the Union of South Africa.

In 1919 he founded Lekhotla La Bafo, the Basuto political movement whose ideology was later greatly influenced by Garvey-like ideas. In 1920 Lafela published a number of what were considered objectionable articles and letters in NALEDI, (95) a local newspaper, on mission hostels for women in Johannesburg, and the position of Africans and Europeans in Basutoland. In November 1920, for example, he published an article in Sesuto, in which he warned that:

"The black man who (was) misled by Europeans to hate the coming of American Negroes would throw away the idea. Let (them) strive to welcome the American Negroes with joy, for they had been told by the representative Mr. J. Mingay Gibbins that no nation should be educated unless it accepted immigrants from educated countries who (would) bring education into the country. For that reason (they should) look forward to His Excellency Marcus Garvey, the President of Africa, and the Americans with anxious anticipation. (They should also) go back and investigate if the death of ... black people was due to the children of England alone. Was England not concerned?" he asked. (96)

He was removed from his seat in the Basutoland Council by the Government because, according to Prince Arthur, although he was not a person of much influence in the country, the articles posed a danger if published outside the country, where they might be the cause of misunderstanding, and give reasons for suspicion of the loyalty of Basuto.

Undaunted by his dismissal from the Council, Lafela continued his articles, and in a memorandum on 'non denominational' schools criticised missionary education in the country and blamed white missions for position of Blacks in the country. Government authorities expressed fears that the new movement for 'non-denominational' schools might be more successful than the earlier unsuccessful independent church movement. (97)

Following the imprisonment of Garvey, Lekhotlá La Bafo, through the resident, petitioned President Calvin Coolidge for the release of Marcus Garvey. Parts of the petition signed by their President Mashoga read:

"We the people of Basutoland in South Africa, assembled in our Congress, known as 'Lekhotla La Bafo' (Commons Association), have the great honour and respect to have to put this prayer of ours before your consideration for the release of the Honourable Marcus Garvey from Atlanta prison without deportation.

We the African Negroes regard Honourable Marcus



Garvey in the same light as Jacob did to his son Joseph, who was sold as a slave and served as such in Egypt after Jacob found out. In the same manner, we regard Honourable doing well with his movement to rouse the negroes of the world to a race consciousness and nationalism to build a government of their own in Africa their motherland.

As Joseph saved his father Jacob and his brothers from clutches of great famine, Basutos (looked) to the Negroes of America for help to save (them) from the great famine of the lack of Western culture which (was) ravaging Africa and which (had) made African Negroes an easy prey to other nations of the world well equipped with modern culture.

(Basutos) regarded the imprisonment of Marcus Garvey as tantamount to the imprisonment of the African Negroes (sic) in the prison of ignorance and slavery under the most barbarous conditions to delay the day of freedom of mind and body to come to (Africans) in Africa (sic)."

Garvey, the letter continued, had committed no crime in rousing negro peoples of the world to race consciousness.

In another letter to J.C.R. Sturrock, the Resident Commissioner of Basutland in 1927 from Moshoga, the then President of Lekhotla La Bafu, in which a copy of the letter to Calvin Coolidge quoted extensively above was enclosed, he intimated to the Resident that his movements letter requesting clemency for Garvey was prompted largely by the failing health of Garvey as a result of his imprisonment. They were also actuated by the fact that the Garvey movement was not

"against the imperialistic domination of European powers§ in Africa, but that it aimed at the civilization of Africans in Africa by their fellow brothers from the diaspora." (99)

The letter continued to state that:

"In regard to education, England had absolutely failed to use her trust to educate the Africans (sic)."(100)

"In this connection the education given to Africans simply aimed at making them the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the European people and their general need and thirst for education is felt all over Africa, but more especially in countries under England. Africa is in need for real Western culture."(101)

Indeed, Lafela was still a prominent figure in Basutoland in the years after the second World War. He was imprisoned in November 1941 following his call for full military service for Basutos, and he was released in April 1944. (102)

Other Garvey propagandists visited the then Basutoland from America, supplementing the efforts of Lafela, members§ and official of Division 849 in Maseru and itinerant UNIA activists. In 1925, for example, three astronomers, Anne Wilkinson, Drs. Freda and Gertrude Adams visited the country and urged leading headmen and their people to support the efforts of Garvey and the UNIA for a free and redeemed motherland Africa. (103)

In their addresses to the Basutoland people they

maintained they had come to the country not to tell them what the Black American could do for Basutos in Africa, but to urge them to work out their own salvation. Africans, they maintained, should rise on their feet and praise God. They should, they continued, claim for the continent one God, one aim and one destiny. They called on the sons and daughters of Africa to

"Coalesce, unite and build themselves up into a strong and indivisible unit, believing always in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man....(104)

They maintained that there was much strength in unity, and urged Africans to cooperate and unite under the banner of the UNIA which afforded ample and choice opportunities for aspiring young men and women of the "negro race".

Although Colonial Administrators in the then Basutoland in the 1920s maintained that Garveyism was not a force in the territory, they did admit that Ethioipianism which manifested itself in a movement for undenominational schools was a potent force, which could achieve some degree of success, what administrators in the country failed to do was to make the vital connection between leaders of the movement for undenominational schools and the Garvey movement in the Southern African subregion, or between the Garvey



movement and Lekhotla La Bafo, in spite of the close similarities in their ideologies. In addition, Josiel Lafela, who had published articles in Naledi on undenominational schools and missionary hostels for women in Johannesburg, was also a prominent member of Lekhotla La Bafo, and in other articles had expressed pro Garvey sentiments.

The campaign by George Makoeni and Manoedi Mokete in America against the Black to Africa scheme propounded by Garvey, would seem to lend credence to the idea that Garveyism was a potent force in Basutoland for some time in the 1920s.

In a letter to Churchill, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Manoedi outlined the aims of his campaign, and solicited moral and financial support for counter propaganda activities against the ideas of Garvey and the UNIA advocated in Basutoland. Parts of the letter read:

"We are conducting a vigorous and systematically organised campaign of educational propaganda against the UNIA and Garvey..... We cannot allow him to proceed uncurbed with his destructive work, that of impressing the US people with the idea that British Africa is dissatisfied with British rule. Therefore, in the interest of my people and Government, I have taken up the cudgel against him and propose to fight him until his influence is entirely destroyed." (105)

Although E.C. Garraway, the Resident Commissioner in Maseru in 1922, (106) was in favour of Government action to encourage Manoedi, Arthur Frederick, the then High Commissioner in Cape Town, decided against any form of financial assistance as advised by Garraway. (107) Manoedi went along however, with the publication of his pamphlet with the financial support of one of Garvey's adversaries in America.

From the above, and also from the works by Tony Martin, it would be reasonable to suggest that Garveyism was a potent, although transient, force in Basutoland. There is, however, still scope for further work on the impact of activities of itinerant and resident Garveyites in Basutoland and other parts of the Southern African subregion, which the size and scope of the work did not allow.

#### Conclusion

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Macgaffey, in his "Ideology and Belief", (108) has argued that Pan Africanism in general was a response to white racism. This contention has been accepted by scholars who have treated all the various strands of Pan Africanism during the period 1900-1960.

Many have commented on the popularity of Garveyism

among the black adult population in the post World War I period. This was particularly so among impressionable young students in schools and colleges. With time, a large number of people became disillusioned with the solutions offered by Garvey and with the failure of those solutions to achieve any meaningful changes. They also began to question some of the fundamental fallacies in the movement's ideology and methods. Their disillusionment was not because Garveyism was an ideology that was becoming unpopular in the region in the post second World War period. It was caused largely by a number of factors which would be enumerated below.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter and elsewhere in the work, UNIA leaders and activists in the region came under intense pressure from Government administrators. Isa Macdonald Lawrence, the Nyasaland Garveyite, was imprisoned for two years for taking into Nyasaland six copies of the NEGRO WORLD. The activities of Headley (the UNIA leader in South West Africa), came under intense scrutiny by administrators who were looking for a reason to deport him. Other UNIA activists were either deported or imprisoned. The reaction of Government in the Southern African subregion to Garveyism was more impressive than the US Government's response, because Garveyism was a more potent threat to the very fabric of the South African economy. While



there were minority groups, like the Klu Klux Klan among white Americans, who could support Garvey's plans for a Black Republic in Africa, whites of whatever political persuasion in South Africa were well aware of the crucial role of Black labour for industrial and agricultural progress, although South Africa was to remain a white man's country. Attempts by Creswell to use white labour in mines, for example, had proved unprofitable. Africa for the Africans, a black dominated Southern Africa, or any Movement which advocated the establishment of an independent black Republic was therefore an anathema to white South Africans.

Ethiopianism in the pre-First World War period had been steered into safer channels, and by the 1920s had, as Shepperson has suggested, lost its radical content. White power in South Africa was thus one of the reasons for the movement's failure.

Garvey's imprisonment, on an alleged crime and the failure of the Black Star Line scheme, were other important catalysts to the demise of the movement in the region. (109)

Stein's hypothesis in her recent work, while referring specifically to Garveyism in the diaspora and in Liberia, could well provide some worthwhile clues to the

transient nature of the movement's impact on the region. The process of modernization and its corresponding destruction of traditional institutions and culture (an essential ingredient for attraction to Garveyism), was also taking place in the region in the 1920s and 1930s with these and a long tradition of Ethiopianism in Southern Africa, one would have expected more spectacular successes. However, while Garveyism was more popular in South Africa than in other parts of the Continent, its progress in parts of the region, treated in this work and particularly so in South Africa was affected by the presence of a large white bourgeois class who, with state support, attempted to suppress the emergence of a black bourgeois class.

The movement was also competing with the Bookerite and Du'Bois brand of Pan Africanism which was more acceptable to certain groups of liberal whites, as they emphasised an assimilationist and multi-racial policy. The extreme black nationalism advocated by Garvey and the prominent role assigned to diasporan Blacks with their condescending attitude to their African brothers, alienated many black leaders of thought, who had gone through missionary institutions in the country and had there imbibed the Bookerite and Duboisian ideas. Many also considered their methods too radical and dangerous, and men like Gumede and Thaele, who were active

supporters of the movement, soon lost their position and support within the ANC.

In addition, although the UNIA appealed for some time to the sections of the masses, it could not continue to sustain their support with its petit bourgeois aims for too long. This could partly be held responsible for the disillusionment of the uncommitted masses. It could also be argued that, unlike Ethiopianism of the pre-1920 period, Garveyism couldn't appeal directly to the masses. Its leaders didn't make the jump between the elitism of Garveyism and the class structure. The medium of expression in the NEGRO WORLD being English meant also that only those who had received some form of education could read copies of the paper.

While it is possible, that there were ways of getting information obtained in all newspapers to the uneducated, this must have limited the extent to which Garvey's message reached the masses. Lastly, although there has been no evidence to suggest that anti-miscegenation was an issue with Garveyites in Southern Africa, anti-miscegenation as a policy must have, for historical reasons, been rejected by a number of groups in the region. The APO (110) was one of the movement's most vehement critics. APO leaders, for example, in



their publication the APO, were highly critical of those they termed "Garvey and his flunkys". They also pointed out to their readers that "a large portion of local subscriptions was going to the US to assist in meeting (the) fat salaries of UNIA officials".(111) It is possible, however, that APO criticism was based more on internal conditions in South Africa than on their opposition to Garvey's anti-miscegenation doctrines.

Coloureds, during the 1920s, and 1930 were granted economic, political and social privileges denied to the black communities, in an attempt by the administration to divide the two groups. However Garveyites in the Union, while being critical of the leadership of the APO for "organizing politically on the same principles as the Nationalist party and for attempting to achieve their ends at the expense of blacks"(112) maintained that the poor among the coloured population identified with and supported the cause of blacks in the Union.(113)

Alienated from the ANC leadership, distrusted by Colonial Office officials, and Southern African Government administrators, criticised by the APO leadership, the UNIA, with its internal contradictions, failed to achieve its aims in the region. This was particularly true of its attempts to solve the economic,

social and political problems of blacks in the Southern African subregion in the post World War I period. It succeeded like other political and industrial movements like the ANC and the ICU, in nurturing in blacks "the seeds of race consciousness self-pride, self-assertiveness, and self-reliance, and in encouraging a determination to unite in their struggle" for freedom from economic, social, political and religious bondage.

In the main, however, when applied to the Southern African subregion, the ideology of Garvey should be regarded as transitional, in the sense that in the 1920s, when it was most active in the region, there was no coherent class structure among blacks. The class structure was in the process of formation.

## Footnotes

1. A. Paul "Inspiring and Controversial Marcus Garvey Lives", The Chronicle of Higher Education, 5 March, 1986.
2. See, for example, T. Martin, Race First, The Ideological and Organised Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, West Port Connecticut, 1976.
3. Josiah Madzunya was born in the late 1900s in Sibasa, in the Northern Transvaal. He arrived in Johannesburg in 1931, and earned a living as a peddler. He attended high school and obtained a standard seven certificate. A supporter of Thema's National Minded Bloc, he later became chairman of the ANC branch in Alexander. He espoused extreme black nationalist ideas, and later lost the elections to become President of the Transvaal ANC in 1958. He was a member of the newly established PAC the following year, but failed to win a seat on the Executive of the movement. In spite of the fact that he was critical of the decision to launch the Positive Action Campaign which led to the Sharpeville massacres, he was imprisoned for eighteen months for his role in events leading up to the Campaign. He was endorsed out of Johannesburg after his release and returned to his home town Sibasa in 1962. G. Carter & T. Karis, From Protest to Challenge, A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1964, Vol.4, Stanford, Hoover Institute Press, p.64.
4. For details of Lekhotla La Bafo see, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, African Studies Centre, UCLA.
5. See chapter on the New Pan Africanism in this work.
6. See G. Carter and T. Karis, op. cit.
7. ANCYL pamphlet. No date. Carter/Karis Collection, York University Library.
8. See C. Page, op. cit. for details of Turner's activities in the Union.



9. Ibid.  
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10. Report of Native Unrest from the Natal Division of the CID to the Deputy Commissioner South African Policy Department, SOAS, London University.
11. For details of the Black Star Line fleet of ships, see J. Stein, The World of Marcus Garvey, Race and  
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Class in Modern Society, Baton Rouge and London,  
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Louisiana State University Press, 1986. For details of the activities of Moses, a member of crew of a ship in port at Durban, see Confidential Report, E. Bowles for Secretary for Justice, to the secretary of the Interior, Pretoria, dated 8.12.1920. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers UCLA.
12. Letter, undersecretary for the Interior to the Principal Immigration Officer, dated 21.12.1920. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
13. See M. MPHAHLELE to the Editor of The Negro World  
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from Johannesburg dated 30/1/1926, p.8. Another letter from one Bernard Belman in Johannesburg written to the Negro World in November, 1925 had read:  
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"The opinion of Blacks in the Transvaal is that the Honourable Garvey is the Great Kind. They simply swear by him and would go through fire and water for and with him. The Negro  
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World's sales have been exceptionally good."  
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Published in the Negro World 24/10/1925.  
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14. M. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, Seven Seas Book, p.126.  
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15. Interview, Robert Edgar with Mofutsanya in the Marcus Garvey AND UNIA Papers, UCLA, Los Angeles, USA.
16. See M. Perham, Ten Africans, <sup>London, 1963</sup> pp. 277-278, also  
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Bradford H., "The ICU of Africa in the South African Countryside 1924 - 1930". Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1985.
17. M. Perham, op. cit.  
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18. H. Bradford, Op. Cit., p. 364.  
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19. R. Edgar, "Garveyism in Africa. Dr. Wellington and the American Movement in the Transkei", Ufahamu, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1976, pp. 31-57  
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20. Interview Baruch Hirson, London, 1986.
21. See "Garvey Day March 7 celebrated by members of Woodstock Division of the UNIA in The Negro World, 24/4/1926, p. 8.  
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22. See The Negro World, 16-4-1924, Marcus Garvey  
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and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
23. See letter P.L. Gulwa to Marcus Garvey, in Kensington, London, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
24. See letter M. Garvey. to the Reverend C. Nyombolo, Cape Town, 5-2-1929, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
25. See letter Secretary for Justice to Secretary for the Interior on Negro Organization Propaganda and Remarks by Law Advisers, 19-6-1924, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
26. See letter Secretary for the Interior to the Interior to the Postmaster General, 13-6-1924. Reference to Minute No. 124 172/24, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
27. Letter Acting Postmaster General to Secretary for the Interior, 12-6-1924. No. 124 72/24, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
28. Letter Secretary for the Interior to the Postmaster General, 24-6-1924. No. 34/168/74, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
29. See Imvo Zabantu, 3-6-1939.  
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30. For details of Gumede's UNIA connections, see T. Martin, Race First, op. cit.  
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31. For details of Skota's activities, see Ibid.

31a. See Ibid.

32. See J. Mancode, The Bloemfontein Bantu and  
Coloured People's Directory, A. C. White and  
Company, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.

33. Johnson was President of the ICU at its inception.

34. See The Negro World, 24.4.1926, p. 8.

35. See letter J. J. Magade to The Negro World,  
published in the 9th January edition of the  
paper. Marcus Garvey & UNIA Papers, UCLA.

36. Ibid.

37. See H. Bradford, "The ICU of South Africa in  
the South African Countryside, 1924-1930", Ph.D.  
Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1985,  
Chapter 7.

38. Ibid.

39. B. Willan, Sol Plaatje, South African Nationalist,  
London, Heinemann, 1984.

40. For details of Aggrey's career in general and his  
trips to South Africa, see K. King,, "James E. Aggrey,  
Collaborator, Nationalist, Pan Africanist", Canadian  
Journal Of African Studies, Vol. III, 1970,  
E.W. SMITH, Aggrey Of Africa A Study In Black And  
White, New York, 1929.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.



44. W.M., Macartney Dr. Aggrey, Ambassador for Africa,  
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London, SCM Press, 1949.
45. According to Umteteli Wa Bantu, the Blackman in  
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1921 had described Aggrey as "a slippery tongued liar".  
See Umteteli Wa Bantu, 30.7. 1921.  
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46. For a brief biographincal sketch of Msimang, see  
Carter/Karis, op. cit., pp. 104-6.  
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47. Simbini Nkomo was another who expressed Pan African  
sentiments and suffered a premature death. For  
details of his career, see K. King., Pan Africanism  
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Education, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971, pp. 67-70  
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and 215-216.
48. J. Aggrey, "The Native Students of Africa",  
The Students World, Vol. XVI, January 1923,  
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No. 1, pp. 68-69.
49. Copies of The Students World were discovered  
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in the Library of Congress in Washington DC.  
In the 1920s, copies were distributed to students  
in Black Universities throughout the Union.
50. The obituary of R. L. William, a member of  
Lichtenburg division, appeared in The Blackman  
of 9.3.1938. -----
51. See The Blackman, 10.4.1938:  
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52. Mrs. Onfroy's obituary appeared in The Blackman  
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of 4.6.1939. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
53. SWAPO, To Be Born A Nation, Zed Press, 1981, p. 163.  
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54. Report of Administrator of South Africa for 1924.  
UG 33-35, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
55. Material for work is based largely on reports by  
Rhenish missionaries, articles in The Negro World,  
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concerning the then South West Africa, and materials from the Namibian archives, all obtained from the Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.

56. Bendite, der R. M. G., 1931, Marcus garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
57. Members of the different tribal communities according to the reports were being urged to look to Marcus Garvey and Professor Thaele for leadership.
58. It has been estimated that over 20,000 Hereros lost their lives during the Revolt.
59. See Minute from Officer in Charge of Native Affairs, Windhoek, to the Secretary for South West Africa, Cape Town, entitled "Presence in Ovamboland of an American or Liberian", dated 15.2.1929. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
60. George Mathews, according to reports, had his headquarter in Cape Town in the Union. The reports also maintained that he was sentenced for six weeks IHL in Swakopmund on the 20th January 1920 for theft and had earlier in 1917 been convicted for assault in Windhoek. Ibid.  
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61. Ibid. See also Excerpts of Reports on Missionary Work in South West Africa in 1933, "Remarks on becoming Independent. The Mission Church in South West Africa." Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers. UCLA.  
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62. Chief Impumbu was supposed to have provided a house with a servant for George Mathews. Ibid.  
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63. According to Mathews, other UNIA activists had been sent to the then Bechuanaland, Tanganyika, the Transvaal, Natal and the Rhodesias. Ibid.  
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64. Veddor, 1926 "Remarks on Becoming Independent. An Outside Impetus Towards Becoming Independent". Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers. UCLA.  
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65. Born in 1892, he received his early education at the Wesleyan church school in Aliwal in the Cape Province. He later attended Zonnebloem College in Cape Town. He

served for fourteen months with the South African Labour contingent in France during the first world war. He later worked as a mine policeman on the Witwatersrand mines. Lastly he ran of a grocery business at Boksburg for a six month period. He was connected with the ICU. He was also a promoter and editor of the Blackman, a pro Garvey

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publication in the Union for some time. In addition, he was an active member of the Griqualand West Native Voters Association and the Cape Native Voters Convention. He was also closely connected with the Mendi Club as the Club's Official President, and with the Claremont Choristers. Information obtained from letter Ncwana to Lord Buxton, soliciting support in regard to education. Also letter from the Prime Minister's Office, Cape Town, dated 20.2.1919. Marcus Garvey & UNIA Papers, UCLA.

66. From "Reaction among colonialist circles in Germany to the political ferments among the African". Two reactions in a German colonialist journal. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
67. "Report by Bericht Uber die Mission abeit in Sudwest Afrika", 1933. Translated for the Marcus Garvey and letter from Olpp to Lieber Bruder Wegner, dated 20.8.1924 in VEM.C/S Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
68. See Vem C/k II Vedder 1926. Bermerkungen zur Selbstaendigung der Missions kinche in Sued West Afrika. Translated for the Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers, UCLA. According to this report, wealthy Hereros were willing to contribute to a cause they believed would rid the country of whites. Marcus Garvey & UNIA Papers, UCLA.
69. Confidential Report from the Office of the Magistrate to A.J. Waters, Secretary for South West Africa, Windhoek, Rehoboth, dated 14.3.1922. Reference No. 3/7/21, Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers, UCLA.
70. Ibid.  
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71. Ibid.  
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72. See letter to Headly to the magistrate, Luderitz, dated 26.11.1922. South West Africa Archives, no. 4, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
73. Letter, Headly, F. H., UNIA President Luderitz Division 294, to A.C. Warner, Resident Magistrate Luderitz, dated 27.1.1922. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.



74. Letter, F.H. Headly, to magistrate Luderitz, dated 26.1.1922. SWA Archives, No. 4, Archives of the magistrate of Luderitz, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
75. Petition F.H. Headly, to Gilbert Reitz Hofmeyr, Administrator of South West Africa, dated 6.2.1922. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers.
76. Translation 11067, letter to Secretary for South West Africa from Magistrate at Luderitz, dated 20.3.1922. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
77. Ibid. 15 had been paid to the estates of all  
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deceased members, while over 37 was paid to members for medical treatment.
78. UNIA colours of red, black and green were also worn by blacks in many parts of the town. Marcus Garvey & UNIA Papers, UCLA.
79. By the end of 1923, about 148 members of the Church congregation under a black teacher had left the RMG. By 1926, 78 had returned according to a report on the period by Ponnighams dated 25.10.1926, Vem c/h50 1927. See also monthly report of the Rhenish Missionary Society for 1928. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
80. See Missionary Report for the RMG by Meier and Clapps reaction, Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
81. Confidential report re report of Herero Native Unrest, by the magistrate at Omahuru, Ref. 24/5 E22 (ab+c A396/13). Omahuru 18/10/22. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
82. For other steps suggested by the Acting Magistrate for Okahandja, see his letter to the Secretary for South West Africa, dated 17.11.1922 Also, confidential memorandum, Trans. 13028, CID W.E. Evans, Head constable to Divisional CID Officer, dated 30.7.1922. Section on the Insecurity in Windhoek. Marcus Garvey and UNIA papers, UCLA.
83. See Memorandum on the 'Native' question by the Officer in charge of 'Native' Affairs based on data dated 28.9.1923. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.

84. Report on Hottentot Unrest, Naos Rehoboth District, from J.C. Hofmeyr to Secreatry for south West Africa, 2.3.1921 No. 2/3/21, A 363/6. Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers, UCLA.
85. Ibid.  
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86. Ibid.  
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87. Ibid.  
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88. See South African Outlook, 1.5.1923, pp. 102-105  
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for extracts from the Bondelzswarts Report.
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Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1977.
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92. In addition, plain clothes policemen like  
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D Honey, Mbabane, Swaziland.
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102. See The New Africa, April 1944, vol. no. 4.

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105. See letter Manoedi to Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 30./9.1922. MG, UNIA Papers, UCLA. Also PRO, London. Also referred to in T., Martin, op. cit.

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## CHAPTER VII

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### ISA MACDONALD LAWRENCE

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#### A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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#### His Early Life

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The Providence Industrial Mission (PIM) formerly the Ajawa Providence Industrial Union founded in 1900 was a prominent institution during the 1915 Chilembwe uprising. The wave of persecution which followed the uprising involved the closure of the Church for over twenty years, inspite of repeated pleas by the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention and PIM members in Nyasaland for the government to reopen the mission.

A file on Isa Macdonald Lawrence in the Marcus Garvey and UNIA collection, gives details of Lawrence's early life. Documents in the file include important confidential police reports on Isa Macdonald Lawrence dated January, 1927, obtained from the Malawi national Archives. They also contain secret government despatches on Lawrence. It is from these sources that details of the early life of Lawrence was compiled. (1) Lawrence was probably born in 1892 and was a Yao from the central region of Nyasaland. According to sources, Lawrence was one of the leading figures, instrumental in the

reopening of the PIM in 1926 under Malekebu. His name did not denote his religion unlike those names identified by White in his recent work.(1a) It would appear likely that Lawrence was once Isaac Macdonald. His christian names, could have been a reflection of his early association with the Zambesi Industrial Mission (2) and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission at Malsamulo (3) where, according to archival sources, he received his early education. The Zambesi Mission was established by Booth in 1892, and its sphere of operation included stations in Blantyre, Upper Shire, West Shire and the South Nyasaland District. Material on Lawrence is, indeed, very scarce, but it can be reasonably suggested that before joining the King's African Rifles (KAR) he adopted the muslim name Isa, a shortened form of Isaac, which would suggest he had Islamic connections. During the immediate post - rising period, christians in particular came under the suspicion of the Authorities. A manhunt was undertaken for christians, and following the call for people to come out of their hiding places in the hills, many christians were arrested, summarily tried, and executed. Muslim Yao Chiefs were considered loyal to the administration, and Muslim askaris carried out arrest of christians with much vigour.

It was also believed by administrators in Nyasaland, that Muslims were less likely to cause



problems for the government than their christian counterparts. His adoption of a muslim name could also be seen as an attempt to disassociate himself from Chilembwe's rising, which he was probably sympathetic towards at the time.

The post 1915 period were difficult years for christians in Malawi. There were reports of a possible rising by Europeans. In Magomero, for example Wade, the sub-resident of the District at the time had reported in 1916 that whites on the estate had gathered in offices and had assumed an air of being on the defensive. "A warning had been sent to them that Spearmen had been seen hiding in one of the estates although they were not engaged in any violent project."(4)

Some Africans were also much alarmed, as there was some apprehension that Chilembwe-ites, still at large, might attack Africans still loyal to the government. Reference was also made to a settlement of "armed and unscrupulous outlaws situated only a day's march from their homes."(5) Indeed, four people who had admitted they were christians were arrested in March, 1916, although they were reluctantly released for lack of legal grounds for keeping them in detention.(6) The chapter on Evangelical Pan Africanism in the pre 1920 period has also shown that a large number of christians

were arrested, executed and imprisoned for supporting and leading the Chilenbwe rising. It is therefore, reasonable to suggest that Isa could have adopted that muslim sounding name to avoid harrassment and possible imprisonment, if he was in any way connected with the PIM or the 1915 events. At this stage, however, it must be stressed that this is mere conjecture, and further research into his career is needed.

His Post-1915 Career, Lawrence, the UNIA, the ICU,  
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and the PIM.  
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By 1914, with the beginning of the first world war, many Yaos joined the King African Rifles to give support to the British in their war against the Germans in East Africa. Lawrence joined the KAR during the war although the exact date of his enlistment is not stated in materials available so far. Service with the King African Rifles could also have been a useful cover for Lawrence if indeed he was actively involved with Chilenbwe during the years, preceding the rising. He was discharged in 1919 and later found employment as a clerk with a Mr. Sabbatini on the Mpanaga estates. It is interesting to note that the estate, which formerly belonged to Mr. Sabbatini, came under criticism by the Chiradzulu Native Association in the 1920s, as members called for a take-over of the estate (then owned by a

Mr. H. Thomas) by the government for use by Africans. While working on the estate, Lawrence lived at Nkwaila village, located about one and half miles from the old PIM site. By this time he had married Ruth Malekebu the sister of Daniel Sharp Malekebu. The exact date of the wedding is not known. Letters from Malekebu's wife in Philadelphia in 1919 addressed to Mrs. Ruth Lawrence, suggest however that Isa had married Ruth before the end of the war. Malekebu himself made frequent mention of his brother in law in letters to his sister during this period.

In a number of materials in the public records office in London, for example, Malekebu intimated to the sister, Ruth, that he had had a meeting with one of Lawrence's friends in America. He also apologised for his inability to forward to Lawrence the materials he had requested. Although no document gives the date of his wedding to Ruth, it can be assumed that they got married before 1918. (7)

The Malekebus we know stayed at Nkwaila village during their visit to Nyasaland. It is possible that they stayed with Ruth and Isa although it is unlikely that Isa met his brother in-law and wife. We also know that Lawrence had a brother referred to in Malawi archival sources as JBC Lawrence although very little is



known about him and his connection with the rising. Lawrence was arrested in February 1921 for being in possession of whisky. He was later sentenced to three months imprisonment for the offence. Colonial administrators always had their doubts about Lawrence, who they maintained, was not <sup>as</sup> apolitical as he made himself out to be. Lurking underneath his innocent exterior was a dangerous agitator, they insisted. To justify their impressions they undertook strict surveillance of Lawrence's activities both inside and outside prison and attempted to smear his character to fit into their type of person they thought he should be. Their campaign of disinformation about Lawrence, because of his suspected pro PIM stance and his involvement with other radical groups and individuals probably started from this period. Having escaped imprisonment during the post uprising period, he remained one of the marked men in Nyasaland.

Before his imprisonment, he had been one of the key figures instrumental in efforts to persuade the government to re-open the PIM. He had lived in the Ncheu Province which had been under the influence of Fillipo Chinyama, and it could be suggested that the Lawrence brothers, Isa and J.B.C. Lawrence, were either connected with the rising or were closely involved with it. Should this have been the case, it could also be rightly

suggested that J.B.C. Lawrence, Isa's brother, fled to Mozambique after the rising or that he decided to seek safety in the territory for a while.

John Gray Kufa one of Chilembwe's associates had as early as 1896 established a branch of the Blantyre Mission in Mulumbo, although this was closed four years later. John Chilembwe himself in 1910 visited Mozambique and preached to the former members of John Gray Kufa's Church. He also contemplated the idea of opening a branch of the Church in the Portuguese Colony. In addition, many immigrants from Mozambique brought their grievances against the thangata to Chilembwe who both Christian and Moslem alike saw as their 'saviour'. These early contacts between Chilembwe and Mozambique were continued after the uprising in 1915.

A number of the prominent leaders of the rising had escaped to Mozambique after the rising. Among these were Jonathan Maniwa, Fred Maganga, a former Captain Archie Makina, Nelson Storo, and John Cameron. These had settled at Chiradzulu hill South West of Lake Chilwa and Mulumbo.

There was (according to Nyasaland Annual Reports for 1916) a gang of "Chilembwe Outlaws" in Portuguese East Africa on the Mbugwe stream close to the Nyasaland

border.(8) A number of these fugitives from Nyasaland, who had escaped into Portuguese East Africa, had been released by the Governor General on the grounds that theirs was a capital office, and there was no extradition treaty between the two countries.(9) There were other Chilembwe-ites in Mulumbo, Chivipiri, and Mkwamba station. Among them were Nawani (former head man at Namadzi), Zilongolola, Matenga, Malidadi Walanai, Mohikama and Nyimbili. They were among the missing rebels advertised as wanted by the Nyasaland government after the rising.(10) In addition, fugitives in these villages included the wives of ex-Chilembwe-ites who were then being held in detention in Zomba.(11) Could J.B.C. Lawrence have been one of the fugitives? Or could he have been an innocent Nyasa employed in Mozambique?

Smith, the then Governor, had reported that the rebels in Portuguese East Africa were a "serious menace to the Nyasaland Protectorate, as they were abducting women across the border, and raiding farms".(12) He also maintained in reports to the Colonial Office, that guns were discovered in the villages set up by the rebels and that contacts were being maintained with people on the Magomero estate.(13) By September 1916, Colonial Office reports had maintained that the Governor of Quilimane, following threats by the British, had interned the rebels in Lourenco Marques. Although there is no evidence to



suggest that J.B.C. Lawrence was one of the rebels, the close relationship between Nyasas in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa made his trip to that country not altogether an unusual one. Isa Lawrence himself left Nyasaland after his release from prison for Mozambique, and was employed as a clerk with the firm Companhia Boror at Chinde. The port at Chinde was still a British possession, which meant that the intense surveillance Lawrence's activities and the dirty tricks game played by British Colonial officials would continue. Lawrence it seemed had a very precarious respite in Mozambique. He became deeply involved with politics in Mozambique and was appointed an agent for the NEGRO WORLD in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. He also became involved with the activities of the ICU and was the local agent for its paper the WORKERS HERALD. From Chinde, regular pamphlets and tracts were sent to Andrew Mkuliche in Chiradzulu, who was at the time involved with efforts to re-open the PIM. Numerous letters (censored by the government probably at the post office in Zomba) were also sent to his wife (at Malabvi Hills) and other PIM members, the contents of which convinced the Chief Police Commissioner at Zomba that although he pretended he was a good Christian and condemned the Watch Tower Movement, he was, in fact, leading a double life. Letters to his wife he continued, contained expressions of his real radical and extremist views. His link with the UNIA was confirmed by

a letter from Lawrence published in the NEGRO WORLD in March 1923. With Colonial Office officials, keeping a close watch on the activities of Malekebu in America they must have connected both Lawrence and Malekebu with radical groups in America.

In 1924, Lawrence left Chinde for a post with the firm Companhia Industrial de Beira, and it was while here, that his letters to Malekebu, ex-Chilembwe-ites, Dr. East, (the corresponding secretary of the Foreign Mission Board) and with Kadalie in South Africa, were censored by the Nyasaland government, British officials in America and in South Africa. His political activities in Mozambique and his association with ex-Chilembwe-ites had made him a marked man. More damaging for his reputation, it seemed, was his relationship with Clements Kadalie, the ICU movement and with the Garvey movement. This caused most concern to the Nyasaland Government, since both movements had been banned in the Protectorate.

Judging from Kadalie's letter to Lawrence, it is clear that Lawrence expressed a desire to join the ICU, although it is not clear what form this took. He was requested by Kadalie to organise a branch of the ICU in Mozambique. In a letter from the ICU leader soliciting his support for the organization of an ICU branch in

Beira, Kadalie had written in December, 1924.

"I am pleased to learn you are anxious to fall in line with us. We will appreciate it if you will organize workers in Beira, - particularly dock workers."(14)

In, an apparent reply to Lawrence's enquiries about Kadalie's relationship with Marcus Garvey, Kadalie had written in a letter to Lawrence in Mozambique dated 4th April, 1925.

"I know Garvey though not in official correspondence. I am proud of his work. He is another hero of the race. Thank God we have such men."(15)

Unfortunately again, it has not been possible to trace Isa's letter to Kadalie which prompted this reply in the Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers.

It can be suggested that if Isa did take up Kadalie's plea for support for the organisation of dock workers in Beira that he was converted to trade Unionism while he was in Mozambique. Unfortunately, all available materials on Lawrence fail to mention anything else about his trade union activities except for the fact that he was an agent for the WORKERS HERALD for Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

The materials available on Lawrence seem to have



been those which would implicate him or paint him as a thoroughly undersirable character. Thus we know from CID reports that he corresponded with Kadalie, the NEGRO WORLD and with Malekebu. These were characters who were regarded as enemies of the State of Nyasaland.

Other relevant data on the activities of Lawrence and other UNIA agents in Mozambique are difficult to come by. New materials by Robert Hill on the Garvey movement in Portuguese East Africa, however, show that the UNIA had members in Beira.(16) Two of them, Zuze Anderson Lewis and the Black Mozambican Jeffrey Matthew Edward, employed as a house servant, were detained, in 1922, at the Beira Police Station for possessing UNIA certificates of membership.(17) The authorities were particularly concerned, since their home town in the Tete District was close to the Barue District, the scene of a serious insurrection in 1918.(18) No evidence so far in the UNIA Papers have connected Lawrence with these two men. The papers however, reveal correspondence between Lawrence and the NEGRO WORLD.

Lawrence like Yergan in South Africa was able to accommodate the ideals of Chilembwe, Marcus Garvey and Clements Kadalie. All three ideological schools were represented in Lawrence's activities and it again vividly demonstrates the point stressed in the

biographical chapters on Max Yergan and Thema that the characters highlighted in these sections of the thesis were capable of moving in different worlds, at the same time or at different times, without any apparent sense of contradiction or inconsistency. Hence in Lawrence, we find the radical and moderate evangelical Pan Africanism of Chilembwe and Malekebu, the secular Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey and Kadalie's black nationalist trade Unionist activities. Thus Lawrence could occupy several of the historical postures at once or at different times of his career.

The period 1923-1925 in Lawrence's absence were crucial years for what was to happen to Lawrence on his return to Nyasaland in 1925. According to a report in the AFRICAN WORLD, Garvey and a number of his officials were planning a speaking tour of the world, and Nyasaland and South Africa were included in their itinerary. This was viewed with great concern by the Duke of Devonshire, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was concerned about the possible effect of a visit to Nyasaland by Garvey on Africans in the country. This must have confirmed the fears of the Governor that Nyasaland was under the influence of Garvey and the UNIA. As a precautionary step, it was advised that if Garvey visited the region, action should be taken under Section 4(d) of Ordinance No. 17 of



1922, which would prohibit him and his associates from entering the Protectorate as undersirable visitors.(19)

It was also a period when negotiations were taking place between the Nyasaland government and the PIM for a possible re-opening of Chilebwe's mission. The renewed activities of ex-PIM members and followers of Chilembwe, the visit to Nyasaland of Malekebu, the apparent failure of government measures to curb the activities of independent churches in the region discussed already in Chapter I, and rumours of a possible revolt among muslims in both Nyasaland and Mozambique, meant that men like Lawrence , connected with the ICU, the UNIA and PIM, came under intense scrutiny by the government.

Although, as the last chapter has shown, South African government authorities found it difficult to prohibit the distribution of the NEGRO WORLD through the South African postal service, and the paper was legally being circulated in the country late as the 1930s, the government of Nyasaland had, in 1922, restricted the circulation of the paper in the country. Gazette No.54 of 1922 and prohibited the importation and distribution of the paper in the Nyasaland protectorate. The same gazette had also banned the importation and distribution of the WORKERS HERALD, the ICU organ. As an agent of both papers, Lawrence was in close contact with Clements



Kadalie and UNIA activists. It is not clear whether copies of the NEGRO WORLD came directly from America or from activists in South Africa. Whatever the source, his contact with leading ICU members, Garveyites and ex-Chilembwe-ites, some of whom he might have met in prison, made him a marked and dangerous man in the eyes of the Colonial Administrators in Nyasaland. Censored letters from the Malekebu's to Isa and his wife confirmed the government's fears. Lastly his pro-Garvey leanings, for the Colonial Administrators, were confirmed in his letter to the NEGRO WORLD published in one of the 1923 editions of the paper. In it Lawrence endorsed the programmes of Garvey and the UNIA, and maintained that they were the last hopes for the Black man both in Africa in general and Nyasaland in particular, and for the Blackman in the diaspora. Garveyism, he contended was the only means by which the Blackman could be saved from white oppression. (19)

#### His Imprisonment.

In 1925, on his way home from Portuguese East Africa, he was arrested and accused of importing copies of the NEGRO WORLD and the WORKERS HERALD into the country. Lawrence was charged with sedition under the seditious publications act section 1 sub-section 2, of 1926 and the trial took place on the twenty-ninth of

September, 1926. (20) His defence counsel was B.B. Lilley, while A.M. Jepson the Postmaster General of Zomba, was a chief prosecuting witness.

Led in evidence by the prosecuting counsel, Jepson maintained that the authorities were certain that the newspaper in question were meant for distribution among regular subscribers, since he Lawrence was an agent for both the NEGRO WORLD and the WORKERS HERALD. He also produced in court an extract of a letter censored in the post, addressed to George S. Mwase in Chilinge, himself a regular subscriber to the NEGRO WORLD. Lawrence in the letter it was claimed, had intimated to Mwase of his copy of the paper which he had posted from Beira as part of his weekly consignment. At first, Lawrence pleaded not guilty, but on the advice of his counsel, B. B. Lilley, he changed his plea, to guilty.

Prosecution witness, A.M. Jepson maintained that postal workers in Zomba post office had observed a large bundle of newspapers with a Beira postmark addressed to Lawrence at his residence in Chiradzulu District, concealed in a copy of the NYASALAND TIMES. (21) The fact that Lawrence had to conceal the banned papers according to the prosecution meant that he knew they were prohibited, but had attempted to deceive post office officials. (22) He had also been previously warned

of the consequences of introducing prohibited publications into the protectorate.

Led in evidence by Defence Counsel B.B. Lilley, Lawrence maintained that while he was aware that the importation and distribution of papers was prohibited, he did not understand the rationale behind the government's decision to impose the ban on the papers.(23) He therefore felt no obligation to comply with it.

He was also, he contended, not aware of the seriousness of the offence and the penalty it carried. He was then on holiday back home, and since he regularly read copies of the papers back in Beira, he had planned to spend part of his leave period reading them. They had not been meant for distribution among PIM member's although some had been posted to the Mission's headquarters. (22a)

In addition, in his possession on the day he was arrested, were letters smuggled out of prison written to Lawrence by ex-Chiembwe-ites spending long terms at Zomba Central Prison for their role in the 1915 uprising. (24) Among them were letters from Wallace Kampingo, (described by George Mwase (25) as Chilembwe's last captain) wounded and crippled after his flight and



sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the rising. Letters from one Jonathan and other ex-Chilembwe-ites were also found in his possession. The letter from Wallace Kampingo appeared to be the most damaging during the trial, although the judge stressed, that the maximum penalty provided by the ordinance was imprisonment for life, a lesser term or a fine of £500 or both. The letter from Kampingo, read.

"Try, try, we will win at last. I have been thinking of those of us who are suffering only for a day strike. They remain imprisoned for life long (sic). This is the reason, which made and makes me sick. I must suggest that the petition requires the association's right of appeal to the Governor of Nyasaland or the Secretary of State for Colonies. The ex-governor of Nyasaland is the right man to get such punishment for he caused the revolt or strike (I don't call that a revolt) through his carelessness. As far as I learn, the story of our late christian soldier Chilembwe, the brother was right to defend his part, because they burnt his church and destroyed his dignity, abusing his tasks. He had no way to deal with them than to write the government and as long as the government didn't care about his appeal, then any how, even a day, he would clang (sic) his rifle and let it go, I am sure if any favourable reply would have been obtained from the Governor, he wouldn't be tempted to play the fiddle amongst his folks, but the government despised his writings and judged him according to his appearance, then it cost them far more than pen and ink." (sic)

(26)

He was sentenced to three years imprisonment, with hard labour, under Section I, Subsection 2 of the Nyasaland government Seditious Publications Ordinance of August 1918, and served his sentence at the Zomba prison, for importing into the country six copies of the NEGRO

WORLD and two copies of the WORKERS HERALD. In his judgement, the presiding judge maintained that Lawrence had by his action caused more damage to the Protectorate than that which would have been caused by fifty murderers.(27) He also maintained that Lawrence had in his favour the fact that he might have supposed that since the PIM, the mission to which he addressed his papers was recognised and encouraged by the government to carry on, he himself should be allowed to carry on with his activities.(28) At the end of his sentence the judge recommended that the Government should consider the question of deporting him.(29) Robert Sambo,(30) another ICU member, who worked in Southern Rhodesia and epitomised the link between evangelical and pan Africanism during the period 1920-1940, had had, in many ways, a career similar to Lawrence. According to Hoole, in his "Historical Survey of Native Controlled Missions in Nyasaland," Sambo was a Mhenḡa who operated in Makawangu, Chungu and Karongd when in the country. He was a close colleague of Clements Kadalie, and had organised an ICU branch in Southern Rhodesia. He was deported in 1927 for his ICU activities. Kadalie took up the matter with the Southern Rhodesian government and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Questions were asked in the British Parliament, and in reply it was suggested (as was reported in the RHODESIAN HERALD of 3.2.1928) that:



"He was deported as a result of his action in arranging meetings and making speeches which were calculated to form discord and cause unrest amongst the native people of this colony. He was warned by the authorities, as to the consequences etc. . . but he continued to arrange meetings and address them." . . (31)

Replying, Kadalie was supposed to have informed colonial office officials that:

"In spite of your ban we shall find means, as we have done in the past, to get our message to our fellow workers, and we shall find men and women in your colony to raise and uphold the banner of freedom from all forms of oppression." (32)

Robert Sambo left Southern Rhodesia for Durban in South Africa, where he continued his activities with the ICU. He was again deported from South Africa to Nyasaland in February 1929, for allegedly failing to prove his South African domicile.(33) He appealed to the government and contested his deportation from Southern Rhodesia. In his petition to the Governor, he stressed the role of Nyasas in the development of the farming and mining industries in Rhodesia and quoted the low wages paid to labourers in the country. In addition, he criticised conditions on farms in the country and concluded that:

"Unless Africans were set on a better footing there will often be unrest and as a result (Africans) will look to England and the League of Nations for help rather than their local authorities."



He was advised by the government to petition the Government of Southern Rhodesia on the question of his deportation.(34)

He kept in contact with the ICU while in Nyasaland, and in the 1930s he presented a memorandum to the District Commissioner in Ncheu, setting out the beliefs and aims of his independent church, The African nation Church, founded in 1929 by former members of the Livingstonia Mission in Karonga District. The Church had adherents in North Nyasaland, Mzimba, Lilongwe and West Nyasa. It also operated in Deep Bay, Florence Bay and Mombera. In 1939, he formed a new Church, the African National Church. It sought recognition for four schools and for government grant in aid. The schools situated in Bunga-mkina in West Nyasa, Lake Shore near Chieta, at Thakero in the Mzimba District, and in Muzangunya near Deep Bay in North Nyasa, were however considered not to have attained the standard of efficiency necessary before a grant in aid could be sanctioned. Other leaders of the Church were also considered as "bad characters in the district".

While in the country it is reported that he kept in touch with the activities of the ICU through correspondence with a lady in South Africa, although he

later married a Nyasa lady.

Isa Macdonald Lawrence and Robert Sambo were both Nyasas who had left home for different parts of the Southern African Subregion. It is clear that the Nyasa background must have brought them together with Kadalie. The imprisonment of both men and the deportation of Sambo must have been attempts by the Colonial administration to break the spirit of Garveyism and the ICU and ostracise some of their activists and leaders. Their deportation and intended deportations had precedents in Nyasaland. Both Elliot Kamwana and Charles Domingo had both been deported in 1916, Kamwana deported and detained at Mauritius and the Seychelles.

The imprisonment and possible deportation of Lawrence caused quite a furore in South Africa, the British Parliament, the United States of America and in the British West Indian Island of Barbados. Some members of the British Labour Party raised the matter in Parliament between 1926 and 1928 following letters on the issue from the ICU in South Africa. Clements Kadalie, had in a letter to JBC Lawrence, suggested that Isa was a victim of capitalist exploitation. He had also forwarded a letter to the Colonial Secretary protesting against the sentence. In November 1926, for example, the labour Member for Attercliffe division of Sheffield



asked Amery, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, about details of the case.(35) In reporting the matter to the Labour Party in London, the ICU had contended that Isa was the victim of Capitalist exploitation and imperialist machinations. The following year, another member of Parliament, a Mr. Cecil Wilson, enquired from the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he had received a report from Nyasaland on Lawrence's case, which he had told the House he would be demanding from the authorities in Nyasaland.(36) In his response, Amery confirmed receiving the report, and maintained that he was satisfied the Isa had been given a "fair trial and that the sentence was not excessive, in the light of the evidence".(37) In addition, Lawrence had pleaded guilty and had entered no appeal against the sentence, although the necessary facilities for an appeal were offered to him.(38) Other MPs challenged the length of Lawrence's sentence and the possibility of his being deported. They argued that the Ordinance under which he was convicted was a war time measure, which should not have been used in 1927, eight years after the end of the First World war. It was, however, pointed out that the use of the Ordinance was justified because, although it had been enacted during the war years, it was not specifically a war time measure. The continued use of the Ordinance, Amery concluded, depended on the consideration of the Governor of the protectorate of Nyasaland.(39) Some MPs,



however, wondered whether:

"There was any chance of the sentence, which seemed a particularly harsh one, for the offence of taking into the district a few newspapers, being reduced."

Reaction to the case was not limited to the British Parliament. There were reactions from other parts of the then British Empire and from Lawrence's supporters in the African diaspora and in Southern Africa. The case, and the protest by the ICU in the Union, has been cited earlier. In 1929, a UNIA activist in the British West Indian Island of Nassau, Joseph Chiphe, urged in a letter to the NEGRO WORLD that the matter should be referred to the League of Nations for consideration. It is not clear from the limited available records whether the matter was referred to the League of Nations or whether the protests led to a reduction in the prison term Lawrence was ordered to serve. What we know, however, is that the presiding Magistrate was transferred from his District.

Although it has been reported that Lawrence corresponded with the then Secretary of the foreign mission Board of the National Baptist Convention and with Malekebu about employment with the re-opened PIM, there is no evidence in the annual reports of the mission to its parent body in America that he

participated publicly in the mission's activities. It would be possible to suggest that his reputation as a member of the ICU and a Garveyite with the Nyasaland administration could have been considered detrimental to the interest of a PIM which was trying to convince the Colonial administration of its good intentions.

If Lawrence did serve his three years sentence, he should have been released in 1929.

The trial of Lawrence, his jail term and threat of deportation had a wider significance for African opposition to colonial rule during the period and for the government's attitude to Pan African manifestations. As this Chapter has shown, a similar response to a case was given in the case of Robert Sambo, a secular and evangelical Pan Africanist.

Lawrence for his part was capable of moving in the worlds of Chilembwe or Malekebu, Washington, Du Bois and Garvey without an apparent sense of inconsistency. He could for example, before he left for Mozambique have been an instrumental figure in efforts by ex-Chilembwe-ites to get the PIM re-opened. While he was in Mozambique he could also correspond with Dr. East about the possibility of working with the PIM while

occupying the position of an Agent for Garvey's NEGRO WORLD or the ICUs WORKERS HERALD. Lawrence was thus capable of occupying a number of the historical slots identified in the work either at different times, simultaneously. Like other characters in the biographical chapters, Lawrence's career vividly illustrates, the complexity in human terms of the neat generalisations and divisions in the historical chapters. These generalisations and divisions break down completely when acted out by human characters. Indeed much of the real political life of the period is taken up by figures like Lawrence whose presence in archival records in both Malawi and London is shadowy. Lawrence at this stage of his career could rightly be described as an evangelical and secular pan Africanist. The chapter on Garveyism in this work suggested that ICU, UNIA and SACP members wore different hats at the same time or at different times. His career so far has highlighted this point.

#### His Later Career.

In the 1930s, Lawrence, was actively involved with the activities of the Chiradzulu and the Blantyre Native Associations. It was in these associations that political resistance found expression during the inter-war years. There was also a close relationship between the



Providence Industrial Mission and the Chiradzulu Native Association under Malekebu.(40) Lawrence became one of the 'new men' in Nyasaland politics, and more importantly, one of the few among this group to have had political experience outside the country, with his connection with the ICU and his position as an Agent of the NEGRO WORLD in Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia. -

The militant and radical politics of the ICU and UNIA were, however, not reflected in the politics of either the CDNA or the Blantyre Native Association. Although the CDNA was not apolitical, it was moderate like other Native Associations at the time, and it espoused the gradualist approach. There is no reference to Lawrence in the minutes of the CDNA. Of course, this could have been a deliberate ploy. The Association did, however, call for the government takeover of the land, which formerly belonged to one of his employers.(41)

Although by 1935 the CDNA was moribund, Lawrence's association with the 'Blantyre Native Association' meant he could continue playing a political role in the country. The BNA, Tangri has suggested, was one of the two (42) active associations in Southern Nyasaland. The association was also adopting a more critical line towards the government and its policies. In 1935, for example, following a meeting it organised to discuss the

issue of closer union, the Association forwarded a petition to the Colonial Office in London, in which it stated its total objection to the Federation scheme being discussed at the time.(43) It soon came to be accepted as a body where the people of the southern districts could express their views on government policies. The Association also treated issues similar to those discussed by the CDNA under Malekebu, among them the problem of tobacco and cotton cultivation and the labour recruitment policies of the government. It was during this period, also, that the BNA petitioned the government to establish a high school in the country.(44)

More research in Malawi is needed to identify which faction Lawrence belonged to in the Masseah/Mposa struggle over the Memorandum presented to the Bledsiloe Commission in 1938. It is reasonable to suggest, however, that he could have been a signatory to the minority report forwarded by the faction, led by the Reverend T. Masseah, which, among other things, demanded greater participation by Africans in government bodies and a certain number of elected representations in the Legislative Council.

By 1943, Lawrence was, according to the Annual Report of the Blantyre District, one of the three key

personalities in southern politics in the country. C.W. Mlangi, a member of the Executive Committee of the BNA, and Charles J. Matinga, the second president of the association, were the other two listed.(45) It is likely that by now, he was a government employee working with the railways at Limbe. Although the BNA survived until the early 1940s, it soon stopped functioning effectively.

Lawrence, Tangri has suggested, was one of the list of twenty one people invited by Sangala to the August 19, 1943 meeting, where the decision was taken to establish the Nyasaland Educated African Council (46) which, according to the circular letter sent out by Sangala, would be the "mouthpiece of the Africans", to make the voice of the African heard, so that "(Africans) should have a place amongst the civilised races".(47) The council later dropped the word 'educated' from its name and, following government proposals, changed its name to the Nyasaland African Congress.

Lawrence for his part went on existing until the formation of the Nyasaland African Congress, and he became the movement's first treasurer. He died soon after the establishment of the NAC in 1944. Death thus marginalised him from Malawi politics.



Isa Macdonald Lawrence and others like him, were those involved in the interplay of real politics in pre-independence Malawi. Unfortunately the reconstruction of their careers remain extremely difficult as their presence in the archival records remain very shadowy. Oral evidence with time will also cease to provide much needed materials on their activities. This will make a definitive biography of these characters almost impossible.

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## C H A P T E R   V I I I

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### The New Pan Africanism in Southern Africa, The Example ----- of the MCP, The ANCYL and the PAC, 1940-1960 -----

The last few chapters have attempted to examine the manifestation of various strands of Pan Africanism in Southern Africa during the period 1900-1944. This has involved a consideration of such Pan African strands as Ethiopianism, the Bookerite and Du Boisian type of Pan Africanism, and Garveyism, a study of the careers of a few of their leading advocates in the region, and a brief analysis of the ideas they professed.

This chapter will examine what the author has termed the new Pan Africanism in Southern African, with particular reference to South Africa and Malawi. The size and scope of the work will not permit a detailed study of this new Pan Africanism in other countries in the region. The chapter will deal with the Pan Africanism of the then Nyasaland African Congress and the Malawi Congress Party and will concentrate on the ideas of the ANC Youth League, as propounded by the leading advocates during the period up to the 1960s, and the PAC.

The chapter argues that this new Pan Africanism appeared in a new guise in parts of the Southern African



subregion. In South Africa for example, it was articulated by some Africanists within the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) among them Anton Lembede and A.P. Mda, and these Pan African sentiments later become enshrined in the manifesto of the league. These ideas appeared in the form of militant African nationalism and incorporated some of the doctrines of early Ethiopianism (1) and latter-day Garveyism.(2) As the chapter on Sobukwe will show, ANCYL ideas were later refined and modified by leading theoreticians of the league and came to form the central ideas of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, (the PAC)

In the then Nyasaland, this new Pan Africanism, the chapter shows, manifested itself in the ideas of the Malawi Congress party before the marginalisation of men like Kanyama Chiume, Dunduzu Chisiza (3) and H.M. Chipembere.

#### The New Pan Africanism in the Diaspora

Ajala in his PAN AFRICANISM, EVOLUTION, PROGRESS AND PROSPECT, has described the 1945 Pan African Conference in Manchester "as a development from a movement of protest by diasporan Africans in America and the West Indies, to a movement used as an instrument by African nationalist movements in their fight against colonial rule." (4)

Others have pointed out the fact that, the Conference was called by members of the World Federation of Trade Unions and see it as the beginning of the movement in Africa. Although the link between the Diasporans and Africans was continued by the attendance of members from the West Indies and Africa, letters from Padmore to Du Bois before and after the 1945 conference have revealed the almost total lack of NAACP involvement in the organization of the Manchester meeting. Du Bois himself was planning a fifth Pan African Congress to be held in September 1945, and for him and the NAACP, the 1945 Conference was seen as a preliminary to a "real and representative Congress" in the near future, "As the meeting had already been planned and called without our official participation"(5)

Du Bois maintained in another letter to Padmore, that he attended the Manchester Congress officially simply as an observer. He continued:

"If a permanent organization resulted and a representative Congress called for 1946/7, this would take part and will aid in an NAACP appropriation towards expenses . . . ."(6)

According to Padmore,(7) the US representation at the Congress was also the weakest of all the other Congresses, as representatives from the Urban League,

March on Washington Movement, the Negro Congress, the West Indian National Council and other Trade Unions associated with the CID could not select a sizeable delegation to the Congress.(8) Yergan's Council on African Affairs did not respond favourably to Padmore's invitation.(9)

REVISED

Democracy

The Manchester meeting owed its success, therefore, to members of the Pan African Federation in London. Among these were Dr. Peter Millard, Peter Abrahams, Jomo Kenyatta, Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah.(10) It has also been suggested that Africa was, for the first time in the history of the Congress movement, adequately represented. (11) The claim by some that the 1945 Congress marked a break from the past is based partly on these considerations.

CONSIDERATIONS

#### The Example Of South Africa

In South Africa, this new Pan Africanism had found expression earlier in 1943, with the establishment of the ANCYL. The student strike at Fort Hare in 1942, it has been maintained by the AFRICAN LODESTAR, had drawn the attention of Congress to the importance of organizing youths in the country and this was partly responsible for the founding of the League with the



active encouragement of Dr. Xuma, the then National Chairman of the ANC. The ANCYL was born at a meeting held at the Domestic and Cultural Workers Club Hall in Diagonal Street, in Johannesburg, in October 1943. (12) Dr. Xuma's main motivation in encouraging the establishment of the ANCYL was his hope that the new movement would act as a counter balance to the African Democratic Party established by Mosoka and Self Manpuru, which was gaining influence in the Rand in the early 1940s. Xuma also hoped that the perilous position of the ANC will be revived by the Youth League. (13). Lembede and other members of the League were instrumental in the destruction of the ADP in its infancy, because they felt the new movement was the brainchild of white liberals. It was Lembede also, it has been claimed, who established the framework for the 1949 Programme of Action, which laid the foundation on which the PAC manifesto was built.

Extensive work has been done on the life and ideas of Anton Lambede, one of the League's respected theoreticians in the 1940s. (14) This part of the work, therefore, will not attempt another general overview of his ideas. It will attempt to pull the strands of Pan Africanism in his ideas together, for it is these that formed the basis of the ideology of the Pan African Congress of Azania, an embodiment of the new Pan

Africanism in Southern Africa in the late 1950s. In addition, an attempt will be made to identify any continuity of ideas between the Evangelical Pan Africanism of the period up to 1920, as defined here and the Pan African strands in the ideology of the ANCYL.

Lembede was born in Georgedale District in Natal of humble parents, in 1914. His family moved to Isabelo and he later attended Amanzintoti College, where, in 1937, he obtained a matriculation certificate with a distinction in Latin. He taught for a number of years at Newcastle, Hellbroon and Pawyrs in the Orange Free States, while studying privately for a Bachelor of Art degree in Logic, and also for a Law degree.

According to Gehart, (15) while in the Orange Free States between 1933 and 1943, Lembede became associated with Dr. Verwoerd's ideas as advocated in DIE TRANSVALER, and was impressed with its fascist components. A devout Catholic, he moved to Johannesburg in 1943 after his legal studies, and was articled with Dr. Pikley Ka Seme, a founder member of the ANC. Two years later, his thesis for the award of an MA degree was presented and accepted by one of the Universities in the country. He soon became actively involved with the ANC.



Although William Nkomo was the first President of the ANC Youth League, Lembede is generally regarded as the leading advocate of the Africanist ideology, the basis of the ANCYL ideas. He was said to have been influenced by 19th century ideas of social Darwinism and European Romanticism. His ideas were also shaped by the social, political and economic conditions of Africans in the Union. According to the ANCYL Manifesto, the African had learnt from experience that:

"Promises no matter the source, were mere palliatives to drug him to yielding to more oppression. He must therefore make up his mind to sweat for his freedom and to determine his destiny by himself."

The league maintained that since Africans were oppressed nationally, they could win that freedom through a national struggle led by Africans themselves. The liberatory doctrine was to be based on the concept of Africanism. Africanism, the ideology which espoused militant African nationalist ideas was thus enshrined into the ANCYL manifesto. It was defined by Lembede as

"The vision of a new Africa emerging as a world power out of the turmoil and conflict of struggle against white domination and local foreign exploitation." (16)

The African, according to the doctrine of Africanism, was in bondage to colour slavery, from which it was his duty to liberate himself. Such colour slavery



was attendant with inferiority and superiority complexes, and it was the duty of the African not to allow himself to be swayed by either. Also central to Lembede's Africanist ideology was his analysis of the African personality. The making of inroads into the religious and cultural life of African Christians had been a major preoccupation of the Ethiopian Church leaders in Southern Africa before the 1920s. (17) Blyden and other early Pan African leaders had popularised the concept of the African personality, and Lembede had returned to the theme in the 1940s. His psychological panacea for the redemption of the African nation was what Gehart has so succinctly described as:

"a new and aggressively positive self image, compounded of pride in the past, confident expectations for the future, and an emotional burning love for the Africans' God-given blackness." (18)

Africans were to be taught by their leaders to cultivate a feeling of pride in their colour, to counter the ideas of racial inferiority preached by whites, which was designed primarily to expedite the exploitation of Africa and Africans. They must also be self assertive and demand for human dignity, that inherent right due to all men as human beings. Lastly they must avoid the temptation to slavishly imitate foreign doctrines and system which obviate African originality.

Africans Lembede continued were:

"Natives of Africa. They and Africa were one and their relation to Africa was superior to that of other sections of the (South African) population. This superiority or relationship clearly puts (them) in a position of ascendancy and superiority over other sections (in the country). (It was therefore) evidently wrong to place Africans on a footing of equality with other racial groups residing in Africa."

Africanism as a liberatory doctrine in the 1940s was essential in the immediate post war period because, in the opinion of Lembede and other Africanists, twentieth century Africa was one of the most ruthlessly oppressed and exploited continents in the world. In the struggle for freedom by Africans in general, and South Africans in particular, the period of what Lembede called "the patriotic wars by their forefathers" had been followed by a realisation that military struggles for the retention of their land resulted not only in loss of lives but in more repressive policies and further expropriation of their land. This was followed by a period of transition which in the words of Lembede was:

"Characterised by a period of search, for a formula of unity that could transcend the tribe, and forge (Africans) into one fighting force."

The transition period also witnessed a period of search for a unifying ideology, a political philosophy

that:

"could give (Africans) firm principles to guide and strengthen them through the tempests and storms of struggle."

What Africans needed Lembede believed, was a political outlook which would provide Africans with a "powerful vision, clear perspectives and clearly defined goals".

Such a political outlook, he concluded, was Africanism, which was the new philosophy of rebirth and redemption. This new philosophy must have a pan African or world-wide outlook. In addition, it will inspire them with the "dynamic of advance to complete freedom" and a new life.

Old Africa, Lembede contended in a speech just two days before his death on the 28th July 1947 was:

"in the throes of gigantic and monumental changes ...Africans (would) see the rise of a mighty, glorious, unconquerable and incorruptable new Africa ." (19)

Turning to the role of christianity in his Africanist ideology, Lembede maintained that the essence of christianity was not "submissiveness, weakness or resignation, but the calvary on the cross, the ready willingness to offer and sacrifice one's life at the



altar of one's own convictions for the benefit of one's own fellow men". (20) The revolutionary doctrine of Africanism, Lembede believed, enunciated that the 'Path of Africans to their national emancipation and progress was the path of Christ carrying the heavy cross from Pilate's palace to Mount Calvary'. (21)

Although Lembede and other Africanists realised the importance of Christianity in the struggle for national freedom, they also believed that it was the duty of African churches to rally round the banner of African nationalism. This among other things will ensure the self-preservation of the church. (22) An indigenous base for Christianity should also be provided by incorporating some aspects of African traditional religion into Christianity, a western religion.

Ethiopianism by the 1940s, as Shepperson and others have suggested, had lost its political and radical content. There is no evidence to suggest that his call to African nationalism was taken up in earnest by the churches. Lembede's Pan African vision also incorporated the idea of a United African Church advocated earlier by independent churches in the period before 1920, and taken up later by Nkrumah, the PAC and other leading Pan Africanists. Independent church leaders, like Chilembwe and Malekebu, had, as a previous chapter in this work

has shown, attempted to create a United christian Union in the Southern African subregion by the establishment of churches which transcended tribal allegiances in the region.

Africans, Lembede believed, were destined to be united. They were, he continued, all of one nationality, with the basis of that unity being primarily their colour and the spirit of Africa. He went on to maintain that:

"Africans were the natives of africa and they (had) inhabited Africa, Africa belonged to Africans... Out of the Heterogenous tribes, there must (he believed) emerge a homogenous nation. The basis of unity (was) the nationalistic feelings of the Africans, the feeling of being Africans, irrespective of tribal connection, social status, educational attainment, or economic class."(23)

The major task of all liberatory movements was the creation of a truly united free democratic and prosperous African republic, which in terms of its population potentialities would compare favourably with the populations of other great nations in the world, he had concluded.(24)

His description of humanistic Africanism, which involved the popular diction of Africa for the Africans, Africa for humanity and humanity for God, was a direct product of early Ethiopianist and Garveyist ideas.



Lembede is regarded in some circles as the Garvey of Southern Africa because of his militant black nationalist ideas, exemplified, for instance, by the quotation on page seven in this chapter.

He died in 1947, almost two years after his direct involvement with the ANCYL and was succeeded as chairman by Asby Mda, who, together with Ngubane and Sobukwe, went on to modify and clarify the ideology of Africanism and introduced the concept of African nationalism into the ideology of Africanists within the ANC.

African nationalism, Mda believed, was not detached from concrete historical practices. Its inspiration was derived from modern times in the struggles of the peoples of the New China, India and the Gold Coast. The significant lesson from their struggles for South Africans was the historic truth that a minority cannot hold a united people in perpetual subjugation.(25)

By 1948, there were two brands of African nationalism, the militant revolutionary nationalism, and a moderate Nationalism, which, while being opposed to white domination and foreign leadership, had taken account of the concrete situation in South Africa and recognised that the different racial groups had come to stay in the country.(26) This brand of nationalism



insisted that a condition for inter-racial cooperation was the abandonment of white domination, the complete national freedom of the African people, and such changes in the basic structure of South African society that would lead to the disappearance of those factors which bred exploitation and misery. Within the ANCYL, these two major brands were sub-divided under four sub-brands, the Mda branch, the Lembede branch, the Thambo branch and the Pitje/Sobukwe branch.(27)

This African nationalism propounded by Youth Leaguers was not merely a reaction to white oppression or the indirect creation of the whites. Even before the arrival of the white man, Mda maintained, Africans had already been conscious of a certain destiny of their own. Oppression intensified and accelerated this movement towards a goal which Africans had already set themselves.(28)

In January 1952, the Bureau of African Affairs was launched by A.P. Mda, and through the Bureau, Africanists kept alive the ideals of Lembede in the different Africanist cells. Bulletins with contributions from leading Africanists like Sobukwe, N. Pokela and A.P. Mda were issued, elucidating and clarifying the essentials of the struggle, along the lines of the ideology of Africanism and African Nationalism. The

Bureau, under the direction of A. P. Mda, established study cells throughout the country, and these cells received periodic addresses from leading Africanists.

The East London branch soon became the centre of Africanist activities. The League, which initially had branches only in the Transvaal, had, by 1948, spread to almost all the four Provinces in the Union. The convening of a Youth Conference at Bloemfontein for the establishment of a South African Youth Conference was planned for the same year.(29)

Youth Leaguers after Lembede's death also tackled the problem of a United Africa. They stressed, in the words of Ngubane, that:

"Those who believed in a United Africa, were not blind men. They were not blind idealists, for a United Africa was the only guarantee that man in Africa would one day emerge free and dignified to make his own distinctive contribution to the progress and happiness of humanity as a whole."(30)

One of the main deterrents to the creation of a new United Africa was the problem of language. The Youth League offered a solution to this problem in its writings. The new United African Democracy would, according to the ANCYL, be divided into regional units that had political and cultural autonomy. Where expedient, these autonomous units should correspond to



the main language groups of their areas. (31) Swahili, the language of the vast majority of people in Africa (followed closely by Hausa) was the continental language chosen by the League. (32) For international intercourse, English was to be retained by all in the new Africa. But in the regions, the languages to be used would be, firstly, the regional languages, and the national language, (Swahili). These languages were to be made compulsory in schools. Other international languages were to be made optional, although students were to be encouraged to learn them for their cultural and instrumental benefits. (33)

Even as early as 1951, the ANCYL was aware of other factors which might hinder progress towards African unity. Writing about this in his tribute to P. K. Seme, Ngubane had written:

"Even among us there are those who bilk at the idea being but small, almost insignificant parts of a greater whole. They (would) lose their significance in the greater world of a United Africa. They would rather see themselves entrenched in the smaller worlds of the narrowly Zulu, Xhosa or Sotho nation. They were the men who hanker after the flash pots of the old times when African Leaders fought and distrusted each other and in that way lost their liberty and their land." (34)

Ethiopianists in Southern Africa in the period before the 1920s, and indeed after, who had envisaged a united christian union, did not tackle the language



problem to be faced by such a union, although they appealed to supra-tribal sentiments. Prayers in different Southern African languages at Malekebu's annual Baptist Covention, for example, were regarded by the PIM leader "as a demonstration of the power of the Assemblies". (35).

The 1940s and 1950s, however, were periods of competing nationalism between white and black nationalists in South Africa. As early as the 1920s, General Smuts had expressed the view that the Union government should either annex or incorporate neighbouring African territories in the region. He returned to the theme again in 1945, when he said in the House of Assembly:

"The whole of my striving has been to ensure the knitting together of the parts of Africa which belong to each other, parts that must work together for a stable future of the continent of Africa." (36)

He had also expressed the need for what he termed, "an organised framework for the unified control of Governments of the territories of South and Central Africa." (37) and had hoped that after the Second World War, the British Empire would be reorganised with more powers being given to the regions. His ideal Southern African regional grouping would have included South Africa, present day Namibia, Kenya, present day Zimbabwe

and the High Commission territories.(38)

In 1945 he had threatened to call a Pan African Congress which would have been confined to whites of South Africa, present day Tanganyika and Kenya. According to W.E.B. Du Bois, in a letter to Moody, one of the main reasons for his decision to arrange a Pan African Congress in 1945 was an attempt to forestall the use of the Pan African term by white South Africans for their Conference planned for the same year.(39) However, neither the Conference planned by Du Bois nor that mooted by Smuts materialised.

Among Africans on the other hand, the effects of the second world war and economic depression of the post war period, inspired in Western, Southern and Eastern Africa a new phase of militant nationalist activities which had Pan African manifestations. This was particularly so in Southern Africa.

In April 1953 for example, the ANC, after the 1952 Defiance Campaign, were exploring the possibility of holding a regional Pan African Congress in Lusaka, to unite the efforts of all struggling peoples of Africa against oppression (40) in territories south of the equator.

However, some delegates were stopped from entering present day Zambia, while delegates from Zimbabwe were declared prohibited immigrants. A conference thus planned for 19 countries from East, Central and South Africa, ended with only Northern Rhodesians being able to attend.(41) W.E.B. Du Bois expressed an interest in the Conference, but was prevented from attending by the US Government.(42)

It has been interesting to note that Kwame Nkrumah was arranging at the same time a Pan African Conference of all leaders of West African Nationalist movements for the purposes of coordinating their activities and discussing plans for a united economic policy. This was seen as a forerunner to a Pan African Conference the following year, which would have been concerned with the entire continent.(43)

It is against these conflicting ideals of extreme white and black nationalism in Southern Africa and the rest of the continent, and the Pan African aspirations of both black and white south Africans that the ideas of the Africanists in the ANCYL in the 1950s and later the PAC of Azania should be understood.

Africanists within the ANCYL saw themselves as representatives of the Pan African movement in the



subregion.(44) Their struggle was thus not confined to South Africa. It was part of the greater struggle for the freedom of the entire continent from foreign domination.(45) This was reflected in their message to the people in the same year, which read:

"We are the branches of the same tree, the leaves of the same branch, the waters of the same ocean. Children of the same womb, with the rest of the Africans in the continent."(46)

Although there were similarities with aspects of the older forms of Pan Africanism as it developed in the African diaspora and in West Africa, it is reasonable to agree with modern day PAC leaders interviewed, that the ideology of Africanism and African nationalism which incorporated Pan African ideas, was a product of the South African environment.

For men like Hamilton Keke, a one time PAC representative in London,(47) and his then Chairman the late Nyati Pokela, (48) the origins of the Pan African sentiments of both the ANCYL and the PAC were largely indigenous, although they did not under-estimate the contribution of external forces, in providing support for an already existing movement.

Both Keke and Pokela argued that conditions within South Africa both in the pre and post-World War Two

period were the stimulants for the ideology of Africanism. Africanism they stressed like A.P. Mda, was not a reaction to white oppressive, and racist policies. These were important in that they accentuated an already simmering movement. Similarly, it would be wrong, they insisted, to see Africanism as a reaction to pre and post - world war II economic, social and political deprivation experienced by Africans in the country in particular and the region in general. Africans from time immemorial had realised the necessity for some kind of awareness and unity.

Both Keke, and Pokela point to men like P.K. Seme, as early figures who had advocated Pan African sentiments during the early years of the twentieth century. They also refer to leading Chiefs like Dininzulu, who, they maintain, worked towards the unity of Africans in South Africa in particular and Southern Africa in general. Racial discrimination in South Africa, economic and social degradation and inequality in all works of life (conditions obtainable in the United States of America before 1960) were the major factors within the country which accentuated the ideology of Africanism and Pan Africanism. (48).

One could here see a correlation between conditions in the African diaspora which activated secular and

evangelical Pan Africanism and conditions in South Africa. It is thus understandable how PAC leaders can argue along the lines enumerated above.

Theophilous Bidi (a one time PAC representative in Nigeria) and other PAC leaders acknowledge that the influence of the diasporan Pan African leaders on an already existing movement should not be dismissed. Africanists, however, maintained direct links with Pan African leaders in West Africa, and many looked to Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore for ideological guidance. The link with them had been established as early as 1954, although it is possible that Padmore might have met Africanists within the ANCYL during his visit to South Africa in 1946.

With the breakaway of the Africanists from the ANC in 1959, Nkrumah's influence on the newly inaugurated Pan Africanist Congress became more overt. It has been suggested that the name PAC was the original idea of Nkrumah. Fraternal greetings were sent from Accra to the PAC during its inauguration, and these wished delegates every success in uniting Africans in a non-violent and constitutional struggle against colonialism and racialism. (49)

Greetings also were received from Sekou Toure,



another leading advocate of the Pan African ideal in West Africa. In his message he had said:

"On the occasion of your inaugural meeting, please accept the fraternal salute from the Government and people of Guinea. We wish you entire solidarity and success in your efforts to liquidate completely the domination of the colonialist. The federation of an all Pan African state, together with the idea of a United State of Africa, must be realised soon."(50)

Lastly, leading PAC officials interviewed in Nigeria, the Gambia and London, have maintained that documents of the CPP and Padmore's work, PAN AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM, (51) were the main external sources of ideological influences on the movement during its early years.(52) A comparative study of the ideas of Nkrumah and those of the PAC and Sobukwe (undertaken by the writer during the course of this exercise) have revealed, not surprisingly, striking similarities.

Chapter nine will attempt a brief biographical sketch of Mangaliso Sobukwe, a one-time leading Africanist in the ANCYL and the founding President of the PAC. His ideas which today constitute the main core of the ideology of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, will also be analysed. This will provide a further understanding of the ideas of the new Pan Africanism as developed in the post-1959 period.

The next section would briefly deal with manifestations of the new Pan Africanism in present day Nyasaland, and the early Pan African sentiments expressed by Kamuzu Banda.

#### The New Pan Africanism in Nyasaland/Malawi

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The new secular Pan Africanism discussed briefly in the early part of this chapter was also manifested in Nyasaland by members of the Malawi Congress party, and subsequently for some time by their leader Kamuzu Banda.

Even before his trip to the USA and Britain, Banda had come in contact with leaders of evangelical Pan Africanism in South Africa, with Garveyites and with secular Pan African sentiments. He was himself a member of the AME Church in South Africa, while his close associate H. Phiri who joined Banda in South Africa in the early 1920s was ordained an AME Bishop in 1923. According to Phillip Short (53) Banda not only met Bishop Vernon during his period in the Union, but also came in contact with a number of Garvey activists operating in the Union in the 1920s. (54) His five year stay in the Union brought him in touch with the various strands of Pan African sentiments manifesting themselves in the subregion. Another lengthy spell in the United States, where he studied at Wilberforce Institute and



Meharry (Malekebu's alma mater) must have contributed to his Pan African education.

He joined the growing band of African and West Indian figures in Britain in 1938 while he was in Scotland at the School of medicine of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons; and during the period while he worked in Tyneside, Liverpool and London as a medical practitioner. He met regularly with Pan African figures like Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and George Padmore and discussed with them the importance of Pan Africanism to the development of Africa. During this period Short has argued that he saw in: "Militant Pan African beliefs, the logical successor to Ethiopianism and Garveyism".(55)

He also acquired a reputation in England as a figure sympathetic to Pan African ideals. He was also involved in the organization of the 1945 Pan African Conference, an embodiment of the beginnings of the new Pan Africanism.

While in Britain, Banda also played a prominent role in the development of the Nyasaland African Congress in the 1940s. The first congress of the NAC had been held in Nyasaland in October, 1944 under the leadership of Levi Mumba as President General.(56) Banda



was an instrumental figure in congress from its early beginning and made significant contributions to congress funds. By 1944, he was already a 'life member of the NAC, and continued to play a prominent role in congress policies even though he was out of the country at the time. He initiated a number of Congress policies and jointly authored some of the memoranda presented by Congress to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.

Urging the organisation of a dynamic Congress, Banda wrote in April, 1946 to members.

"If we organise a strong Congress the Government will allow us to rule ourselves much more than it is allowing us now. We shall have Africans to represent us in the legislative council at Zomba and on Government boards and Commissions"(57)

In the same year, he was delegated by Congress to be a member of the delegation on education which visited Creech Jones the then colonial Secretary in London.(58) His services were well appreciated by Congress members and by the time he was returning to the then Nyasaland he was being hailed as a mesiah coming to free his people from bondage. Expressing the appreciation of the people for Banda's support for congress, the delegate of the Mlange Foodstuffs Growers Association said,

"We have our Cooperator in the person of Dr Banda in London. His service is like gold to us. It is best for us to give warning to Dr Banda to take care of his life that he may live long for the good of our Country" (58a) (Sic)

Banda urged the appointment of a full time organising Secretary for the Nyasaland African Congress with the suggestion that he was willing to meet the extra cost this would entail.

Indeed Banda's influence in Congress matters was resented by some of the leaders like Charles Matinga who were uneasy about his growing influence in Congress affairs. Other members like Chiume, H. M. Chipembere and D. K. Chisiza saw him as<sup>a</sup> political messiah, a Mahatma Gandhi and a saviour of Malawi.

His efforts (while in London) for the prevention of the establishment of the Federation endeared him to Congress members, Chiefs and ordinary Malawians.

In 1949 for example he had prepared a memorandum with Nkumbula of Northern Rhodesia opposing Federation. He also spoke out on several occasions against the proposed Federation scheme. In the "Memorandum on Common Policy on behalf of and on authority of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesian Africans in the United Kingdom" for example, he had expressed fears that the colour bar system would be extended to Nyasaland after Federation

and had opined that Federation was,

"amalgamation under a new guise. (It was). The same old pill of amalgamation coated with the Sugar of Federation to make it easier for the Africans and the Imperial government to swallow" (59)

Following the establishment of the Federation and the Nyasaland Congress, Banda's main preoccupation was with attempts to force the administration

to rescind its decision. Strikes, boycotts and other non-violent forms of resistance were organised by Congress following the ousting of T.D.T. Banda, as President of the NAC. Hastings Banda was invited while in Ghana to head Congress. The proscription of Congress following the disturbances in the then Nyasaland led to the establishment of the Malawi Congress Party, a party which Banda headed after his release from detention.

While opposing the scheme of closer union with Southern Rhodesia, Banda was consistent in his advocacy of unity with other African countries in the region, particularly the three Central African countries. Other leading figures in the M.C.P. like Dunduzu Chisiza advocated some form of regional cooperation in the region although he was a bit sceptical about the prospects of political unity. (60)



Non-violence, non-alignment and some form of African Unity were all causes advocated by MCP members in the years leading up to Malawian Independence. Delegates from Nyasaland had been invited to the abortive attempt at a regional conference of Central, Eastern and Southern African leaders in 1953. Banda and Chiume had attended the All African Peoples Conference in Accra in 1959, (61) while Kanyama Chiume a member of the NAC had participated in the inaugural meeting of PAFMECA, a regional organization, which aimed at the promotion of Pan Africanism and the unity of all Africans in East and Central Africa under one militant organization. Chiume was also one of the three members of the Committee elected to draw up the Charter and Constitution of the new movement in the region. According to the new Constitution, the movement aimed at,

"Fostering the spirit of Pan Africanism in order to rid East and Central African territories of imperialism, white supremacy, economic exploitation and social degradation, by stepping up nationalist activities to attain self government and establish parliamentary democracy." (62)

Banda's reputation as a leading Pan African figure in the region was largely responsible for the invitation extended to him by the newly established Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to deliver the keynote address at its inauguration ceremony. His incarceration by the Malawian authorities, however, prevented him from travelling to South Africa for the occasion. In addition, both Nkrumah and Azikiwe sent messages of solidarity to the Malawi Congress Party after its sweeping victory at the polls.

The messages, according to the MALAWI TIMES, expressed "solidarity in the march to the total liberation of Africa and its ultimate Unity". (63) The momentum of the Pan African link at the regional level was maintained with the attendance of a four man Malawian delegation at the Pan African Federation Movement of East and Central African Conference in February, 1962. (64) In addition, in May of the same year, the Malawi Congress Party again stressed its commitment to the ideals of Pan African solidarity. In a statement to the Press, Chiume, the then Minister for Education, disclosed his Government's decision that no Government Minister would see the delegation of the Nigerian branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Federation. (65) Explaining the reasons for the boycott of the Nigerian delegation and its support of the Pan African ideal, parts of the statement read:

"... On behalf of Ngwazi and the people of Nyasaland (sic) that while we (subscribed) to the aims and objects of Pan Africanism, we categorically reject to fraternise with anybody, be he white or black, who is a fellow traveller with, or lends his support to, the forces of oppression not only in Central Africa but also in South Africa." (66)

Lastly, Banda and the Malawian Government had close ties with Nkrumah before 1964. Malawian officials were sent regularly to Ghana on study courses. Among those sent were Aleke Banda, who spent some time in Ghana during his study tour of broadcasting, Albert Muwalo, the then Administrative Secretary of the Malawi Congress Party who went to Ghana for a course on journalism and press management, and Chief Mwase, whose course of study was Rural Development. Others, like C.D. Chindango, Albert Muwalo (besides his studies in journalism and press management) and members of the Malawi Young Pioneers, went for courses in youth leadership. The close ties between the two countries were formalised in July 1964 with the establishment of a Ghanaian High



Commission in Blantyre. Nkrumah, Banda maintained at the time, was the "Saviour of Africa", who had set Africa ablaze with the spirit of nationalism while his country had proved false the European notion that Africans could not manage their own affairs effectively.(67) The close relationship with Nkrumah was, however, shortlived.

By all indications Malawian leaders before 1964 advocated Pan African ideals. The ties between the MCP and Nkrumah and his CPP were very close. Banda himself had been in the Gold Coast between 1953 and 1958 and had made several trips to the Gold Coast after his return to Malawi. He had also visited Liberia and Ethiopia in 1962, two countries historically regarded as the symbols of independent states in Africa. On his visit to Liberia, where he attended and addressed a meeting of the Economic Commission for Africa, he put forward quite succinctly his belief in the ideals of Pan African unity, when he said in his address:

"I am a strong believer in African Unity and I will do all I can to further this goal. I am glad to see that you have set yourselves to establish the African Development Bank. As a believer in Africa Unity, the idea of an African Development Bank is very (welcomed) to me, and you can rest assured that Nyasaland will be the first applicant to it. I am most heartened to hear from your speech your desire for African cooperation and Unity ... I am not famous for beating about the bush ... There can be no Casablanca powers nor



Monrovia powers. There is only one Africa. We must not allow ourselves to be used or divided by either the British or the Americans or the Russians. It is for this reason therefore that your meeting here is important, because when we work together to develop the continent we will be able to coordinate and change the structure of Africa." (68)

Four years later in 1966, in an address to the Malawian House of Assembly, he had reiterated his support for the Pan African ideal of cooperation and unity, but again stressed his disapproval of the development of different blocks within the OAU. (69)

In another address, Banda had elaborated on what he considered to be the place of Europeans in Malawi, when he said,

"I did not come here to drive the Europeans away from this country. I wasn't fighting Europeans or whites as such in 1959. I came here to fight domination of one race over the other ...

Those Europeans who recognised that fact and accept the fact that this is a black man's Continent and that Africans who are in the majority have to rule, have nothing to fear from me. But let me be frank, those who think they were created by the almighty God to be lords and masters, bwanas and donas over us, I say to this type of European, pack up and go now, now, now. This is our country and in our country, our Malawi, we have no desire to tolerate foreign domination, foreign bwanas and donas ... I want you my people to be bwanas and donas in your country." (70)

By the mid 1960s, Malawi had started its deviation from the policies advocated by the new Pan Africanists. The Ghanaian embassy was closed down in March 1966,

officially because of scarcity of personnel, and and of funds. Increasingly, Banda and Malawi retreated from their policy of non-alignment and other expressions of Pan African solidarity. Offers of aid from Communist countries were refused, and Banda adopted a pro-Western bias in his foreign policy pronouncements. He also initiated a policy of rapprochement with white governments in the Southern African subregion at a time when the OAU was urging its members to ostracise the white regimes of South Africa, present day Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. Trading links were, for example, established with Zimbabwe, and South Africa, and by 1967, talks were under way for the opening of formal diplomatic links with South Africa. Finally, in September of that year, Banda announced at an MCP annual Convention, the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Africa.

From being one of the leading advocates of the Pan African ideal, Banda, on assumption of the leadership of independent Malawi, became one of the movement's most consistent critics.

The reasons for this and for the failure of Pan Africanism in the Southern African subregion will form the topic of the concluding Chapter of this thesis.



FOOTNOTES

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1. The ANCYL slogan "Africa for the Africans, Africa for humanity and humanity for God" carried with it connotations of early Ethiopian sentiments.
  2. A Black Star which symbolised emerging Africa was adopted as the Africanist emblem. See chapter on Garveyism in this thesis.
  3. Dunduzu Kaluli Chisiza was born on the eighth of August 1930. He returned to Nyasaland in 1955 after a spell in present day Tanzania, Kenya and Zimbabwe. He was an active member of the MCP and later became the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance. He died in a car accident in September 1962.
  4. See A. Ajala, Pan Africanism, Evolution and Progress, -----  
London, Deutsch, 1973.
  5. W.E.B., Du Bois, 'The Pan African Movement: 1945. Du Bois Papers. Copy in Howard University.
  6. See letter, Du Bois to Padmore, 12.9.1945. 1043, 1945 Du Bois Papers. Copy in Howard University.
  7. Letter, Padmore to Du Bois, 1945. Du Bois Papers, Howard University Copy.
  8. Ibid.  
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  9. Letter, Padmore to Du Bois, August 1945. Du Bois Papers. Howard University.
  10. P. O., See Esedebe, Pan Africanism. The Idea and -----  
Movement, Washington DC, Howard University Press, 1982.
  11. Among other leading Africans who attended the 1945 meeting were Hastings Banda, Garba Jahumpa from the Gambia, I. T. A. Wallace Johnston from Freetown, Raphael Armattoo the Ghanaians, J. S. Annan Ako Adjei, and Kankam Boadu, J. E. De Graft, Johnson and Joe Appiah and the Nigerians H. O. Davies and Jaja Wachuku. Ibid, p. 163.  
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  12. Kanyisa, "Snags to Unity", Inkundla ya Bantu, -----



19.3.1949, p.5.

13. The African Lodestar, Vol. 6, No. 1, January 1954.  
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14. See, for example, G. M. Gehart, Black Power in  
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South Africa. The Evolution of an ideology.  
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Perspective on South Africa. University  
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of California Press, 1978, pp. 45-76. Also Carter,  
G. and Karis, T. (eds.), From Protest to Challenge:  
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A Documentary History of African Politics in South  
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Africa 1882-1964, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press,  
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1972-1977.
15. G.M. Gehart, Op. cit.  
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16. Azania News, July-September 1977, Vol. 12,  
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Nos. 7-9 p.3.
17. See Chapter in this thesis on "Evangelical Pan  
Africanism in Southern Africa."
18. G.M. Gehart, op. cit., also The Bantu World,  
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29.9.1945
19. "Last message of (the) late Mr. A. M. Lembede,  
MA, LLB", African Advocate, August-September 1947.  
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Quoted also in G. Gerhart, op. cit.  
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20. A.M. Lembede, "African Nationalism and the  
Christian Church", The Bantu World, 6.9.1945,  
p.11.  
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21. Ibid.  
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22. Ibid.  
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23. A.M., Lembede, "Policy of Congress Youth  
League", G. Carter and T. Karis, op. cit.,  
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Vol. 2. Quoted also in G. Gerhart, op. cit.,  
p. 60. -----

24. The 130 million Africans in the continent of Africa would, he maintained, compare favourably with the population of other nations. See also A.M. Lembede, "National Unity Among African Tribes". Inkundla Ya Bantu, 2nd October Fortnight, 1945.  
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25. A. P., Mda, "What African Nationalism Is?" Inkundla Ya Bantu, 20.9.1948.  
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26. Ibid.  
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27. Inkundla Ya Bantu, 27.8.1949.  
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28. A. P. Mda, "What African Nationalism Is?", op.cit.  
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29. Letter, A. P. Mda to the Rev. Calata, dated 27.10 1948. Carter, Karis collection.

30. J. Ngubane, Tribute to P. K. Seme, Inkundla Ya Bantu, 30.6.1951.  
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31. Youth Vanguard, organ of the ANCYL South  
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Western region, Reel 2B, M8804, Carter Karis Collection.

32. Youth Leaguers believed that the acceptance of Swahili as the National language will not give rise to rivalry between the component parts of the United States of Africa. Ibid.  
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33. Ibid.  
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34. J. Ngubane, "Tribute to P. K. Seme". Inkundla Ya Bantu, 30.6.1951.  
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35. See Chapter on Evangelical Pan Africanism in Southern Africa in the post 1920 period in this work.

36. South African Parliamentary Debates. House of Assembly, Vol. 52, Col. 3719, 1945. Quoted in S. C. Nolutshungu, Ibid.

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37. See S. C. Nolutshungu, "The Pan African policy of the Government of South Africa, 1945-1979". ICS Seminar Paper, January 1979. See also B. K. Hancock, The Fields of Force, 1919-1952, CUP, 1948

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and N. Mansergh. Documents and Speeches on British Commonwealth Affairs, 1931-1952, London, 1953.

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38. S. C. Nolutshungu, op. cit

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39. See letter Du Bois to Moody, 11.4 1945. Du Bois Papers, Howard University library. Washington D. C.

40. "Pan African Conferences in the spotlight" Spotlight on Africa, 12.5.1953, p 3

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41. The New Age, 13.11.1958.

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42. "Pan African Conferences in the Spotlight", Spotlight on Africa, 12.5.1953, p.3.

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43. Ibid.

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44. See The Africanist, January 1959, p. 3.

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45. Ibid.

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46. Ibid.

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47. Interview with Hamilton Keke . PAC office London, November 1984.

48. Comments by the late Nyati Pokela on an article by the writer. London 1984.

49. Fraternal Greetings from Kwame Nkrumah to the PAC. Carter/Karis Collection. ICS/York



University, London and York.

50. Fraternal Greetings from Sekou Toure to the  
PAC. Carter/Karis Collection, ICS/York  
University, London and York.

51. G. Padmore, Pan Africanism or Communism.  
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London, Dennis Hobson, 1949.

52. Interview with PAC Representatives in  
London, Lagos and Banjul.

53. See P. Short, Banda, London, Routledge and  
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Kegan Paul. 1974

54. Ibid  
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55. Ibid  
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56. Other leaders of Congress between 1945 and  
the 1950s were Charles Matinga, Sam K.K.,  
Mwase, James Frederick Sagala and D. Banda

57. See T. D. Williams, Malawi : The Politics of Despair  
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Lombn, Cornell University Press, 1978.

58. See P. Short, op cit  
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58a. Ibid  
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59. Ibid  
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60. See D.K Chisiza, Africa, What Lies Ahead  
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61. Banda had addressed a series of meetings  
throughout Ghana and had met other Pan African  
figures like Azikiwe, Nana Mahomo and  
Peter Molotsi.

62. R. Cox, Pan Africanism in Practice, An East  
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African Study, London, OUP, 1964, p. 11.  
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63. "World Acclaims Malawi Victory", Malawi News,

17/8/61. The CPP had also donated N5,000 towards the cost of sending a legal team headed by Dingle Foot to appear on behalf of MCP detainees before the Devlin Commission.

64. Members of the delegation included Yatuta Chisiza and Aleke Banda. See The Malawi News, 19/2/62.

65. The delegation was visiting Central Africa at the invitation of the Rhodesian and Nyasaland Branch of the Association. Malawi News, 25/5/62, p. I.

66. Ibid.

67. See The Malawi News, 6th July 1962.

68. "No Cassablanca or Monrovia Powers".  
Malawi News, 6/7/62.

69. Speech by Kamuzu Banda to the Malawian House of Assembly, dated 8th March, 1966. Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London.

70. Address by Banda in Blantyre. Malawi News, 6/7/61.

## CHAPTER IX

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### ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

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#### His Early Life

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At Xhosa of Sotho extraction, Sobukwe was born of poor parents on the fifth of December, 1924 in Graaf Reinet. His family on his paternal side were from Lesotho, but they had moved to Graaf Reinet by the early years of the twentieth century. His mother was a local Pondo Woman. Angelina his mother, never attended school, but Hubert his father went as far as standard five in primary school. Hubert lost his mother at an early age and his older sister who took over responsibility for his upkeep after his father's death couldn't afford to educate him.

Mangaliso was the youngest of seven children and he had 5 brothers and one sister. The family lost three boys at an early age of natural causes. Emunda died when he was seven years old, Nzimeni at nine and Bonkele at eleven.<sup>(1)</sup> His father worked as a labourer with the Graaf Reinet Municipal Council, keeping farrows open for the town's water supply. He worked later in a store sorting wood, and ended his career as woodcutter. Mother Angelina worked as a domestic servant. It was hard going financially for the Sobukwe family and with time Ernest



and Robert, began to help saw wood and draw water from a communal tap.

Mangaliso's early years were spent at the location in Graaf Reinet and he attended the Methodist Primary Mission School and later the Anglican Mission School in the location. Brother Hubert and Angelina were keen on helping their children in school and both brought books home from work. Hubert brought books thrown away by the town Library while Angelina brought books given to her by the children of the family for whom she worked.(2)

Hubert was a stern father who inculcated into his children the Christian ethics of hardwork purity and Christian love. A leader in the local Church, he was a well respected member of the Graaf Reinet Community. Sobukwe's street was named after him and he was also a member of the advisory board for the area between 1934 and 1937.

The strict Christian upbringing of the Sobukwe children was reflected in Sobukwe's later life in spite of his militancy and radicalism in politics.

#### Education

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He attended Healdtown missionary Institute (3) and

a career in the Church was envisaged for him by church and college authorities. He became a talented Sportsman during his time at Healdtown, and rose to become the Eastern Province Tennis Singles Champion, in the Block League. His sporting career was, however, cut short by illness, as he suffered from tuberculosis during that period. From Healdtown he went on to instead of pursuing a Career in the Church.

Fort Hare as has been noted earlier, was the centre of higher learning in the region and a number of young men who were to assume leadership roles in other countries in the region were at the Institution during the period. Among them were Ntsu Mokhekle, who later became president of the Basutoland Congress Party, Orton Chirwa, member of the Malawi Congress party before the crisis, and J. Chitepo.

The mid 1940s were significant years for the development of the ANC and African nationalism in the history of South Africa. The ANC Youth league had been established and vigorous attempts were made to consolidate and popularise the ideals of leading Africanist like Anton Lembede, Geogiey Pityie and A.P. Mda.

1949 in particular was an important year for the

consolidation of ANCYL ideals within the ANC as the chapter on the new Pan Africanism has shown. It was also a year when Africanists attempted to wrest the initiative from the ANC leadership and replace the leadership with ANC youth leaguers.

Sobukwe, by now a member of the Victoria East branch of the ANCYL a key member of the Africanist movement with the ANCYL and a disciple of the late Anton Lembede and A.P. Mda was one of the ANC delegates selected by the league to pilot the debate on the 1949 programme of action at the ANC Annual conference of the same year. At a meeting held in Magasa Hall in Bloemfontein League members succeeded in pushing through the programme and it was adopted as the guiding principle of the ANC. The programme endorsed the use of Strikes, boycotts and other forms of civil disobedience in the struggle.

At the same meeting, together with other ANCYL members, among them Guma Chitepo, J. Nokwe and Godfrey Pitje Sobukwe called for the convening of an African cultural conference after the meeting. Nothing however seemed to have resulted from this call. The adoption of the Programme of Action by the ANC was regarded as a victory for the ANCYL and the Africanists.



At Fort Hare Sobukwe was instrumental in the establishment of a branch of the movement in the institution and the popularization of Africanist sentiments. He pursued a very strong Africanist and radical line, in line with the then current position adopted by his colleagues in the league. He was also regarded as one of the "most brilliant Student at the college at the time" Indeed it was in the words of Pitye, a fellow Youth league, considered "doubtful where Fort Hare would get the like of him within the foreseeable future" (4) He edited the AFRICANIST the official organ of the Africanist movement, as is reputed to have upgraded and systematised the ideology of the Africanists. (5).

He was elected President of the Student Representative Council (SRC), the student body that articulated the feelings and aspirations of the student body in 1949. He was also elected editor of the student magazine INKUNDLA YA BANTU. He pursued a radical pan Africanist stance no doubt influenced by the ideals of Lembede, Mda, Nkrumah, and Azikiwe. He was a regular contributor to Azikiwe's WEST AFRICAN PILOT.

As president of the SRC, Sobukwe, was instrumental in organising and supporting strike action in line with the new policy outlined in the programme of action. For

example, he was a key figure in organising the boycott of Church service in the college led by the Reverend Dr. Shepherd, whom many students held responsible for the closure of the local hospital at Alice, and the wrecking of the careers of over 100 African women. The ANCYL also organised the boycott of the visit of the Governor General to Alice and Fort Hare. Lastly the organisation in conjunction with students of Fort Hare supported the strike action embarked upon by nurses at the local hospital against iron fisted policies of Hospital authorities towards the student nurses (6). For Sobukwe, the events at Fort Hare and the local hospital were not incidents restricted to the institutions, but they were.

"part of the struggle of Africa and Europe, between a twentieth century desire for self realization on the one hand and a feudal conception of authority on the other"(7).

It was also an adequate reflection of the concrete realities of the situation on the ground in South Africa.

Graduating SRC Presidents normally gave a completer's speech before leaving the Institution. Sobukwe used the speech to espouse the cause of Africanism, attack white paternalism and opposers of African unity, and rededicate his life to the service of Africa.



At the 1949 Completers' Social, he told his graduating colleagues:

"We want to build a new Africa and only we can build it. The opponents of African Nationalism are hampering the progress and development not only of Africa, but of the whole world. Everytime our people have shown signs of uniting against oppression their friends have come along and broken that unity. In the very earliest days it was the missionary, between 1900 and 1946 it was the professional liberal, and today again it is the missionary. After maintaining an unbroken and monastic silence for years while racist premier Smuts was starving the people out of the cheap black labour reserves, the missionaries suddenly discover when the Africans unite, that the Africans have not had a fair deal. In the same stride, they form a union wide Association of Heads of Native Institutions for the purpose of regimenting the thoughts of the students. I am afraid these gentlemen are dealing with a new generation (of Africans) which cannot be bamboozled." (8)

In response to the demand by College authorities for an apology, Sobukwe, in a defiant stance, maintained:

"I know, of course, that because I express these sentiments, I shall be accused of indecency and branded as an agitator, because those in authority do not want to see the even tenor of their lives disturbed; they do not like to be told that what they have always believed to be right was wrong, but above all, they resent the encroachment on what they regard as their special province. But I make no apologies, for it is meet that we speak the truth, before we die." (9)

Continuing his radical posture, he warned fellow graduants that if they were persecuted for their views,



they should remember that: "It was darkest before dawn and that the dying beast kicked most violently when it was giving up the ghost."(10)

As a result of his militant stand, his two bursaries from the methodist church and from the Native Education Department were withdrawn and a teaching appointment offered to him at Healtdown Institute was withdrawn.

He graduated in 1949 with a Bachelor of arts degree in English, Xhosa and Native Administration. He had met Veronic Zodwa Mate, a Zulu student nurse at Lovedale Teaching hospital.(11)

The following year, Sobukwe, accompanied by messrs Ntsu Mokhekle, Orton Chirwa, and P.G. Stamper, fellow colleagues at Fort Hare took the ANC message to the African population in East London. He addressed a rally at Tsolo location in East London at the Bantu square near the Bantu church (12). His brilliant speech at the rally turned East London into an Africanist stronghold, a situation which continued into the 1980s. Accompanied by Cornelius Judah Fazi he visited an influential Rugby administrator R.S. Gnentshe, whom he persuaded to join the ANC.(13)

He continued Youth league activities in the 1950s after taking up a teaching appointment at Standerton, where he taught history to the Senior class between 1950 and 1954. He was instrumental in the establishment of an ANCYL branch in Standerton between 1951 and 1954. At the national level he was elected General Secretary of the ANCYL in 1951. He was also General Secretary of the Standerton (town) branch of the league between 1951 and 1957 (14). At the School he attempted to implement the ANC programme of action in the educational field. He reinterpreted the Nongawese and Nonkosi legend in a poem which was used during the 1952 defiance campaign. The poem contended that the tragedy was a result of a plot by whites to mislead Africans by exploiting their suspicions (15). Government and School officials criticized his teaching methods, and the content of his lectures. He, for example, disagreed with history books which taught Africans that the Hottentots were killed by a small pox epidemic. The true history of the deaths, Sobukwe taught his students was that the Hottentots had been killed by infected blankets obtained from white trading stores. (16) His active participation in the Defiance campaign, which resulted in the killing of one white, caused consternation in official circles. They were also dissatisfied with his propagation in the classroom, pulpit and on political platforms of the 1949 programme of action.



In his speeches and addresses, Sobukwe also called on school children and people in Standerton to boycott the 300 year anniversary celebration of the coming of Jan Van Riebeeck to South Africa in 1652. (17)

However, Sobukwe like other figures treated in the biographical sketches in the study was capable of wearing different hats at the same time, or of living in many worlds simultaneously. The early part of this chapter has shown his methodist upbringing, and at Standerton he was not only the radical Africanist activist but he was also a local preacher of the Methodist Church. In an independent Church in the pre 1915 period and his utterance and his Church membership would not have created tension in the area. However, Sanderton was a sleepy suburban town and the local Methodist Church was part of conventional methodism in the country. He was dismissed from his teaching post at Standerton but the authorities were forced to reinstate him, following pressure from Africans in the town and its surrounding areas(18).

Sobukwe left Standerton for the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1954, where he was appointed assistant language tutor. By now he was a fluent speaker of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, English and



Afrikaans.

### Sobukwe and The ANCYL/PAC

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He had graduated from Fort Hare with a Honours degree in English and Xhosa and probably from his Zulu wife Zodwa Mate (whom he married in 1954) he must have learnt the Zulu language. His grandparents had also been of Sotho extraction, and, since we have no evidence that he studied the language formally, one can suggest that he got no fluency in the Sotho language from his Sotho family connections. He became a literary critic and wrote Xhosa poetry and novels and his special interests included the collection and analysis of folklore and literary writings in Xhosa.(19) Unfortunately, attempts by both the writer and PAC members to locate any of Sobukwe's literary works proved futile.(20) He succeeded Monday Jalobe as Editor of the Youth League paper THE AFRICANIST in 1955, contributed significantly in modifying and refining the ideology of the movement. According to PAC sources, he assisted in systematizing and upgrading the ideology of Africanism and introduced the concept of non-racialism into the programme of the ANCYL.

Sobukwe used money from his salary as Assistant Lecturer to finance the publication of THE AFRICANIST,

and by 1958 was paying Leballo a monthly salary for his work within Congress. He also bought weekly or monthly train tickets for Party activists without jobs; and even paid the rents of impoverished members.(21)

In 1959, he toured African villages and townships, addressing large rallies, in an attempt to convince them of the Africanist position. This included a tour of the Cape, where he held meetings in Kensington, Langa West, Port Elizabeth, East London and Queenstown, and this added significant numbers to the membership of the newly formed Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.(22) His activities, however, were not limited to the Union. Two years earlier, he had addressed a meeting of the Basutoland Congress Party where he had put forward the idea of a status campaign.(23) He continued his campaign for the Movement's forthcoming status and antipass campaign in 1959 and addressed rallies as far out as the Eastern Cape. In Natal and Durban, PAC sources have maintained that Sobukwe and his team were attacked by Indians.(24)

In the same year he continued his advocacy of the non-collaboration policy of the ANCYL, and urged Africans not to participate in their own oppression by participating in dummy institutions.(25) He rejected the Bantustans created by the Government, which he



maintained were designed to perpetuate the Africans' oppression, by inviting him to participate in "fondant contraptions created solely for the purpose of subjugating him".

The birth of the multi-racial Congress Alliance in 1953, and the incorporation of the charter into the ANC in 1957 Africanists believed killed the old native Congress and gave birth to an African Congress. The Klipton Charter of 1955 was regarded by Africanists as a betrayal of the spirit of the programme of action adopted in 1949. In October 1958 Africanists in the Transvaal made a bold attempt to wrest the leadership of the ANC from the Charterists, those who adhered to the freedom charter. A struggle was then waged within the ANC for the leadership of the movement because of the ideological differences between the Charterists and the Africanists. Africanists in the Transvaal who were prominent in the leadership struggle were Madzunya, P.K. Leballo, Peter Raborako, and Abedinego Ngcobo.

They failed in their bid to democratically oust the Charterists from the leadership of the movement and in November of the same year, the Transvaal Africanists severed all relations with the Charterist Congress, "launching out as the custodians of ANC policy as it was formulated in 1912 and pursued up to the time of the



Congress Alliance"(26).

On the sixth of April 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was formed and launched. Events within and outside the country influenced significantly the formation of the movement. Internally the contradictions within the ANC and the new directions pursued by the ANCYL and the Africanists were bound to lead to tension within the movement and eventually a split.

Outside South Africa, the Pan African ideals of Kwame Nkrumah particularly the deliberations of the All African Peoples Conference were significant contributory factors.(27) Among leading contenders for the leadership of the new movement was Madzunya, a hardline Africanist, However Sobukwe, was elected the founding president of the movement, as his Africanist views were considered less extremist than men like Madzunya. Together with others like Peter Raboroko, Sobukwe had in the 1950s helped in refining the ideology of Africanism as propagated by Anton Lembede. Other Executive members of the new movement at its inauguration were D. Ngcobo, the movements treasurer, P.K. Leballo, Matthew Nkoana.

The inaugural PAC meeting was to have been addressed by Hastings Banda and Kenneth Kaunda. Both however, were detained in their respective centres, and

were replaced by Sobukwe.

By 1960, the PAC believed that they had won the ideological battle and they had delineated their goals in clear terms. What they had to do was to guide the masses towards the objectives of the movement and mobilise them to an understanding of the movement's tactics and strategies.(28)

Sobukwe and the new movement planned a status campaign which aimed at asserting the concept of the African personality, in its economic political and social guises. Before the commencement of the campaign, letters were sent out to all public and private institutions, and commercial and industrial enterprises,(29) demanding that all differential treatment of Africans be stopped. These included differential wages, and (30) the contemptuous manner whites addressed Africans.(31) As a means of enforcing these demands, the PAC advocated the total boycott of any shop or concern that would not grant these demands.(32).

Influenced by Nkrumah to adopt a more dramatic programme, the PAC organised the now famous positive action campaign in March 1960, which involved encouraging the people to disobey the rules concerning the carrying of hated passes as a form of protest



against restrictions imposed by the state on freedom of movement of Africans. At the beginning of the campaign Sobukwe and other PAC members gave themselves up outside Orlando Police Station on the 21st March and the ensuing anti-Pass Campaign resulted in the killing by the South African Police of 69 black protestors, while many others were injured.(33) Sobukwe was accused together with 16 other PAC officials, of contravening section 2 (a) of Act 8 of 1953 read with section 15(1) and or (c) of Act 67 of 1952 as substituted by section 24 of Act 79 of 1957 and having wrongfully and unlawfully advised, encouraged and incited Blacks who had been issued with reference books to commit the offence of contravening the above stated laws.(34) They were also accused of having addressed gatherings of Blacks and having printed and distributed pamphlets, bills and circulars, the purpose of which was to encourage and incite blacks to dispose of or destroy their reference books issued to them.(35) Although the movement failed to achieve its major objective, that is, the abolition of pass laws,(36) it recorded a series of gains. There was, for example, a 90% success of the work boycott at Evaton, one of the PAC strong holes in the Union, while the stay at home called by the movement almost paralysed commerce and industry in the Cape for sometime. The campaign hit the economy of the country badly. Investors were worried, and there was a loss of confidence among



investors in South Africa and abroad. This led according to a memorandum by the South African Chamber of Commerce and industry, to a withdrawal of capital and a cancellation of business projects under favourable consideration at the time.(37)

Speaking about the rising in the House of Assembly, the Minister of Justice, H.J. Erasmus; said of the movement and its aims:

"The PAC was even more extreme than the ANC. They (were) imposed. (sic) Their professed aim was to fight for the overthrow of white supremacy in whatever form it existed. Their slogan was Africa for the Africans, and their objective was the take over of South Africa in 1963. They looked upon whites as intruders and that only the Bantu had any right in South Africa. They look upon their struggle as a continuation of the fight their ancestors had waged against the invaders for overseas.(38) (sic)

Sobukwe and his colleagues spoke uncompromisingly in court. As spokesman for the other (18), in response to the judges (one hundred and thirty-five) minutes judgement (39) Sobukwe said,

Your worship, it will be remembered that when this case began, we refused to plead because we felt no moral obligation whatsoever to obey laws which are made exclusively by a white minority but I would like to quote what was said by somebody before, that an unjust law cannot be justly applied. we believe in one race only; the human race, to which we all belong. The history of that race is a long struggle, against all restrictions; physical, mental and spiritual, we would betray the human race to which we belong if we had not done our share. We are glad to

have made our contribution"(40).

Sobukwe was sentenced to three years imprisonment for his role in the positive action campaign. The ultimate aim of the PAC, the judge maintained was the overthrow of white supremacy.

"Not only was it your object to fill the jails, but you intended to paralyse trade, industry and the economy of the country in order to force the government to change the laws".(41)

Having served the duration of his sentence, Sobukwe was, in the words of Patrick Laurence (writing for the London Times from Kimberley in 1978) arbitrarily detained in solitary confinement on Robben Island for a further six years under a special amendment, the General Laws Amendment Act of 1963".(42) It subsequently came to be called the Sobukwe Clause. He had spent his prison term between 1960-1963 at prisons in Boksburg, Stoffberg, Witbank and Pretoria, (43) before being transferred to Robben Island. In announcing his continuing detention, the Government maintained he would be retained in custody under a different set of conditions. He was, in the words of a government official:

"to have complete freedom of movement within a large prescribed area. Newspapers could be supplied to him. He would be able to receive visitors weekly. He would by no means be treated as a prisoner, but (would) receive special treatment in respect of food, movement, the use of



leisure hours, hours of rising and retiring, clothing . . ."(44)

He was moved to quarters previously occupied by coloured trainee wardens, where he was incarcerated and isolated from other prisoners. According to his brother Ernest, during a visit to Sobukwe on Robben Island in 1963, he was in good spirits, and his faith in the Christian religion not been impaired. On a further visit five years later, however, Ernest reported that he found Sobukwe bitter towards the church. He had been frustrated and disillusioned because of the fact that officials of the Methodist Church in general and those of his Church in Mofolo had not visited him to offer moral and spiritual support.(45)

Even in Robben Island, Sobukwe remained a good Christian in spite of the fact that he had led the PAC to one of the most dreaded campaigns in the history of South Africa, the positive Action Campaign in 1960. In a letter to Benjamin Progrund in 1963, Sobukwe emphasised his Christian faith and a character formed by a background of discipline and puritanism, when he said of his state in Robben Island,

"I am alone but not lonely. There is a loneliness of loyalty of which I cannot be ashamed. What is my loneliness before the loneliness of my country and my God. The loneliness of God is his strength too. It is better to be alone with God, in his strength. I will dare dare and dare until I die"



die".(46)

The contradiction in his outward political stance and his inner religious and personal beliefs was bound to create tension both in his public and private life and illustrates vividly the many-sided nature of history and the complex problems involved in attempting to reduce in human terms, the historical generalisations in the historical chapters of this work. Thus Sobukwe, could live in many worlds, the world of the militant, radical agitator, and the world of a pious Christian. Thus he could suggest to Progrund that he was conservative with regards to his choice of clothes, and this possibly reflected a man who was conservative even in his ideas.(47)

He continued his interest in languages, and in addition to studying for an economics degree as an external student of London University, he also studied French.

Two years before his release in 1969, some of the restrictions which had been imposed on him were relaxed, and he was, for example, allowed to have his wife and children live with him twice a year for a continuous period of fourteen days each.

According to a statement read by the Magistrate and

Bantu Commissioner at Cafinvaba, Mr. J.M. Jordaan, during the trial of twenty PAC activists on a charge of sabotage, one of the accused, Shweni, a Poqo leader, maintained that Sobukwe led the armed wing of the PAC from his Robben Island cell. POQO, (49) the military wing of the PAC, had been established on the 4th September, 1961 as the next "(stage in the all embracing and multifrontal strategy of the PAC" (50) following the banning of the movement after the Sharpeville Massacre. The new movement soon sent a shiver of fear among whites throughout the country, and following a number of violent incidents between 1962 and 1963, (51) Justice Snyman, the Commissioner who headed the Inquiry into the Paarl riots, urged the government to take immediate action to save whites from Poqo. He called for a change in white attitudes, and warned that:

"(They) must not only change their attitude, but they must also find a policy that is acceptable to the Africans or find a way to make government policies acceptable to them." (52)

According to Lodge, (53) the earliest usage of the word poqo was associated with the early Ethiopian church movement. Independent church members referred to themselves as "Ndingum Topiya poqo", a phrase which meant that they were members of the church of Ethiopia. In the 1960s, PAC members used the word poqo to describe the non-racial character of their movement, in contrast to

the multi-racialism of the ANC. Between 1961 and 1963 there were sixty eight poqo cells functioning effectively in the country, (54) and according to figures supplied by J. Keivy the police commissioner over 10,000 poqo suspects, had been arrested and tried. Many had been migrant farm workers, who had been given a promise that land would be taken from whites and given to Africans. Chiefs regarded as collaborators would be killed, they were also told. Poqo attacks on Matanzima, the prime minister of the Transkei, seemed to have been a part fulfillment of this promise. Poqo cells also attacked police stations, regarded as agents of government oppression.

The first political executions took place in the country when six poqo suspects were hanged. Others were given life sentences. In addition to being banned in 1963, the mass arrests of poqo members eventually emasculated the movement.

In addition to this threat from Poqo, a movement believed to have been led by Sobukwe, Leballo, issued in 1963 (the year Sobukwe should have completed his jail term) his famous statement which maintained that the PAC was ready to launch a major military offensive against the South African government. He claimed that he had trained a large number of Africans in Maseru who had



returned to South Africa for his major offensive. According to a letter from Patrick Duncan to Mr. Anthony in 1964.

"There was incontrovertible proof that Leballo was in charge of a revolutionary army in March, 1963 which could have administered the 1st November blow against Verwoerd "(55)

Leballo's plans, according to Duncan, were foiled by the arrest of a large number of Poqo members.(56) There was also, it has been maintained, a plan by the PAC to have Sobukwe forcibly removed from Robben Island to Maseru without bloodshed. This operation never materialised.

He was released from Robben Island in 1969 but was restrict to the municipal area of Kimberly and banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. His release from prison is difficult to explain considering the fact that other ANC leaders continued to languish in jails around the country. However, he had served his three year jail term by 1963 and he had been detained under the special Sobukwe clause as we have seen, because it was believed by the dreaded Poqo movement. By 1969, the government had finally succeeded in breaking the back of Poqo, and scores of PAC activities had been rounded up following the infiltration of the movement by South African security agents. It could thus be suggested that the

authorities believed that as a restricted person without

an illegal organization Sobukwe could pose little or no threat to the system. He was offered a job as a clerk in the local pass office. The five year banning order imposed on him made it illegal for him to be quoted, either from his past speeches or from conducted interviews. He was also forbidden from having more than two visitors at any given time. Kimberley, it has been suggested by South African newspaper reports, was chosen as his place of confinement because it was geographically and ideologically isolated from the main centres of Black radical politics. The local population had also acquired a reputation over the years of being more politically inactive than Africans in other parts of the country.

With permission from the government, Sobukwe set up a law practice outside the boundary line of Galeshawe African Township, where he provided legal services for Africans who had contravened the pass laws and those accused of smuggling gold and diamonds from the mines.

In 1970 he was granted a one way exit permit by the Ministry of the Interior to allow him to leave the country. The then Minister of Justice had however

refused to lift the restriction orders which confined him to Kimberley, to allow him to travel to an international departure point. In June 1971 both Sobukwe and Miss L. Naidoo applied jointly to the Supreme Court to be allowed to use the exit permits. In his judgement, the presiding Judge maintained that restriction orders under the Suppression of Communism Act were on the same legal basis as imprisonment. The department permits did not confer on the applicants the right to absent themselves from the respective restricted areas. Sobukwe had wanted to leave the country to take up appointments offered by two Universities in America, while Miss Naidoo, restricted to the Johannesburg District in 1970 for refusing to become a state witness during the trial of twenty two Africans accused of treason, had sought permission to leave for Britain to seek employment.(57)

This was indeed a test of Sobukwe's character and will. Benjamin Pogrund, at a memorial service at which a tombstone on behalf of Sobukwe was unveiled in Graff Reinet, said in his address that

"Those who knew him attested to his strength of will, his humanity, his belief in people, his love for people (which) transcended all barriers of colour, class, age and differences in political outlook."(58)

After the expiration of the five year banning order in 1974, it was renewed for a further five years. As a



banned person, he was confined to his house between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. and was not allowed to receive visitors in his house or visit anyone. He was also under close surveillance by the special branch police and a host of informers. In view of his failing health and constant harrassment he applied for a permit to leave South Africa for medical attention abroad.

In September 1975, following the publication of the book SOUTH AFRICA A SKUNK AMONG NATIONS written by De Villiers a top official of the Department of information and published by International Books London, Sobukwe sued Parnell and Son, South Africa, (59) the distributors of the book in the country for R20,000 for defamation of character. This was in relation to the publication in the book of a statement purportedly made by Sobukwe, about the PAC's aims, shortly after the establishment of the movement. He maintained that parts of the book, which was published by International Book Publishers in London, alleged that he had advocated the extermination of non-black races or their expulsion from South Africa. This allegation he maintained "gravely injured his character and reputation and had brought him into scandal, odium and contempt" (60) He was granted special leave to serve his writ outside the jurisdiction of the English court at a private hearing, when the defendant, Les de Villiers, was given twenty two days in

which to enter an appearance to the writ. Earlier in the year, he had been granted permission to leave Kimberly District to attend his mother's funeral in Graff Reinet who had died at the age of ninety at the Umtata home of his brother the Reverend Ernest Sobukwe, the Bishop Suffragan of St Johns.(61) In 1977 he became seriously ill and was allowed to obtain medical treatment from any doctor within the country. This concession enabled him to enter Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town, where he underwent major lung surgery in September. He was discharged temporarily in October, and was to stay with the Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town, but was ordered by the government back to the hospital or to return to return to Kimberley. He was cited as one of the 86 co-conspirators in the Bethal trial of leading PAC men which started in December 1977. He suffered a relapse while recuperating in Kimberley, and died on the 26th February 1978 in a local hospital.

#### Sobukwe and PAC Ideas on African Unity

This section of the Chapter will examine the ideas of Sobukwe and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Described by the Editor of AZANIA NEWS four years after his death as the "leading organ of the PAC", (62) Sobukwe saw the future of Africa as a new society which pursued the idea of National and Continental Unity and the



concept of a free and independent African personality.

The principle on which PAC ideology was based will be discussed in this section under five main headings. These were the Creation of a United States of Africa, The African Personality, The methods to be adopted by the Struggle, Positive Neutrality and Non-Alignment, and Africa for the Africans. Although, as has been noted earlier in the chapter, Sobukwe died in 1978, according to the late Nyati Pokela "the principles and struggle which he stood for still lived on".(63)

#### The Creation of a United States of Africa

In contrast to the thinking of Africanists who later left to establish the PAC, a number of ANC leaders, it has been contended, did not think of South Africa in the context of the African continent. Distinctions were usually drawn between Arabs in North Africa and Africans in West, East and South Africa. As a result of the unique situation in South Africa, it was argued that the term Africa for the Africans was inappropriate for the country and was inconsistent with the policies of the ANC. As one of the leading advocates of Pan African Unity in South Africa in 1959 and 1960, the theme of the establishment of a United States of Africa was one of the consistent ideas in Sobukwe's and



PAC thinking.

He expressed the view that it was his belief that, the ideals of Pan Africanism had captured the minds of all in the continent in spite of the minor differences over pace and priorities. Africans, he continued, had agreed that a stop must be put to the humiliating situation in Africa where Africans in 1959, were still speaking of a French Equatorial Africa, a British Cameroon, a Portuguese Angola, a Belgian Congo and an Italian Somaliland. The goal of all African Nationalists, he believed, should be the creation of a United States of Africa, (64) which was vital to the economic and social development of the continent. Africanists, he maintained, were "marching in step with the continent towards the goal of African nationhood and an Africa for the Africans."

In his inaugural address to the newly established PAC in 1959, he enjoined members to "regard as the sacred duty of all Africans to work ceaselessly for the creation of United States of Africa stretching from Cape to Cairo and Morocco to Madagascar. The days of small independent states were long gone, and he pointed to the achievements of countries like the USA, the USSR and India with large populations. (65) In addition, Sobukwe believed that because of the historical fate shared by

all in Africa, it was imperative that for purely practical reasons, the whole of Africa should be in a single unit. This, he contended, was the "only way that African states could create an effective bulwark against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, herrenvorkism and tribalism, and lay a solid foundation for the establishment of an Africanist socialist democracy".(66) He urged all Africans to search diligently for an organizational expression for the unification of Africa.

For the success of such a unity, Africans must owe their first loyalty to the new African nation and not to their tribe, ethnic or other national groups (67) Sobukwe warned.

The idea of African Unity, was for the PAC and Sobukwe: not a dream of the dim and distant future but of immediate practical politics. Because of the set-up in Africa, the idea of unity could present African leaders with some knotty problems.(68) Among the problems identified by Sobukwe were tribalism, religious affiliations, language and the race problem.(69) Other factors which would militate against the idea of the creation of a monolithic African giant were, a "competition for a leadership role in the new Africa by some African leaders whom he referred to as one eyed dwarfs in the land of blind dwarfs, who considered

themselves great or had been made great by the press." These would advance excuses to defer the complete unification of the Continent for fear of losing their greatness. Other leaders, he continued, while paying lipservice to the Pan African ideal, would demand autonomy for their States, with the object of remaining in the public eye.(70) Sobukwe displayed great foresight in his analysis of some of the likely factors that would hinder the achievement of the creation of a united Africa.

He was also rather erroneously confident that all African nationalist leaders in Africa were Pan Africanists who would not hamper the cause for which they had suffered and laboured for so long.(71)

Events after 1960 have shown that very few of the leaders of independent African States could be referred to as Pan African in outlook. In the Southern African subregion, one can point to antagonists of the ideal, like Dr. Banda and Chief Jonathan, while in West Africa one can point to the ideas of Houphrey Boigny and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria.

Among other African leaders, those with Pan African inclinations allowed the national interests of their respective countries, to take precedence over the



pursuit of Pan African ideals. This view was reiterated by the former President of the Republic of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, in his address at the 25th Anniversary celebrations of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. Nyerere expressed the view that African leaders of the 1960s had failed the continent, because they had allowed the national interests of their respective nations to take priority over a badly needed Pan African unity.(72) Sobukwe and the PAC consistently advocated a centralised unitary system of government for the United States of Africa, while accepting that the Union of African states should be a union of independent African States in line with the ideas and steps advocated at the 1945 and 1958 Pan African Conferences.(73) The PAC though (it has been maintained by PAC leaders), was not enamoured of federations, since, in the words of Sobukwe:

"Inherent in Federations and Confederations was a weak form of unity which entailed compromises, and the idea of trial for a period and the threat of ultimate secession by one state or another which killed effective unity."

In short, he maintained that a federated solution for the continent would militate against that unity and the development of the uniform outlook, which the United States of Africa was designed to foster.(74) The shortcomings of a federal system, he continued, had been amply demonstrated in earlier years in the United States

of America. The trend in the 1950s and 1960s, Sobukwe continued, was towards effective centralization of power, citing the examples of the USSR and the USA. The PAC thus committed itself to a Union of African States as a unitary centrally controlled organic whole,(75) what Sobukwe referred to as a giant monolithic State, with all powers vested in a central government, freely elected by the whole continent on the basis of universal adult suffrage. Only continental wide parties committed to a continental programme cutting across sectional ties and interests, whether of a tribal or religious nature, would be allowed in the new set-up. This will, Sobukwe believed, promote the idea of African Unity and the concept of a free and independent African personality.

The question of the language problem tackled by the ANCYL in 1952 was modified by Sobukwe in 1959. In response to the question, "What language will be the language of Africa? Will it be a dialect, many dialects or some European language?" Sobukwe maintained that as there was no language in 1959 with a continent-wide distribution or one that could be freely used in scientific discussion, Africa would have to employ a European language or languages. He cited English and French as the two major languages which might probably be used, with English possibly becoming the Lingua franca of Africa.(76)



Continental unity, Sobukwe and the PAC maintained, was necessary to give formal expression to the desire of the African people for unity and for the defence of every country in the continent. He believed that just as the Europeans set tribe against tribe in the early struggle for Africa, he would most probably set country against country in an attempt to maintain a foot hold in the continent.(77) In addition, a United Africa would mould Africa into a power, strong enough to ensure its independence in world politics, particularly in the light of the fact that it was those countries which were territorially expansive and had large populations, which had taken over world leadership, as exemplified by the USSR and the USA.(78) A common programme for the economic and social reconstruction of Africa would contribute to this, with a combined effort for the exploration of the vast human and mineral resources of the Continent for the benefit of every part of it. "By cutting out waste through systematic planning, a central government (could) bring about the most rapid development of every part of the state", (79) he continued. He cited the example of the prosperity of Nyasaland, in 1959 bound up with the \$25,000 Shire valley project, which he said could be guaranteed at much less cost under a Central Government. With the exploitation of the hydro-electric potentials of the



Belgian Congo, Nyasaland could be supplied with the power to stimulate industrial development. (80) Quoting extensively from George Padmore's PAN AFRICANISM AND COMMUNISM and other CPP documents, Sobukwe and the PAC maintained that it was only by a merger of African states that Africa could create an effective bulwark against the forces arraigned against her.

In addition, a uniformity of laws in a unitary state, freedom of movement throughout the continent and a common syllabus for schools, with emphasis on the physical and natural sciences would help in fostering a uniform outlook in Africa, they maintained.

Finally, a united Africa would provide huge internal markets for raw materials and manufactured goods allowing for no surpluses. The Unitary State would have entrenched in its Constitution, freedom of religion to ensure, for example, that a predominantly moslem or christian population would be forbidden by law from making theirs a state religions. (81)

### The African Personality.

The concept of the African personality, used by Blyden and Lembede and made popular by Nkrumah, has come under increasing attack by such writers as E. Mphahlele

and C. Franz. (82) Afari Gyan, in his work on the political ideas of Nkrumah, (83) has indentified two interrelated uses of the African Personality concept by Nkrumah. First was a personality, rid of a feeling of inferiority and free of external trappings and influences. The second aspect involved psychological and political emancipation, which would enable Africans to play a nonsubordinate role in world affairs.

The need for the cultivation of the African Personality was acutely felt by Africans in South Africa. This could explain Sobukwe and the PAC's emphasis on this aspect of the African Personality. His constituency was made up of Africans who had for years been subjected to humiliation under the colour bar and later apartheid system.

Among the major instruments used in ensuring the subjugation of blacks in the Union were passes referred to as "that distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation", whose primary function was the provision of cheap labour for European employers and the exclusion of Blacks from decision-making bodies in the Union. Justifying the exclusion of Africans from the electoral process, Hertzog said:

"As against the European, the native stands as an



eight year old against a man of mature experience. Differences exist in ethnic culture, ethnic development and civilization, and those differences shall long exist. When (he has) achieved his majority in development and civilization, and can stand on an equal level with the white man, his adulthood will be acknowledged, then the time will come to take his claim to political rights into consideration." (§4)

Sobukwe's message was thus addressed to a constituency which, for over 300 years, the ruling minority had used its power to inculcate in them a feeling of inferiority. They had forced the African to accept the status quo of white superiority and black inferiority as normal. In 1957, Bantu education designed to destroy the culture of the people had also been introduced. Outlining the function of Bantu Education, H.F. Verwoerd said:

"When I have control of native education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them. People who believe in equality with Europeans are not desirable teachers for the natives. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live." (§5)

The task of the PAC leadership, Sobukwe maintained, was to exercise the slave mentality in the African and to impart in them, that sense of self reliance that would make them prefer self government to the good government preferred by the ANC. The PAC, he continued, was not begging foreign minorities to treat Africans courteously. They were calling on Africans to assert



their African Personality. The status campaign announced by Sobukwe in his state of the Nation Campaign speech in August 1959 ('`Sekhoele Imbuyambo'' - counter-attack) was designed as the first phase of the unfolding and expanding positive action campaign, which would make the African assert his personality and break century old shackles of social degradation. It involved the political, economic and social status of the African.

The ideal starting point for the campaign, leaders believed, were commercial and industrial concerns, and plans were made to launch the campaign simultaneously in all parts of the Union. Sekhoele Imbuyambo was initially meant to last until every person in Africa will be an African and a man's colour would be as irrelevant as the shape of his ears, and until government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans was a fait accompli.' '(8.6).

In launching the status campaign, he called on Africans to assert their African Personality, and warned that the acceptance of any indignation, any insult or humiliation, was an acceptance of inferiority. The campaign, he believed, would:

"free the mind of the African, and when once the mind (was) free the body will (also) be free. Once white supremacy had become unacceptable it had

become mentally unattainable too and will go."  
(87)

White members of the public, particularly store keepers who did not respond favourably to the status campaign by Africans, would have their stores boycotted by their customers.

In response to criticisms of the campaign, Sobukwe retorted:

"It is only those who (had) not been herrovolkenised by their .... environment who have no idea whatsoever of the African personality who can expect (Africans) to be lickspittles in order to get more crumbs from the oppressors' table." (88)

The status campaign was, according to Sobukwe, part of the unfolding and expanding campaign which involved the political, economic and social status of Africans. In accepting to participate in the campaign, Africans were challenging the whole concept of white supremacy.

The assertion of the African Personality in apartheid South Africa would have tremendous consequences for the minority white government, for, taken to its logical conclusions, such an assertion would eventually have led to a collapse of the system. The status campaign was, however, relegated to the background for the anti-Pass campaign of 1960.



## Methods of the Struggle as Advocated by Sobukwe and the PAC. -----

Like some Ethiopian church leaders, Sobukwe and the PAC advocated a non-violent struggle as a strategy for the achievement of their political objectives. Africans, Sobukwe explained, had no arms and no means of making sophisticated weapons. In addition, the forces against his movement in South Africa were numerous. (89)

In Sobukwe's instructions to the PAC branches at the start of the Positive Action Campaign in 1960, therefore, he had written:

"My instructions are that our people must be taught now and continuously, that in this campaign we are going to observe absolute non-violence. There are those in our midst who will be speaking irresponsibly of bloodshed and violence. They must be firmly told what our stand is ..... the only people who will benefit from violence are the government and the police." (90)

Reiterating his belief in a philosophy of non-violent positive action. Sobukwe, in a press release, launching the campaign and appealing for a non-violent campaign, said:

"I have appealed to the African people to make sure that the Campaign is conducted in a spirit of absolute non-violence. I am quite certain that they will heed my call. The Police is to direct the same call to the Police. If the intention of the Police is to maintain law and order, I can say you can best do so by eschewing violence. Let the saracens have a holiday, we are ready to die for our cause, but we are not yet ready to kill." (91)



The positive action campaign was a non-violent show of strength by Africans in the early years of the PAC's existence. It was stressed repeatedly, however, that it was a tactic employed because of the nature and stage of the struggle in the early 1960s and it was not PAC policy. (92) Although non-violence was adopted by the 1958 Pan African Conference in Accra, the final definition for the method of struggle read:

"Recognising that national independence can be gained by peaceful means in territories where democratic means are available, (it guaranteed) support to all forms of peaceful action. The support (was) however equally pledged to those who, in order to meet the violent means by which they are supported and exploited, are obliged to retaliate." (93)

Non-violence as a tactic in the early 1960s made good sense in apartheid South Africa. The PAC and other movements in the Union were not militarily equipped to force a campaign of violence with a Government determined against the AFRICANIST. PAC leaders explained their preference for a non-violent positive action campaign thus:

"We are not pacifists. We are realists who know that the fascist government put in power by white South Africa is at present itching for an opportunity to demonstrate its strength. It will not hesitate to kill hundreds of our people. That is the accepted moral of a large section of white South Africa. Our task and sacred duty is not to give the police the excuse and the opportunity to shoot, not because we are cowards, but because the

only person to benefit from such shooting is the oppressor."(94)

Other PAC leaders expressed the view that violent confrontation with the government in 1960 would have been futile and suicidal.(95)

Sobukwe's early endorsement of passive resistance in some ways also reflected his strict methodist upbringing. He has been described by Eulalie Scott, "as a man of peace, who believed that violence was only justifiable as a form of self defence.(96)

Yet though passes were temporarily suspended and money rapidly moved out of the country, in relative terms the campaign did not achieve its desired goals.

The campaign, it must be stressed, was not identical with Satyagraha used in India, where it was a success.(97) In addition, the ingredients for the

success of such a strategy, though present in the then Gold Coast under Nkrumah were missing in South Africa.

While a non-violent positive action campaign in the then

Gold Coast had led to an acceleration of the constitutional process, the massacres at Sharpeville,

Langa and other places which led to 69 Africans killed and over 200 injured, only marked a turning point for

Black South Africans in the struggle for liberation.

With the banning of both the PAC and the ANC, both



movements were convinced that only revolutionary force would bring about any significant changes in the country. Statements by Sobukwe in the post-Sharpeville period would suggest that he endorsed the development from a non-violent positive action campaign to revolutionary violence. In a statement on the nature of the struggle after Sharpeville, for example, he said:

"We are aware of the nature and size of our task and will not shirk it. We will not go back. We will not look back. We will not deviate. The people will not wait for ever to be furnished with arms."

In addition, in subsequent writings about the Sharpeville campaign and the massacres that followed, Sobukwe and the PAC maintained that:

"In Sharpeville they overcame the fear of the consequences of disobeying the pass laws. (They) had been brought up as good Christians, and made to believe that to go to jail was sinful and degrading. They also believed that no self-respecting man would go to jail. During Sharpeville, it became respectable to go to jail and emerge as what Kwame Nkrumah called a prison graduate. This stripped the white man of that weapon against them." (98)

For Sobukwe, the turning point in the struggle after Sharpeville was Frelimo's 1974 victory in Mozambique. This had shattered the myth of White invincibility, and what was left had received another blow from the South African military retreat from Angola, following the military successes by the MPLA in



the country. He envisaged sabotage and strikes, accompanied by a guerrilla advance which would ultimately overwhelm BOSS (99) with its network of black and white informers. Even then, Sobukwe and the PAC did not envisage a bloody holocaust in the streets. They had hoped that with the rising tide of guerrilla activities supported actively by workers, through sabotage and strike action, whites would be rapidly accommodated to a new order, where every man had a vote and segregation would cease. (100)

The armed guerrilla campaign by Poqo the underground military wing of the PAC, was seen as evidence of this change of PAC strategy to a higher plane of guerrilla activity based mainly in the South African countryside. By 1972, Sobukwe's message to the people in South Africa was that the situation in the country demanded a total revolution to replace the decadent apartheid society with an Africanist socialist democracy. The endorsement of a violent change was again repeated four years later, after the Soweto uprising, when he maintained:

"Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the fear of the gun and now that the whites depend on the gun, and we too can get the gun, it appears that confrontation is inevitable. The time will come when Africans will say we have had enough, and then nothing can hold them back.

In South Africa we have not reached that point of desperation in black politics, for the simple reason that however severe the oppression has been, we have outnumbered these people. We have said they are few and we are many, the future belongs to us. The dilemma of whites would be whether to train Africans in great numbers to fight, because he cannot face those guerrillas on the borders by himself. While the whites are drawn to the borders, the guerrilla warfare will break out here."

Violence had, since Sharpeville, become the key in the multi-frontal, unfolding and all-embracing struggle for the PAC. From a strategy of non violence adopted at Sharpeville, the next phase of Pogo activity which aimed at ridding the community of all known collaborationists and moved the struggle from a purely political struggle to a military one. (101)

APLA, (102) the military wing of the PAC, was prepared to wage a people's war as part of the multi-frontal and unfolding struggle. It was believed that once the people had been radicalised, their leaders couldn't deviate.

This section of the thesis hasn't attempted to look at the working dynamics of either Pogo or APLA, but has tried to consider PAC policies relating to strategies and tactics for the struggle as enunciated by their leaders.

Positive Neutrality and non-Alignment



Another strand of the new Pan Africanism advocated by Sobukwe and the PAC was the policy of non alignment and positive neutrality. In this, Sobukwe was, in theory, in complete agreement with Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan African leaders in the continent. Positive neutrality, according to Nkrumah, was not a negative policy, nor did it imply the maintenance of an aloof stance towards burning international issues affecting Africa. On the contrary, it was a positive stand based on the conviction of Africans, and was totally uninfluenced by either the East or the West.(103) Nkrumah had said of positive neutrality and non alignment:

"Our policy towards other nations should be based on one of independence and non involvement in the power blocs. Our desire to keep clear of such blocs is motivated by the fact that only in such a situation can we exert our influence in the world. We are quite aware that in terms of military or economic strength, no action of ours can make any difference strategically or otherwise to the world balance of power. On the other hand, our involvement in power blocs politics might draw us into areas of conflict we do not wish to be involved in because we know we cannot affect their outcome."

As a result of these and other considerations, (104) Africans should pursue a policy of positive neutrality which would enable them to adopt measures which would best suit their national interest in the light of their obligations to the UN Charter and



(Ghana's) position in relation to the Commonwealth.(105)  
It was only in this way that the cause of peace could be promoted and Africans could assert their African personality.(106)

Quoting extensively from both Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe in justifying his movement's policy on the question of Africa's position in international affairs, Sobukwe maintained that, Africans should ally themselves neither to the East nor to the West. They "must remain independent in all things but not in any that affected the destiny of Africa"(107) He was weary of foreign aid investments from the two blocs and warned that all assistance should be critically appraised to prevent South Africa from being made the "hunting ground of adventuristic capitalism" at a crucial stage in its development.(108) However, while the PAC endorsed the policy of positive neutrality, it also recognised the fact that countries which pursued a policy of planned state economies had outstripped those which followed the path of private enterprise in industrial development. He gave the examples of Japan and China which he maintained were ahead of countries like India industrially. On the other hand, Africanists, Sobukwe maintained, rejected totalitarianism in any form while accepting political democracy as understood in the West.

After the attainment of independence, a Pan African Government in South Africa, would attempt to retain and maintain its distinctive African personality by the adoption of a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment.(109)

#### Africa for the Africans -----

The slogan Africa for the Africans, Africa for humanity and humanity for God, coined by Anton Lembede as a central feature of his ideology of Africanism, remained in use by Africanists within the ANCYL even after his death.(110) It incorporated part of the Ethiopian slogan first used by Joseph Booth, and also the slogan used by Garveyites in the UNIA. The total rejection by the PAC of the ideals of multi-racialism and its adoption and stress of Africanism and African nationalism led many in the press to brand the movement as fascist and racist. Others referred to the movement and its leaders in even more unflattering terms. They were regarded as black chauvinists, racial hysterics and rightist renegades in the struggle.

Similarly, the first PAC conference in Orlando in 1958 received a hostile reception in the South African press, with many articles emphasising that the tone of the proceedings at the meeting was anti-white. In South

Africa, the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' had long carried connotations of racialism in general and of the desire by blacks to drive the white man into the sea. It was also linked with the two most dreaded movements in the region, the early Ethiopian movement and the Garvey movement.

In 1959, in a reply to Patrick Duncan, the then editor of Contact, Sobukwe, in defending the PAC against criticisms of racialism and fascism by the white press in general and Duncan's CONTACT in particular, had written:

"The article in Congress about the role of Africanists could well have been written by a COD propagandist. It was biased and deliberately misleading. If the argument is that the logical sequence of Africanist policy is fascism, that at least I appreciate and meet. But to be accused of fascist intentions and designs in spite of our clearly defined standpoint has made me sad rather than mad, for the simple reason that thousands of Africans hold such views, and when they learn that there is an organization accommodating such views, they will not only support it, but will demand that the leadership of the Africanists should come out openly in favour of such sentiments, and once that stage is reached there shall be no going back.

By stressing the hatred of the Africanists for the white man, you (have) not distinguished between oppressor and oppression and you therefore do not discredit us but rouse our stocks. Do not convert CONTACT into another NEW AGE."

Although a number of ANCYL members like Madzunya supported militant black nationalist sentiments, by the



time of the establishment of the PAC, the slogan Africa for the Africans, when used, carried modified connotations.

Benjamin Pogrand, a longtime friend of Mangaliso Sobukwe, and Patrick Laurence, a journalist with the JOHANNESBURG STAR, have contested the view of those who saw him as a racist. Writing in THE STAR in 1973, Laurence had said of the organization's leader:

"Anyone who had taken the trouble to read Sobukwe's policy speeches would have found a strong commitment to non racialism once apartheid (had been) destroyed by its historically defined enemies."(111)

Indeed, the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' did not suggest racial discrimination by blacks because for Africanists the African had no colour attached to him. PAC ideas on race as enunciated by Sobukwe embodied the concept of one race, the human race, comprising all groups of people who embodied the human family. All whites and people of Indian origin could thus qualify as Africans, provided they accepted and embraced the philosophy of loyalty to Africa and the fact of rule by the African majority in a democratic society. In short, the word Race as applied to man had no plural form. It was on this basis that Sobukwe and the PAC rejected the ANC's concept of multi-racialism. Explaining this rejection, Sobukwe in his inaugural address said:

"Against multi racialism we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term multi racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further- more, multi racialism is a method of safeguarding white interests, irrespective of population figures. In that sense, it (was) a complete negation of democracy... the term (implied) that there (were) such basic inseparable differences between the various national groups ... that the best course (was) to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid." (112)..

That, he contended, was racialism multiplied.

The PAC, while recognising the existence in South Africa of minority national groups of European and Indian origin, would guarantee no minority rights in its new Africa. They contended that once individual liberties had been guaranteed, the highest guarantee would have been given to all. Once this had been achieved, in a free democratic Africa, a dominantly black electorate would be quite willing to return a white member into Parliament.

In continuation, Sobukwe and the PAC maintained that unlike other movements in the Union, the PAC recognised coloureds as Africans. From the early days, the Khoikhoi and the Bantu had shared with other Africans historical experiences of oppression, exploitation, dispossession, and degradation. In the



light of these experiences and other conditions, coloureds like the Abelungu of the Transkei were Africans and were therefore free to become members of the PAC.(113)

The Indian foreign minority group, according to Sobukwe, went to South Africa not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. He cited the example of poor Indians who had no money to go back to India, or to buy land outside South Africa. They could identify with Blacks in the struggle as their future was bound up with the country. The pressure of material conditions also meant that they could identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow white supremacy in the Union.(114)

The Indian merchant class, however, Sobukwe maintained, had become tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance. Members of this class identified themselves with the oppressors and provided the political leadership of the Indian people in South Africa.(115) The Indian leadership, it has been pointed out, enjoyed privileges in four areas in particular, which were not accessible to blacks. Among those identified by Padmore(116) and Bonner were exemption from the Pass Law, with the Urban Areas Act restricted only to Africans, and permission to register



trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act, which debarred Africans from registering trade unions. In addition, Indians were allowed to buy land in Durban, in spite of the 1943 and 1946 restrictions. Lastly, they could buy European liquor and were exempted from liquor raids.

By the mid 1940s, however, the Indian Congress had begun to undergo changes. Younger members realised the importance of joint action with other non-white oppressed minority groups in the Union. They broke away from the traditional merchant class leadership and formed a dynamic and radical Congress. A nationalist block had been founded in the Transvaal under the leadership of Dr. Y.M. Dadoo. In Natal the new leadership included Dr. G.M. Naiker, Manilal Gandhi, Nana Sita and Rustom Jee. The members of the old breed, who had in 1944 signed the Pretoria Agreement with the South African Government, still dominated the South African Indian Congress and a number of its branches.

The liberation of Africa, the PAC believed, was primarily the task of Africans, and they alone could liberate themselves. Africans, they continued, were the only people who, because of their material position, "could be interested in the complete overhaul of the structure of the society, although they admitted that

there were Europeans who were intellectual converts to the African cause." However, since they benefited materially from the existing social structure in the Union, they couldn't completely identify themselves with the cause of the African and be interested in the overthrow of white domination. Sobukwe and the PAC continued that whenever whites in South African "cooperated with African movements, they demanded checks and counter checks, guarantees and the like, with the result that they stultified and retarded the movement of Africans." The reason for this was that they (were)" consciously or unconsciously protecting their sectional interests."(117) Cooperation with white liberals and other sympathisers was, therefore, unacceptable to the movement and its leaders.

Initially, the PAC excluded whites and Indians from membership of their movement. According to a PAC leader interviewed, this exclusion simplified the problem of dealing with those who would subordinate African Liberation to other political loyalties. Its opposition to the Congress Alliance was based not so much on anti-white or anti-Indian sentiments, but on the belief among members that the Alliance was being controlled and directed by white communists. Since the time of Lembede, the ANCYL, and later the PAC, had pursued an anti-Communist line. Africanists in the Transvaal had,

it has been argued, dealt a blow to any possible alliance between the Congress of Democrats, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party and the ANC and the South African Indian Congress. In 1949, the Communists believed that if the victory of the Africanists was to be repeated throughout the Union, it would lead to rejection of the OLD alliance by the National ANC. They believed that the repercussions for the Communist Party of South Africa would be as important as was the rejection of the Communists by the Chinese Nationalists in 1928. (118)

In return, PAC leaders pointed to the historic role of the Communist party in Africa and maintained that the interests of Africans were always sacrificed for the larger interest of the Communist party in the USSR.

Pan Africanism and its ideologues in South Africa lost in the struggle with Marxism with the establishment of the Congress Alliance. It would appear that with the present trend of the struggle and an ANC that is pursuing a national and a class struggle, Pan Africanism has continued to be on the losing end.

To accusations of racialism, because of its early refusal to accept non-whites, Indians and whites, PAC members retorted that this "simplified the problem of



dealing with those who would subordinate African Liberation to other political loyalties".(119) Whites who were genuinely committed to the cause should expend their energies on converting whites who were oppressing the indigenous African population.

With time, by the early 1960s, the movement was admitting not only white, coloured and Indian members, but also had elected non-African officials. In 1961, J. Hendrikse was the leader of the PAC in the Cape, Patrick Duncan and Gora Ephraim were also members of the PAC National Executive by 1964. By then, however, its reputation as a racist organization had been established, in spite of repeated refutations by officials of the movement.

## Notes and References:

1. Popple went on to become a teacher in Graaf Renent and died in 1976, while Ernest became one of the two Anglican Bishops in South Africa in the 1970s rising to the position of Suffragan Bishop of St. Johns at Umtata in the Transkei
2. Herbert died in 1952. Information about the Sobukwe family was obtained from Ernest Sobukwe's article "My brother" in the Rand Daily Mail" 5.3 1978 and interview with PAC activists in London, and Nigeria.
3. At Healtdown Sobukwe's religious life could have been moulded further.
4. See letter, Pitje, G. To A. P. Mda, Carter/Karis Collection, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London.
5. Comments by the late Nyati Pokela and Hamilton Keke, the former PAC representative in London, 1985.
6. Ibid.
7. Address on behalf of the Graduating Class at Fort Hare College, delivered at the Completers Social 21.10. 1949 in PAC, Speeches of Sobukwe 1949 - 1959.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Interview, P.K. Leballo, London, November 1984.
12. Interview with Hamilton Keke, Theophelous Bidi and M. Pheko.
13. Interview with P.K. Leballo, London, November 1984.
14. See the Carter/Karis Collection Questionnaire completed by Sobukwe, ICS, London.
15. Information obtained from interview with a PAC Representative in London, Hamilton Keke, 1984 - 85.
16. Interview with P. K. Leballo, London, 1985 also Interview with Hamilton Keke.

17. Ibid.  
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18. Ibid.  
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19. The Africanist May/June 1959.  
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20. According to PAC and other sources it has been impossible to trace any of Sobukwe's literary works. A search by Tom Lodge at the University of Witwatersrand has also failed to locate the works.
21. Information obtained from an Interview with P.K. Leballo, London 1985.
22. Interview with Hamilton Keke. London, 1985.
23. Ibid.  
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24. Interview with P.K. Leballo. London, 1985.
25. See Azania Combat. Vol. 1 No. 7, 1970.  
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26. Interview P. K. Leballo also The Africanist February/March, 1960. -----
27. For details of the deliberations of the Conference see Contact 1959.  
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28. The Africanist Vol. 6 No. 1 February/March 1960.  
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29. See letter Leballo to all Public and Private Institutions, Commercial and Industrial Enterprises dated 25.1.1960.
30. The letter demanded a salary of R35 a month of R8.3.4d weekly. Ibid.  
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31. They demanded an end to the use of such terms as native Kaffir, boy, girl, Bantu, or non whites. In their places they wanted the use of the word African.
32. See later sections of this work for the importance of the Status Campaign.
33. For details of the Anti Pass Campaign which led to the



Sharpeville Massacres, see the PAC publication edited by Ngila Muendane, "Sharpeville, the Epic Goes On". The PAC Mission to the United Kingdom and Eire, 1982.

34. See Rex versus Sobukwe and sixteen others. No. 11.425. In the District of Johannesburg before Mr. J. Ke Dupleiss, dated 4.4.1960. The Bothwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.
35. Ibid  
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36. The pass laws were suspended for seventeen days.
37. N. Muendane, Sharpeville: The Epic Goes On, PAC  
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publication, London 1982.
38. See statement by Erasmus, the Minister of Justice in the House of Assembly on 30.3.1960. House of Assembly report, 30.3.1960, p.2 published also in The Rand Daily Mail, 11.4.1960, Newspaper section  
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of the British Library, Colindale, London.
39. Rex versus Sobukwe and seventeen others. No. 11 425.
40. See Judgement of Op. Cit. Also Muendane, N. Op. Cit. p. 6.
41. Ibid.
42. See P., Laurence, "Sobukwe Dies of Cancer", The Times,  
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London, 28.2.1978, Nicholas Hyman Collection, London.
43. See The Cape Argus, 5.5.1963. From the Nancy Dick papers,  
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The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research,  
University of York.
44. See Azania News, 13.6.1968.  
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45. E. Sobukwe, Op.Cit  
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46. See Letter, Sobukwe to Benjamin Progrund, Robben Island dated 17.8.63. Idaf Cuttings.
47. Ibid  
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48. Ibid  
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49. See "Sobukwe Leads Poqo", The Friend, March 1963.  
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This was confirmed in interviews with a number of former PAC members, Keke, Leballo, Bidi.
50. "The PAC Fights for Freedom to Fight for Freedom", Azania News, Vol.18, No. 6, June 1982, p. 30.  
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51. For details of Poqo activities in the country between 1963 and 1966, see T. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945, London Longmans, 1983.  
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52. Ibid.  
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53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.  
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55. See letter Patrick Duncan to Anthony, dated 4.11.1964. Patrick Duncan Papers, The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.
56. Ibid.  
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57. See The London Times, 23.6.1971, p.7. Also Rex versus Sobukwe and Naidoo, 1970. Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, University of London, London.
58. See Address by Benjamin Progrund at the Memorial Service and the Unveiling of a Tombstone in Graaf Reinet 15.8.1982. IDAF Cuttings, London.
59. See Sobukwe Asks for R20,000, The Rand Daily Mail, 27.9.1975, IDAF Cuttings, London.  
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60. "Sobukwe allowed to sue in Britain", The Rand Daily Mail, 4.3.1976, IDAF Cuttings, 4.3.1976.  
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61. See the Rand Daily Mail, 18.6.1975  
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62. "The Editor Speaks. Sobukwe of Azania"  
Azania News, Vol. 18. No.2, February 1982, p.31.  
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63. Pokela's Tribute to Sobukwe, Ibid., p. 2.  
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64. M. Sobukwe, Address at the 1st Annual National  
Conference of the PAC, 19th-20th December 1959.
65. M. Sobukwe, Inaugural Address, in PAC. The  
speeches of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe 1949-1959,  
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PAC Publication.
66. Ibid.  
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67. Ibid.  
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68. Sobukwe speaks from prison, Contact,  
6.4.1968, p.8. -----
69. Ibid.  
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70. M. Sobukwe, The PAC Case, op.cit., pp.21-33.  
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71. Ibid.  
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72. See Speech by Julius Nyerere at the 25th  
Anniversary Celebration of the Establishment  
of the Nigerian Institute of International  
Affairs, Lagos, December 1986.
73. These were, the attainment of freedom and  
independence. The consolidation of that freedom  
and independence, the creation of unity and  
community between the free African States, the  
economic and social reconstruction of Africa.  
Sobukwe, M., "My Idea of Africa in 1973", in  
Drum, November 1959 (East Africa December 1959).  
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The Conference adopted Padmore's outline of an  
initial federation on a regional basis which would  
eventually be merged into a Federated United States  
of Africa.
74. Ibid.  
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75. See also...



75. Ibid.  
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76. Ibid.  
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77. Sobukwe speaks from Stofberg Gaol, 6.4.1961,  
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PAC Pamphlet.
78. See M. Sobukwe, "My Idea of Africa in 1973" in  
Drum Magazine, November 1959, East Africa, Dec. 1959.  
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79. Ibid.  
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80. Ibid.  
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81. Ibid.  
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82. C. Franz, "The African personality, myth or  
reality," Journal of Human Relations, Vol.8.  
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Spring and Summer 1960, pp.455-460. See also  
U. Beier, "In Search of the African Personality",  
Twentieth Century, Vol. 5, April, 1959, pp. 343-49.  
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83. Afari Gyan, The Political Ideas of Kwame Nkrumah,  
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African Heritage Studies Publishers, 1976.
84. Quoted in I. B. Tabata, Education for Barbarism.  
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85. Ibid.  
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86. M. Sobukwe, Inaugural Address, PAC, op.cit.  
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87. PAC, op.cit., p. 34.
88. Ibid.
89. See Address by Sobukwe at the Witwatersrand

Regional Meeting announcing the launching of  
the Status Campaign published in Contact, 8.8.1959.  
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90. See M. Sobukwe, "We will win", to all regions  
and branches of the PAC. PAC, op.cit., pp. 37-38.  
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91. See Sobukwe, M., "Call for Positive Action."  
Press Release announcing the launching of the  
anti Pass Campaign. See also letter, M. Sobukwe  
to Major General Radimeyer of the Security Command  
in South Africa.

92. See Rex versus Sobukwe and others, 1960. The  
Borthwick Institute of Historical Research,  
University of York.

93. A Report of the 1958 Conference in the Patrick  
Duncan Papers, The Borthwick Institute of Historical  
Research, University of York.

94. The Africanist, February/March 1960. Similar ideas  
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were expressed by P.K. Leballo in the interviews  
conducted with him in 1985.

95. Interview with Peter Molotsi in Ghana by Graham  
Sharpe, 18.6.1960. The Patrick Duncan Papers,  
The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research,  
University of York was a typical example.

96. See E. Scott, "Sobukwe the Man", Cape Times,  
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29.2.1978.

97. Although the positive action campaign in South  
Africa in 1960 like Satugraha stressed the concept  
of self sacrifice, there were differences between  
the two programmes.

98. Interview by V. Vossitier with Mangaliso Sobukwe  
for the Washington Post, published in Azania News,  
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March 1977. See also PAC Bulletin to Nordic countries  
No.1 1978.

99. Established in 1969, the Bureau for State Security  
was a replacement for the Republican Intelligences  
created in the early 1960s. Its first head was Van  
den Bergh. For details of the functions of BOSS see  
the Intelligence and State Security Act 1972. See  
D. Geldenhuys, The Diplomacy of Isolation, New York,



St. Martin's Press, 1984, pp.147-9.

100. Azania News, March 1977.  
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101. Interview Pitika Ntuli, PAC Representative in London for Trade Union Affairs, London, 1985.

102. The Azania People's Liberation Army was the military wing of the PAC, formed after the emasculation of Poqo in the post Sharpeville period. Under Leballo, APLA for a time had its base in Tanzania.

103. See D. Agyeman, "Kwame Nkrumah, from Mboya. Non Alignment and Pan African Trade Unionism", Presence Africa, No. 103, 1977.  
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104. See K. Nkrumah, "Ghana's Foreign Policy" in the All African Peoples Conference News Bulletin,  
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Vol.1, No. 10, Patrick Duncan Papers, The Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York.

105. See K. Nkrumah, "We are Realists", The Accra Evening News, 15.5.1958, p. 4, Colindale.  
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106. K. Nkrumah, Ghana's Foreign Policy, Ibid. Also PAC, op.cit.  
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107. K. Nkrumah, speech at the 1959 Conference on Independent African States. Also PAC, op cit.  
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108. M. Sobukwe, The PAC, op.cit.  
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109. Ibid.  
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110. As late as 1982, Nyati Pokela in his tribute to Sobukwe published in the PAC journal, used the slogan in PAC principles.

111. See P. Laurence, "Robert Sobukwe: An Appraisal", The Star, 12.5.1973, IDAF Cuttings, London.

112. M. Sobukwe, Inaugural Address, PAC, op.cit., p. 20.



113. M. Sobukwe, Speech at PAC Congress, Witwatersrand Regional Conference, Orlando Communal Hall, 31.5.1959.
114. See M. Sobukwe, "The PAC Case"; Sobukwe, R., op.cit., pp.24-25.  
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115. See M. Sobukwe, Inaugural Address in PAC, op cit., p. 19. Also Sobukwe, M., The PAC Case, -----  
Ibid., p.24.  
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116. See G. Padmore, Africa: Britain's Third Empire, -----  
London, D. Dobson, 1949
117. M. Sobukwe, op.cit., p.23  
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118. Molotsi Reveals PAC Policy. Interviewed in Ghana by Gene Sharpe, published in Contact, 18.6.1960.  
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119. M. Sobukwe, op.cit.

## CHAPTER X

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### THE MARGINALIZATION OF PAN-AFRICAN FIGURES IN ----- SOUTHERN AFRICA. -----

The work so far has attempted to analyse the manifestations of Pan Africanism in the Southern African Subregion, and to examine the careers of a few of the leading proponents of the ideology in the region. This has also involved an analysis of the various strands of the Pan African ideal, as advocated since the period 1900 to the 1960s, by leading figures like Booker T. Washinton, W. E. B. Du Bois, Ethiopianists and Marcus Garvey, with a view to providing a clearer understanding of the various facets of the phenomenon. The Southern African characters identified and treated in brief biographical sketches in earlier chapters have also been leading exponents of various strands of Pan Africanism in the subregion. In this chapter, a further look at their political careers between 1940 and the 1960s would show that, although they had in the early part of their career, been regarded as leaders of sections of the people, in the post-World War II period, all of them became marginalised in the political milieu in the Southern African Subregion.

The Marginalization of Richard Selope Thema.  
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Thema's marginalization from the mainstream of black politics started in the 1920s with his continued membership of the Johannesburg Joint Council Council of Europeans and Africans, at a time when Africans were becoming increasingly critical of the Councils. His position as editor of the BANTU WORLD (in the 1930s), a paper distrusted by his colleagues in the ANC and which was itself critical of Congress and its politics, went a long way in confirming black suspicions about the total commitment of Thema to their cause.

His isolation from the mainstream of ANC politics was further endorsed by members because of his close association with members of the African Democratic Party. The African Democratic Party (ADP) had been established by Mosaka and Self Mampuru in 1943. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Thema was a member of the Party, newspaper articles in 1944 have revealed that he addressed an ADP meeting in Bloemfontein in March 1944, at a time when the ANC, under Dr. Xuma, was attempting to minimise the popularity of the new party, which was posing a real threat to the ANC and was viewed in Youth League circles as a "foster child of European liberals". It has been suggested that part of the reason why Xuma, the then President of the ANC, gave his support to the establishment of the ANCYL was the desire by the ANC leadership to use the League to counter the growing



popularity of the ADP.

Lastly, his reluctance to respond to growing calls by the different Black and Coloured organizations for a boycott of the Native Representative Council, adversely affected his popularity among black leaders and brought him in conflict with AAC and ANCYL members, among them Mangaliso Sobukwe and A.P. Mda.

The 1949 ANC Programme of Action had, among other things, called for the immediate and active boycott of all political, segregation and discriminatory bodies, like the Bunga, the Advisory Boards, Local Councils and the Native Representative Council. ANC members who failed to adhere to the call, lost the support of Youth Leaguers in Congress, who constituted an increasingly potent force within the ANC at the time. Africanists withdrew their support from MRCS at ANC presidential and other elections. Dr. Xuma, for example, lost the support of A.P. Mda and other Africanists at the 1949 ANC Presidential elections, because, in the words of Mda, he had

"failed to give a clear lead on the boycott of the Cape NRC, Provincial elections into the Bunga, the NRCs and the Advisory Boards." (1)

He was also accused by Africanists of being unable to lead the forces he had brought together in Congress.

League members gave their support to Dr. Moroko during the election, but he soon lost the confidence of members of the ANCYL because of his continued membership of the NRC. According to A.P. Mda, Dr. Moroko had given an undertaking before his election as President to resign his membership of the Council.(2) At the next elections, Youth Leaguers supported the candidature of Albert Luthuli, who subsequently became President of Congress.

Although Thema was by then not a member of the National Executive of Congress, his continued membership of the Native Representative Council must have been considered a betrayal of trust by Youth Leaguers. The representative of the New Pan-Africanism in South Africa together with other ANC stalwarts like Xuma and Moroko, Thema had found himself on the wrong side of the boycott argument, particularly with respect to AAC, NEUM and ANCYL leaders. In spite of this, Thema remained a member of the ANC until 1952, when he founded the ANC National Minded Bloc.

The new movement was founded after the 1952 Defiance Campaign, and it marked the end of Thema's involvement in the mainstream of Black politics represented by the ANC in South Africa.

In an article in the AFRICAN WORLD(3) entitled,

"Moderate African Opinion Opposed to the Civil Disobedience Campaign", Thema enumerated three main reasons for his opposition to the campaign of civil disobedience organised by the ANC and supported by the generality of the people. He stressed his firm conviction that the Campaign would not achieve its primary objective of ameliorating the conditions of the people. Instead, he posited that it would harden the hearts of those in power. The Campaign, he also contended, was inspired by an ideology foreign to African tradition, and expressed fears that the situation during the Campaign might erupt into violence.(4) What was required in South Africa at the time, he maintained, was a moral rather than a bloody revolution.

He criticised the role of Indians and Marxists whom he claimed planned the Campaign, largely as a response to the 1950 Group Areas Act. The leaders of the Indians in the Union had sought the support of Africans and Coloureds in their protest against the Act which affected their status in the Union. He was also critical of the commitment of Indians to the struggle and suggested that Africans were unlikely to forget that since 1910 they had been struggling alone against laws like the Pass Laws, the 1913 Native Land Act, the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act and the 1927 Native



Administration Act, which separated them, curtailed their movements, and restricted their rights to own land in rural and urban areas. Africans, he concluded, would not

"forget that all along, Indians had been more concerned with making money out of them than with the promotion of their welfare."(5)

Padmore, in his book BRITAIN'S THIRD EMPIRE, had expressed sentiments similar to those expressed by Thema in his 1952 article and in other publications in the BANTU WORLD.

The prosperous Indian settlers, he had maintained, had disassociated themselves from Africans, and had played up to the whites in the Union in the hope of securing concessions from the Government.

"Indian communities (he had continued), while overwhelmingly poor, were dominated by a few wealthy people of the merchant money lending class. They discouraged the poorer Indians from linking up with the Africans in joint struggles for their common economic and social demands. Although upper class Indians suffered certain disabilities at the hands of the ruling class whites, as capitalists and landlords themselves they (sought) to restrain the masses from any action which might jeopardise their chances of reaching a compromise with the Europeans without worsening the economic position. Only when they exhausted all possibilities of a round table agreement with the European politicians (did) the merchants and chettyars leaders of the Indian congress seek the support of Africans to force whites to remove trading restrictions imposed upon Indian businessmen. This was the principal reason

why conservative leaders of the Indian Congress only agreed to joint action with the AAC and the African Congress on limited issues such as the Ghetto Act, which prevented wealthy Indians from buying land in certain European areas and abolishing the Pegging Act which fixed the economic status of Indians in Natal."(6)

In the 1950s the marginalization of Thema from the ANC continued when he was defeated by J.B. Marks for the Presidency of the Transvaal branch of the movement. Distrusted by the NEUM and the Indian Congress, Thema, from being one of the leading African political figures in the Union, was derided and scorned. In a reply to an editorial comment in the BANTU WORLD, for example, Sobukwe, writing in INKUNDLA YA BANTU,(7) referred to him as a "screeching megaphone of white Baaskap."

Disillusioned with the ANC, which he felt was being captured by the Communist Party, and critical of the Defiance Campaign, Thema left the movement and founded the National Minded Bloc. The main aim of the new movement, he maintained, was to rescue the ANC from domination by Communists and their ideology, an ideology foreign to the African way of life and traditions. Although the National Minded Bloc condemned cooperation between Africans and Indians, it believed in the concept of unity in diversity, and urged Africans and Europeans to live together as partners in progress. (8).

Thema was, by now, however, out of touch with the



thinking of the mainstream of black politics.

Cooperation between Whites, Indians and Africans was increasingly becoming the accepted norm in the political milieu in the Union. A new group of Indian leaders had emerged, who were critical of the politics of the old Indian leadership. The spirit of cooperation among the various racial groups in the country was formalised with the establishment of the Congress Alliance in 1955.

As an African leader, Thema faced heightened criticism in the early 1950s, as he was regarded as one who had been bought over by white liberals. In addition, although his National Minded Bloc Movement was a nationalistic organization, it was considered highly reactionary in content by some leaders of thought in the Union.

Peter Moltsi, a former member of ANCYL and a leading PAC member in the early 1960s, has maintained that Thema and his organization were unpopular among blacks because of their outmoded appeal to the past, which also meant that members of the ANCYL couldn't identify with the aims of the Bloc. One can also mention the generation gap between Thema and members of the League.

Increasingly, from Thema's position as a key ANC



member and leading politician in the Transvaal, he became the subject of hostile criticism, derision and personal condemnation. His marginalization from the mainstream of black politics continued, when in 1953, he joined the Moral Re-armament Movement. His conversion to the idea that "bitterness and hatred didn't kill the enemy", which had begun in the 1920s, could be said to have been completed with his membership of a movement which stressed the ideals of peace, love and harmony among men. He attended the Moral Rearmament Conference in Switzerland in 1954, and died the following year. In the words of Joe Mathews, in an interview for the Carter/Karis Collection:

"Nobody attended his funeral because he had incurred the wrath of the people. It was even necessary to find Pall Bearers at his funeral." (9)

This could be said to have been final proof of Thema's marginalization from a people whom he had once led. The writer of the latter part of his unpublished autobiographical sketch has suggested that Thema attempted to use the Trojan horse method in achieving his aims for his people. (10) If this was so, he would appear to have been grossly misunderstood, for he is considered as a traitor to the cause of the struggle.

The Marginalization of Max Yergan from Pan African  
Circles, 1940-1965

The title of David Anthony's MA Dissertation for the University of Wisconsin in Madison in 1975, 'Max Yergan, a Pan African Enigma', could be regarded as an adequate summation of Yergan's Pan African career in Southern Africa and in America in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

Together with other Black American leaders, like Paul Robeson, Yergan established the International Committee in 1937. Four years later, the name of the Committee was changed to the Council on African Affairs, and although the new Council enjoyed the financial support of white radicals, it became, in the words of Hollis Lynch, "a new radical development in Pan Africanism".(11) Details of the activities of the International Committee have been adequately given by Lynch in his "BLACK AMERICANS AND THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA. THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 1937-1955," and by Anthony, in the dissertation referred to above and by H. Harper in her seminar paper entitled "A Case Study of the Relationship of Max Yergan and Paul Robeson in the Historical Development of the Council of African Affairs".(11a)

The above mentioned works have also treated the stresses and strains within the Council, disagreements

and personal acrimony between committed communist members and uncommitted colleagues. Although it has been rightly suggested that there could still be scope for further work on Max Yergan's role in the Council, the size of the dissertation would permit only a brief analysis of Yergan's involvement with the Council, and in particular with those areas that affected Southern Africa.

The Council continued mobilising support among Americans and the rest of the world, for the struggle against imperialism in the Union and other southern African countries. It supported Blacks financially and morally in their struggle against racism and other economic and social disabilities. The response of the Council to the acute shortage of food and high prices affecting blacks in particular in the Union in the 1940s, was an example in point. According to a CAPE ARGUS Report in January 1943, blacks were at the point of starvation because of a scarcity of mealie meal, particularly in the Pietersburg District of the Transvaal.

Thw 'Native' Commissioner for the District confirmed that the position was critical for Blacks in the area. Some were forced to eat every other day, in a bid to conserve their supplies of mealie meal, while



others had to travel between 70 and 100 miles to towns to obtain supplies. Among the Cape coloured population, it was reported that over 70,000 coloureds were living below the poverty line during the war, while even those who could afford the grossly inflated prices for food supplies couldn't get them to buy because of an acute scarcity of potatoes, rice, and other staple foodstuffs. Similar reports were given in other parts of the Union during the war. Under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, a rally for South African famine relief was held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. Part of the message sent from the Rally to Dr. R.T. Bokwe, himself a member of the Council on African Affairs, then in the Union, in charge of directing and distributing relief supplies in one of the areas hit by famine, had read:

"We want our brothers and sisters in South Africa to know that they have friends here in America who realise that the fight against discrimination in the US can be won only as part of the war against inhuman exploitation and oppression in South Africa and everywhere else. We are your allies and together we shall achieve the final people's victory." (12)

About \$1700 and some canned food was donated at the rally, and this was seen as a demonstration of the unity between Africans in the diaspora (America) and in Southern Africa. Among leading organizers and participants at the rally were H.P. Osborne, a West

Indian, Paul Robeson, Max Yergan, and Judge Herbert Delaney. The money and food packages donated were sent to the Union to relieve African famine distress. In April 1952, another rally was organised by the Council in support of the Civil disobedience movement at which Council members pledged full solidarity with South Africans in the struggle. Money was also sent to leaders in the Union to cover legal costs for those imprisoned during the campaign of civil disobedience.

However, Yergan himself was gradually being ostracised from the general Pan African movement, in the USA and Africa, and from the Council on African Affairs, (the CAA), of which he was a founder member. As early as 1944, Du Bois regarded as the father of the Pan African movement, has maintained that although he was interested in joining the CAA he received no invitation from Yergan to join the Council. (13) Padmore, who was becoming a key figure in Pan African movement, had left the Communist Party, and his opinion of Yergan, obtained largely from students studying in London, was not very high. He wrote to Du Bois in the same year about Yergan's activities in the Union, during his ten year stay and the possibility of cooperation between the CAA and Pan African in London.

"The opinion of South African doctors on Yergan in



Birmingham is very low. He is said to have identified himself as much as possible with the white church community in South Africa and treated the Africans even the intellectuals at Fort Hare, the students and Professor Jabavu, with the greatest contempt. He was so disliked that it affected his work among the Africans and contributed to his having to leave South Africa. Whatever the truth of these assertions, his name undoubtedly stinks among Africans in Birmingham. No doubt, his present efforts constitute an attempt to redress his lost status, for he seemed to have had a warm welcome when he originally went out. I am afraid that it will take more than a few food boxes to make this man Max Yergan personal grata with African intellectuals. However, that should not prevent us with (sic) collaborating with them as far as possible."(14)

As Padmore himself indicated in the letter quoted extensively above, these are mere unconfirmed reports, and no definitive conclusions could be drawn from these assertions, until further research has been carried out among Black South Africans with whom Yergan worked during the period 1922 and 1936, at Fort Hare and other institutions of higher learning in the region. His attitude of cultural chauvinism referred to in Chapter IV could have been responsible for his attitude to Africans in the region. It could also be argued that Yergan and other exponents of the Bookerite and Du Boisian type of Pan Africanism, had rendered a crucial service to white hegemony in the region by containing any possible violent and unchristianlike responses by blacks which could seriously challenge white domination in the region. In their programme, the Church and the YMCA had succeeded in guiding the resistance movements



into non-violent channels by converting future leaders to a belief in non-violent and Christian solutions to the problems of the region.

In addition, Yergan and the CAA failed to send representatives to the 1945 Pan African Conference in Manchester, inspite of the fact that the Council was invited by Padmore and the organizing committee of the Conference.

Neither the Du Bois Papers nor the papers connected with Yergan and the Council give any reasons for this development. One can only speculate in the absence of vital relevant documents, that the close ties between members of the Council of African Affairs and the Communist Party in America could have drawn lines of distinction between Pan Africanists in the Council and members of the London Pan African scene. The International African Service Bureau, (15) whose membership included T. Ras Makonnen, Wallace Johnson, Kwame Nkrumah, Gilbert Goka, Max Yergan and Padmore himself, was, in the 1930s, one of the leading Pan African groups in England. It stressed its non alignment stance to either capitalism or communism. Although Padmore himself was head of the NEGRO WORKER, he, in 1933, relinquished his position within the Communist Party and was expelled later for what was described as

"his petit bourgeois nationalist tendencies". It was after this that he joined the London Pan African scene.

Pointing out the differences in the scenario in London and America, Padmore had written to Du Bois in 1945:

"The question of Communism and anti-communism, Stalinism or Trotskysm and all other ideological tendencies, which may obtain in the American Negro scene do not exist here, because the American Negro is part and parcel of the American body politic and finds it difficult to isolate himself from the political currents which may prevail in American society. The British Negro lives away from the British Isles, those in Britain constitute an alien minority, although they are subjects of the same Crown. Therefore, when he comes to Britain he does not ally himself with the existing political organisations and becomes a vehicle within his own racial group for the ideologies prevailing among British political parties. Instead, he tends to get together with other colonial organisations and propagate his own political aspirations which concentrate on the question of self determination for the country whence he comes. Even those who call themselves communists are nationalists. Therefore, they realise that their countries must first be nationally free before they can begin to practice communism." (16)

Indeed, by 1948, Yergan had been expelled from the Council and thus ended his association with a major Pan African movement in America during the period. The Council of African Affairs, was itself facing financial and other difficulties. It was investigated as a subversive organisation by the US State Department. At the trial, Counsel for the Department of Justice had

expressed the view that the Council's activities were a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and questioned seriously whether Negroes in America should feel they had any common cause with the people of Africa. According to a statement published by Henry A Byroade, the then US Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, Southern Asian and African Affairs, published in 1953:

"While the US supported the general goal of self government for all peoples, the too rapid advancement towards this ideal would not serve the best interest of the US. The US must be frank in recognising (their) stake in the strength and stability of certain European nations which exercise influence in ... dependent areas. They are their allies." (17)

Yergan's marginalization from the Pan African scene continued in the 1950s when he gave evidence against the Council of African Affairs during government investigations into the council. In 1952 he alienated himself further from African nationalist and Pan Africanist public opinion during what was referred to by Walter Sisulu as a mysterious visit to parts of Africa, including the Southern African Subregion.(18) During his visit, Sisulu then a member of the ANC Youth League, maintained that Yergan failed to meet ANC leaders, but instead met leading South African Government officials and stayed in "very high and lofty places".(19) His



interview with NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, in which he attempted to justify the Suppression of Communism act in the region and which alleged that the South African Government was faced with the task of suppressing Marxism was according to the LODESTAR full of distorted conclusions and factual inaccuracies. In supporting the South African Government policies towards Blacks in the region, Yergan had maintained in the interview that:

"Any person in Europe and the US who (criticised) the South African government had to ask himself what he would do under similar circumstances." (20)

In the opinion of Sisulu and ANCYL members, he had attempted to justify the alienation and landlessness of the black majority and was sympathetic to the Union Government policies. In addition, he had alerted the West that South Africa was the number one seedbed for communism in Southern Africa and warned of a communist menace in the region. (21) Sisulu and the ANCYL concluded that:

"If this gentleman who is regarded as America's foremost authority on Africa hopes to use his information to persuade his colleagues to involve the people of this Continent in their ideological fight, they must be well advised to disillusion themselves. The oppressed people of Africa are fighting for Liberty, peace and democracy. Any country that stood in their way must of necessity incur their disfavour."

Yergan had flirted for a very brief period with Communists and other radical groups during the latter

part of his stay in the Union after his return to America. Indeed, Anthony has suggested that his involvement with radical groups in South Africa was partly responsible for his rift with the YMCA. By the 1950s, however, Yergan was adopting a hostile attitude to the Communist Party and its members in the USA and in South Africa. Continuing his attack on the Communists in Southern Africa, he contended that Southern Africa was the next goal of Communists in Europe and the Soviet Union. He had warned the West, that the leadership of Coloured and Black organizations in the Union was dominated by communists. Quoting the columnist C. L. Sulzberger, Yergan pointed out that:

"The reason diplomats expected trouble sooner rather than later (was) not simply because of conditions in South Africa, but because an organization (had) been formed to combat them. At the head of this (was) the Franchise Action Committee, made up of Negroes, Indians and Coloureds, plus a few whites. It (was) openly dominated by the ANC and the South African Indian National Congress and there (was) no doubt that extreme leftist and communist elements edging into controlled positions."(23)

He singled out Dr. Dadoo, Mr. Naidoo and Singh as prominent Communists within the Indian Congress, and cited the considerable influence exercised by both Black and white communists in the ANC. He also ridiculed the Committee's policy of Africa for the African, which he said in effect for them, meant Africa for the Communists. Yergan thus found himself alienated from

Coloured, Indian and Black organizations within the Union, among them the ANC, the AAC and the ANCYL. Indeed, as early as 1943, Yergan had been identified as a collaborationist by I. B. Tabata, one of the leading figures in the AAC in South Africa.(24)

Outside the Union, his expulsion from the Council of African Affairs, and the subsequent closure of the Council offices in 1956, ended a chapter in Pan African cooperation in America for Yergan. In addition, there has been no evidence so far to suggest that Yergan cooperated with Du Bois and other members of the NAACP. Indeed, Du Bois was appointed a member of the CAA executive after Yergan had left the Organization. Lastly, there has been no evidence so far to suggest that there existed any close ties between Yergan and members of the London Pan African scene, in the 1940s and 1950s.

With time, Yergan became an unofficial adviser to the State Department. From being a Pan Africanist of the Du Boisian persuasion, welcomed to South Africa as a YMCA travelling secretary, and later a founder member of the All African Convention and the Conventions Foreign Secretary, Yergan became a marginalised figure in the struggle in the Southern African subregion, isolated from nationalist and Pan Africanist thinking.



Perhaps his marginalization and transformation could best be exemplified by his attitude to the struggle in Angola and Eduardo Mondlane's views of Yergan expressed at a Conference in the USA in 1962. (25) In his paper, presented at the Conference, Mondlane maintained that Yergan had expressed the view that all

"nationalist movements in the Portuguese South African region were inspired and supported by the Communists either in Moscow or in Peking".

They were therefore, he advised, not to be supported by the Americans. In addition, according to Yergan, "the Angolan revolt was inspired by anti-white racists, witch doctors and reverters to cannibalism". He noticed no trace of genuine nationalist sentiment during his visit to Angola "but what was rampant in the struggle were deep rooted tribal feuds".

"The contribution of Yergan to the Angolan struggle was negative, and this overshadowed the role of other Black Americans who were genuinely interested in the struggle" Mondlane had continued".

His concluding remarks about the role of Black Americans as represented George Schuyler and Max Yergan would aptly illustrate, the extent of Yergan's isolation from the mainstream of African politics in the Southern African Subregion. The closing sections of Mondlane's address at the Conference read:

"While I am aware of the great contribution that the American Negro is making to the rest of independent Africa, I am compelled to call attention to the negative contribution which is being given by Messrs. Yergan and Schuyler. Some Negroes believe that the activities of those two gentlemen are insignificant in the general picture of American Negro contributions to Africa and that there are few people who read or listen to their writings and speeches ... If there were a number of American Negroes of equal calibre who were actively writing, speaking and campaigning for our freedom to match the Yergans and the Schuylers, I would feel differently. As the situation stands today, however, we do not see anything even approaching the kind of pressure these two gentlemen are generating on behalf of the Portuguese."(26)

Like Thema, he had, by the end of his African career, become completely isolated and distrusted in the milieu of Southern African politics, in general and the new Pan Africanism as represented by the ANCYL in particular.

#### The Case of Daniel Sharpe Malekebu

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The result of the 1915 Chilembwe Uprising had denied the National Baptist Convention access into Malawi for almost a decade. In addition, PIM leaders in Malawi and other parts of Southern Africa were proscribed and persecuted. It was therefore necessary when permission was granted for the reopening of the mission that a new approach was to be adopted for the achievement of an old ideal. Between 1926 and 1950 Malekebu went some way in achieving the ideal of the creation of a united christian community in the Southern



## African Subregion.

By the end of the Second World War, the mission had one of the largest followings in the country. It also had thousands of supporters in other parts of Southern African. It had been maintained by observers that, the Nyasaland African Congress was the only other group with a larger membership than the PIM. Malekebu was a well known and respected figure, not only throughout Nyasaland but also among the followers in Northern Rhodesia, (Zambia) Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, the Union, Angola, and in far away Zaire. In addition, he was an exceptional figure as one of the few medical doctors in the country.

It has been suggested, however, that while Malekebu's popularity among his religious flock was growing, he found himself increasingly ostracised from the mainstream of Nyasaland politics. He had left Nyasaland in 1938 for America and returned only in 1945. He was thus away during the formation of the Nyasaland African Congress, which was to become the dominant party in the country in the run up to independence, and which replaced the politics of Native Associations



in which Malekebu had played a prominent role. The mass meeting held to introduce members of the Nyasaland African Congress, to the Chiefs and people of Chiradzulu and Blantyre in May 1944 had pledged its moral and financial support to the Congress in Malekebu's absence. Finally, Isa Macdonald Lawrence who could have acted as a link between Malekebu and the members of the Congress died within a few months of the Congress' inauguration. There is no evidence to suggest that Malekebu played any role during the early years of Congress.

In contrast, Banda, we are told, was an influential figure in the early Congress days, offering moral and financial support to Congress leaders. He was, in the early 1950s, an adviser in absentia to Congress leaders during his stay in England and the then Gold Coast.

One can rightly suggest that Malekebu's marginalization from the mainstream of Malawian politics started at this point in his career, and it was a trend that continued until his death in 1978, not as a Malawian Citizen, but as a citizen of the United States of America.

A number of other factors contributed to his marginalization from Nyasaland politics. Among these were his non-involvement in the Anti-Federation Campaign, Banda's appearance on the political scene in the guise of a Pan African figure, a kind of reincarnated John Chilembwe, and growing problems with the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, the religious mentors of the PIM.

#### The Anti-Federation Campaign in the Nyasaland

Agitation for the creation of a central African Federation was widespread among white settlers in Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The pro-Federation Campaign was headed by Roy Welensky and Godfrey Huggins. Africans, on the other hand, were becoming increasingly sceptical and suspicious of a Central African Union that did not include East Africa. These suspicions were expressed in a joint Memorandum by Native Associations in Blantyre, Lilongwe and Zomba to the Royal Commission appointed to look into the question of closer union in July 1935.(27) A Central African Federation was welcomed by white settlers in the Rhodesia, the Colonial Office and the American Administration,

because it was hoped that such a union would provide a good outlook for investment profits and would be a valuable source of supply of strategic and other necessary raw materials.(28) It was also believed, particularly by Welensky, that Federation would turn Central Africa into a strong bulwark of Western Democracy instead of the region remaining the weakest section on the run from the Behring Sea around the old world to the North Cape, where it was believed democracy was facing aggressive Stalinist Communism. A Central African Federation, it was hoped, would be a strong British bastion in the region, and act as a link between the North Atlantic Pact and the Indian Ocean. (29) In addition, such a federated territory dominated by white settlers, could become a step towards the creation of a United States of British Africa, which would eventually embrace Uganda, Tanganyika, the two Rhodesias, Central Africa and South Africa.(30) Africans, however, from the 1930's, opposed the



scheme for a number of reasons. Many feared that countries like Nyasaland, Basutoland and Swaziland would be used only as a labour pool for cheap labour for South African mines and other industries.

In addition, some compared Federation to "a marriage where, when a man first married a wife, he first of all treated her very well and then later on she got what was coming to her". Many feared the expropriation of Nyasaland land by white settlers, while others believed that it would result in the postponement of the expansion of African influence in the administration of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The Protectorate status, under which Nyasas hoped to enjoy political protection until they were able to stand on their own, they believed, would be lost, whilst in the minds of many others Federation was equated with political subservience.(31)

Lastly, at the height of the campaign against the scheme for closer union, Chief Mangana referred to the divine providence of God in stating his opposition to Federation when he said:

"The British have got Great Britain, the Indians

have got India. God didn't make a mistake in giving Nyasaland to us. We cannot turn the world upside down. If the British do try to turn the world upside down, and force federation on the more than 60 million Africans in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, there will be very serious trouble for the 200,000 whites there."(32)

By 1953, with the federation issue dominating politics in Nyasaland, the role played by the PIM, the second largest organization in the Country, was to prove significant to its leader, Malekebu.

Sources in the Annual Report of the PIM published in the MISSION HERALD have suggested that the Malekebu's were again out of Nyasaland in 1952, (33) on leave of absence. Although the exact year of Malekebu's return is not noted in the reports, it is clear from sources that, while the Nyasaland African Congress sought to gain the support of Chiefs for their anti-federation campaign, the PIM strove to remain a neutral organization in the political scenario at the time. It adopted a non-political attitude to the federation issue, although there has been evidence to suggest that individual members and chiefs who had earlier had close links with the mission, adapted pro or anti federation stances.

After the 1915 Chilembwe rising and before permission for the Mission was granted, the letter of appointment sent to Malekebu from the NBC had stated in no uncertain terms that Malekebu, was to continue

Chilembwe's work in such a way that the mission would not be suspected of involvement in subversive political activities. Other PIM leaders had received similar instructions. This, it would seem, contributed to the reluctance of PIM leaders to participate in the anti-Federation Campaigns.(34)

It would also be argued that the creation of a Central Political Union and the PIM's idea of a United Christian Southern African Community(35) had elements in common, which PIM members could utilise. The Federation could, for example, be seen as facilitating the movement of PIM members in other parts of Southern Africa and make it easier for them to continue working and thus enhancing the spread of PIM missions into different parts of the Federation. It must be stressed, though, that in the absence of relevant documents to substantiate these ideas, they remain mere conjectures. However, it appears as if Malekebu was, by the 1950s, on the wrong side of the Federation issue.

The position of some of the native authorities who had been close to him after his return to reopen the PIM was, however, more clear cut, as was indeed Malekebu's relationship with the members of the Nyasaland African Congress during the Federation period.



The report of the Provincial Commissioner of the Central Province for 1953 has suggested that while Chief Mpama was pro-Federation, Malika supported Congress and their anti-Federation campaign. For his pro-federation stance, Mpama was almost forced to resign his chieftaincy by the people, while other attempts were made to undermine his authority in the Chiradzulu sub-district of Blantyre.(36) Malika, on the other hand, for his role in the affair, was arrested by the Assistant District Commissioner for having organised and convened a meeting in contravention of the Native Authority and Public Meetings Rules and sentenced to a term in prison.(37) Another of Malekebu's early recruits Chief Kadawere, was a loyal supporter of the government and its Federation scheme. Kadawere and two other supporters were tied up by rioters while his court was damaged. He had to be rescued by police and taken to away safely.(38) According to the Commissioner's report for 1953:

"all the Districts in the Central Province, their Chiefs and their people, except the Ncheu District, were in full cooperation except for Chief Chakumbira."(39)

The conclusion that could be drawn from the above reports from the Central Province and other interviews conducted, is that in the 1950s and 1960s, the majority of the PIM members and their chiefs, if not pro

Federationists, were adopting a very non-political attitude to the whole issue and that Malekubu and members of his Church attempted to be neutral. Because of this, the PIM did not have a good relationship with the Nyasaland African Congress during the period leading the Emergency of March 1959. (40) In addition, Wishlade has suggested in his work that religious leaders of independent Churches were barred from membership of the Nyasaland African Congress in the 1950s. (41) If this was the case, Malekubu could have been officially banned from membership of the Nyasaland African Congress.

Banda, on the other hand, returned to Malawi and spearheaded the anti-Federation <sup>Campaign</sup> as the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress. He used the Pan African euphoria which was gaining ground in other parts of Africa at the time to good effect. He has been involved with the Pan African movement in London, and had attended the 1945 Pan African Conference. He had also spent five years in Ghana at a time when Nkrumah was spearheading the Pan African Movement in Ghana. (42)

Throughout his career, he attempted to portray himself as a successor to Chilembwe and to follow or emulate the career of Daniel Sharpe Malekubu.

The one official Government reference to Chilembwe

and the 1915 rising has been the dramatised radio play performed yearly in March on Freedom Day. While portraying the heroic role of Chilembwe during the rising, the concluding final scene contains a prophecy, by Chilembwe himself, of the coming after him of one greater than himself who would free Malawians. Malawians are now made to believe that the Messiah as prophesied by Chilembwe is none other than the Ngwazi himself. (43)

From his early years, he maintained that he had always looked up to Malekebu for guidance in his career. Indeed, the similarities in the careers of men were stark and neat. Both men have claimed, for example, that they walked to South Africa to work in the mines before leaving for further studies in America. While there, both attended Meharry Medical College and an Institution in Carolina. Malekebu, though, returned home after his medical studies. The similarities in their career paths continued on their return home. Neither practiced full-time as a medical practitioner, although Malekebu did run a clinic in the PIM. Lastly, like Chilembwe before them, both men established educational Institutions which were important components of their work. Malekebu had established a number of schools in the Chiradzulu region, while Banda later established the Kamuzu School of Excellence.



Malekebu's marginalization from the mainstream of Malawian politics was endorsed by Banda because of his non-involvement in the anti-Federation Campaigns. Malawians, according to Banda, had assumed that Malekebu and the PIM would cooperate with the Congress in its campaign against Federation. Tragically, the PIM was one of the few groups, as has been illustrated earlier, that didn't join the campaign. As a result, it was felt by Banda and other congress members that they were collaborating with the Government. Malekebu was therefore viewed with suspicion and was ostracised in the milieu of Malawian politics.

Although Tolbert, the then President of Liberia and President of the Liberian Baptist Convention, during his visit to Malawi for the country's independence celebrations, attempted to reconcile the differences between the two men, Banda remained adamant that as one of his early heroes, Malekebu had disappointed both him and other Nyasas by his non political stance during the anti-Federation Campaign.

"Where was he (he had asked), when others were fighting for independence." (44)

Other factors contributed in the 1960s to Malekebu's further marginalization from church and state

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matters in Malawi in spite of the numerous accolades and awards he received in America.

Malekebu and Problems with the FMB of the  
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NBC and the PIM.  
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In Chiradzulu, however, problems within the PIM were mounting for him during this period. Between 1969 and 1970, the running of some PIM schools was taken over by Government while others were closed because the subsidy given by the Education Department for the payment of salaries "had not been used for the purpose". Some PIM employees in Nyasaland and other parts of Southern Africa were unpaid for months, and according to the judgement of the case between the Registered Trustees of the African Baptist Assembly (Malawi) and Rev. L. C. Muocha, defendant, the financial position of the Mission and its schools was in a terrible state.

The FMB of the NBC was being sued for debts incurred by the PIM, and for the settlement of amounts which had been provided for in the PIM budgets. By 1971 there were 15 such suits against the mission for the recovery of over £15,000.45. The FMB of the NBC had its own criticisms of the way PIM was being run. For example, it maintained that parcels of clothes sent to the mission to be given away were being sold, while



money sent for the purchase of essential projects were not used for the agreed purposes (46) Sunday school materials sent from America to be distributed to members were withheld, while the library facilities available in the mission were not made open to members Community. Lastly, Malekebu's nephew Nadolo was accused of the bringing false charges against Miss Minter, a Baptist missionary sent to Malawi to assist with PIM work. Charges of fraud were also levied against PIM leaders.

Although Malekebu himself was not found guilty of any fraudulent practices, the Rev. Dr. Harvey, sent by the NBC to investigate the affairs of the PIM in July 1971, reported that some members of the PIM, among them the reverend Nadolo, were misusing and mismanaging mission funds. (47) Malekebu was requested to retire, and agreed to return to America within thirty days. A financial secretary, in the person of Mr. Baxter Chapota, was also appointed to take charge of the financial affairs of the PIM. In addition, the Reverend Muocha, a former Church Assistant of Malekebu, was appointed as Malekebu's successor as Chairman of the African Baptist Assembly, and representative in Nyasaland of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention. Malekebu was to proceed to America on an NBC pension, and this marked the end of forty-five years meritorious service as successor to Chilembwe in



the reopened PIM.

He lived in America between 1971 and 1978, when he returned to Malawi for the now celebrated case when he contested the rights of officials of the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention to retire him from active service with the PIM.

He died on the 8th October, a few months after judgement had been given in favour of the Moucha faction of the PIM, which was supported by the FMB of the NBC.

Before his death, he was able to establish a new Church, independent of his former mentors in the US.

It can rightly be argued, that by the time of his death, his marginalisation from the centre of Malawian politics was complete, as indeed was his marginalization from the main stream of the FMB of the NBC.

#### The Marginalisation of Leaders of the New Pan Africanism in South Africa. The Examples of Lembede, Mda, and Sobukwe.

An attempt has been made in the early sections of the Chapter to show how leading Pan African figures connected with Southern African Politics in the pre-and post-World War II period became marginalised figures in

the politics of the Southern African Subregion. Particular reference was made to the marginalization of Malekebu in Malawian Church and State Seloape Thema in South Africa, and Max Yergan, the diasporan, who spent over a decade in Southern Africa working for the Y.M.C.A. and spreading the Bookerite and Du Boisian ideals in parts of the region.

This final part of the Chapter will examine the isolation of representatives of what has been termed the new pan Africanism in this work; in South Africa, and will refer specifically to Ashby Mda and Sobukwe. Other figures like Anton Lembede, P. K. Leballo and Zephaniah Mothopeng, will be mentioned briefly in the course of the analysis.

A.P. Mda succeeded Lembede not only as the President of the ANCYL, but also as the leading theoretician of the League between 1947 and 1951. Indeed, he continued to exercise considerable influence in League matters even after he was forced to give up the Movement's presidency because of ill-health. He had had to go on sick leave in May 1949, while he sought specialised treatment from Dr. Moroko in the Orange Free State for a heart condition. After his treatment he sought permission in November of the same year to step down for a year from participation in League activities

to allow for his full recuperation from his illness.

He continued, however, to be a source of inspiration to Youth League officials, many of whom looked up to him for a clarification and modification of the Africanist ideology as propounded by Lembede. His heart condition, government harassment, and fear of arrest were factors which were forcing Mda to go underground. In a letter written to Geoffrey Pitje at Fort Hare, for example, he expressed these fears and spoke of the need to avoid arrest and isolation at a critical period in the movement's history, when he said:

"If I were to be taken in, I will perish in jail, so weak is constitution. At this time, we do not want any of us to die or to linger in prison when we have hardly begun to build our Africanism in theory and practice. The Police are after me, I am being shadowed and I have been questioned and threatened with arrest, but I defied the police at Sterkspruit and dared them to arrest me. Detectives from headquarters have been scouring the District questioning and terrorising ANCYL members."(48)

Nevertheless, he continued to work underground for the interest of the League until 1959, when Africanists broke away from the ANC and established the PAC. The move did not meet with the approval of Mda, who urged Africanists to stay within the ANC and strive for changes in Congress policy, in line with Africanist ideas. 1959 saw the final marginalisation of Mda from



Africanist politics, and there has been no evidence to suggest that he identified publicly with the new Pan African movement during the PAC's brief period of existence. He was, however, one of the movement's supporters, although he held no official position after 1959. (49)

In 1963 he fled to Lesotho, following attempts by the South African police to bring charges against him. In Lesotho he continued his practice as a lawyer and ceased to play any overt role in PAC activities.

Mda's successor as one of the theoretician of the Africanists was Mangaliso Sobukwe, whose brief biographical sketch appears in this work. Like Lembede and Mda before him, Sobukwe's term of office as President of the newly established PAC was very brief. He was arrested in 1960, a year after his movement's inauguration, for his role in the non-violent positive action campaign which led to the Sharpeville Massacre. At the trial of Sobukwe and sixteen PAC leaders, he had maintained that if PAC leaders were persecuted for their ideals, history would not allow a vacuum, but would produce more articulate instruments for the continuation of the propagation of the ideals of Pan Africanism. They were sentenced to terms ranging from eighteen months to three years. Sobukwe himself was given a three year jail

sentence. Unconfirmed reports have maintained that he was not completely isolated from PAC politics during the period 1960-1963. (50) His period in jail was spent with other PAC activists and they continued their involvement in PAC affairs from their various cells, even though the movement was officially banned in 1960. Indeed, one of the Poqo accused, maintained during his trial in 1963 that his movement was being headed by Sobukwe. However, it would be right to suggest that his marginalization from the mainstream of African politics began in 1960.

On the expiration of his three year jail term, Sobukwe was further ostracised from PAC activities by the South African government which endorsed his further detention under a specially created decree for a period of three years. This was relieved until 1969. Although details discussed in Chapter IX have shown that some of the restrictions imposed on him were later relaxed, his isolation from PAC activities was a deliberate policy by the government, which believed that he had an immense and charismatic influence over the movement in particular and Africans in general. Pressure by members of the opposition party and the International Community led to his release in 1969. Having studied law while in prison, he set up a law practice and defended Blacks accused of violating the pass and other laws.



But his release from prison, as Chapter IX has shown, did not mean the end of his marginalization from PAC politics. He was confined to a house in the quiet mining town of Kimberley, where his movements were restricted, although he was allowed to practice law under conditions stipulated by the State. He could not attend public gatherings and was banned from giving lectures. In addition, under the Suppression of Communism Act, he was also not to be quoted.(51) While legally out of prison, opportunities for interaction with PAC activists were therefore limited.

He fell ill in 1977, but efforts by Benjamin Pogrund to obtain permission for him to be allowed to travel to Johannesburg for expert medical treatment were delayed by the South African authorities. Permission was finally granted late in 1978, but he died later that year. The process of marginalization from African politics started by the South African government in 1960, was thus complete with his death at the relatively young age of 54.

Admirers and PAC supporters have admitted difficulty in attempting to talk about either the achievements of Sobukwe or about Sobukwe the man. This, some like E. Mapuranga has maintained, was because he failed to fulfil his mission and because few were able



to see him physically since one-third of his span was spent either in prison or under house arrest. Thus, from 1959 when he took over control of the PAC, the government was able to effectively ostracize him from Black politics.

Other leading PAC officials, among them Potlako Leballo, the Movement's Secretary, J. Nyause, Secretary, for Labour Affairs, Selby Ngendena, the Movement's Publicity secretary, Peter Raboroko, and Zephaniah Methopeng were also imprisoned and some were forced into exile, after their release. The process of marginalization continued well into the 1960s and 1970s, and key PAC and Poqo leaders were arrested both within and outside the country. Zephaniah Methopeng and Nyati Pokela were two examples of Government's attempts at emasculating potential leaders of the PAC in the 1970s.

Pokela, for example, was charged in 1967 under the Sabotage Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, and was accused of recruiting youths for training in neighbouring countries, with the aim of overthrowing the South African Government. He was also charged with attempting to kill white South Africans in East London and police officers at the King Williamstown police Station. He fled the country and sought political asylum in Lesotho. He was allegedly kidnapped by the South

African Security forces in 1969, and was accused this time of furthering the aims of a banned organization, and of planning the derailment of the Blue train. He was sentenced to thirteen years imprisonment, and after his release in 1980, he was confined to the Herschel District in the Transvaal. He escaped to Tanzania in 1981, where he was elected Chairman of the Transvaal. He died five years later in 1986. It has been clear from an analysis of the activities of the careers of the major PAC leaders that the spate of arrests, detention and imprisonment struck at the very heart of the Movement's leaders, and this had an adverse effect on the Movement. A survey conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1963 revealed that the PAC was the most popular movement at the time. The table below is an indication of the position of the different political groups in 1963.

Party	% For	% Against	% Undecided
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PAC	57	29	14
ANC	39	41	20
Liberal Party	31	47	22
Progressive Party	30	43	47
COD	18	12	40
UP	10	75	15

By the 1970s the popularity of the Movement was on the wane, and one can reasonably suggest, that it increasingly became marginalised from the mainstream of black politics in South Africa. Although there were

other reasons responsible for its decline, the legal repression of its leadership cadre by the government was an important contributory factor.

The ideals of Pan Africanism as propounded by its leaders was too potent a force for White South Africans, the South African Government and its foreign allies to support. The marginalization of the PAC and its leading proponents, like that of earlier Pan African advocates, continued to be a key feature of the politics of White South Africa, and soon they and their Movement became marginalized in the South African political scenario.

The movement could not survive as an effective force after the detention and death of its leaders who were founder members of the movement. It was bedevilled with internicine feuds, wrangles and disputes, during its existence in exile.

The next chapter will attempt to provide explanations for the marginalization of Pan African ideas in the Southern African Subregion during the period under review.



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50. From Interview with P.K. Leballo, President of the PAC during the period.

51. Judgement of case between the Registered Trustees of the Africa Baptist Assembly (Malawi) and Rev. L. C. Moucha, Defendant.

## C H A P T E R    X I =====

### THE MARGINALIZATION OF PAN AFRICAN IDEAS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA -----

#### A POSTSCRIPT

This chapter will look at the factors which make co-operation in the region a practical necessity, and will argue that in spite of this the pan African ideology has increasingly been marginalised both in its secular and evangelical manifestations. The secular manifestation has been marginalised by micro-nationalism in Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland, and by Marxist Leninist ideas in Angola, Mozambique and, to a certain extent, in Zimbabwe and the republic of South Africa. Other factors extraneous to the ideology and the movement, like white oppression and the South African government's total policy of destabilization, have also contributed to the marginalization of secular Pan Africanism from the political scenario in the region. This section will also argue that contradictions within the ideas of the new pan Africanism have made the implementation of some aspects of the ideology difficult. It will be shown later in the chapter that as a result of this, secular pan Africanism as an ideology for liberation or for post-independent countries in Southern Africa, is increasingly taking a back seat.



## The Marginalisation of Evangelical Pan Africanism

The same could be said of evangelical pan Africanism. After the 1915 Chilembwe uprising and attempts by governments in the region to proscribe and contain the movement, the Churches in the movement began to lose their radical content. Churches headed by diasporan missions like the AME and National Baptist Convention channelled their efforts into educational, medical and agricultural schemes. Other indigenous African Churches became less militant and they lost their sense of outrage. They appeared to have retreated to some kind of political escapism. Overtly, missions like the Foreign Mission Board of the National Baptist Convention, stressed that their struggle was a religious one for which their reward was in heaven. This apparent retreat by the churches and its members could be misleading as indeed was the apolitical stance adopted by them. Neither action was a sign of political escapism per se. Both could be interpreted as attempt to keep the churches alive during difficult periods. Members therefore, could appear apolitical at times when the possibility for the success of a political revolt was remote. At other times when the prospect of political resistance and defiance appeared a possibility the political and radical content in the movement manifested itself. This was the case of Malawi and South Africa

after the 1915 Chilembwe uprising and the ensuing government proscription and persecution of independent churches and their leaders. When churches were allowed to reopen, they had to assume an apolitical stance. There was thus no obvious manifestation of the radical political content in the movements' churches. With a few possible exceptions like the ICU and two isolated independent church groups, the late 1920s, and 1930 could generally be described as lean years politically in South Africa and Malawi. The ANC, the Garvey movement and the Communist Party all experienced problems during the period while the Ethiopian church movement under this model remained apolitical and mute. State coercion and direction had blunted political opposition in both its evangelical and secular forms and any opposition had of necessity to remain latent and subdued. Thus in the 1920s the NBC warned ex-Chilembwe-ites and the Malekebus of the need to remain out of the ambit of militant politics. There was a brief period in the 1920s and 1930s when Africans hoped that Garveyites and other African diasporan Blacks would arrive in parts of the region to free them from the yoke of Whites. During this period, the apolitical content in some independent churches surfaced. Even then, Bishop Macguire, the leader of the African [Orthodox] Church, was at pains to stress that his churches had apolitical aims.



This model could be applied to the activities of the independent churches throughout most of the period. However, in the late 1950s, a number of Africans hoped that there might be scope for political resistance in South Africa, and for a while the movement's political and radical content surfaced.

This manifested itself briefly in the involvement, for example, of the Reverend W. Dimba, a Zionist Church Leader with early PAC activities. After failing to get Kamuzu Banda to give the opening address at the inaugural meeting, he denounced in the words of Peter Rodda:

"The hooligans of Europe who killed our God and proceeded to salute a blackman, Simon of Arabia, who carried Jesus from the Cross." (1)

In general, though, the political content in the movement had been emasculated. From its early days when it had a radical content, the movement was becoming mute and apolitical. Church leaders and their members had had their efforts channelled into spiritual and other avenues, where they were safely out of the ambit of militant politics. From being a potent political force, as a revolt against Church and State, carried through by Church leaders like Charles Domingo, Elliot Kamwana and John Chilembwe, the movement retreated from active involvement in politics. Some PAC leaders interviewed



have suggested that independent Churches no longer play any active role in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

In what could be regarded as an indictment of the role of Churches and their non-involvement in the struggle, the Reverend Father Smaagaliso Mkhathshwa, said in a recent interview with the NEW NATION:

"The Church must be seen in a visible way to be involved in the day to day struggle of workers, youths, women and so on . . . Their intervention must involve a certain degree of expertise and political sophistication. The reasons for intervention are not necessarily political. They are pastoral, although pastoral intervention must take cognisance of the political, social economic and cultural factors. It (would) be crazy if it didn't. While it (would) be fatal for the Church to try and set up its own political programme, it should take an active role in the established democratic structures."(2)

There are, of course, some church leaders who are today playing a meaningful role in the struggle. The examples could be given of the Reverends Allan Boesak of the Dutch Reformed church, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town. Others, like the Reverend Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, the Secretary General of the South African Catholic Bishop Conference, the Reverend Frank Chikane, the Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, a former disciple of the Black consciousness movement, and Daniel Saul Nkopodi, a Bophutatswanan based priest charged with acting as a

courier, smuggling arms, ammunition and cash from Botswana to South Africa, are less known outside South Africa, but have been actively involved in resistance politics.

Father Smangaliso was a member of Biko's movement in the 1970s. He was detained in 1976 and 1977, and was banned and restricted to Pretoria Magistrate District with severe restrictions on his social and religious activities. He was arrested again in 1983 by Ciskei Police, and spent five months in solitary confinement. The same year, he was elected a UDF patron, but in 1986 was detained for twelve months, tortured and accused of allegedly training youths to make petrol bombs and helping to keep youths out of schools during the schools boycott. His name was also linked with the haul of arms cache found by the Police in the Transvaal. After his release he expressed the view that:

"If the Church was to be relevant it must not only prepare the people to go to heaven, it should also look after their needs, their problems and their welfare. It must fight for justice and reconciliation."(3)

Fighting injustice in South Africa and for the liberation of Africans have been a long experience for Churches. The ANC in the 1980, made a passionate plea to churches "to open a battle ground rant against apartheid." Since the restrictions placed on

organizations within South Africa fighting against the System,(4) the Church, one of the few legal institutions within the Country, was given the responsibility by the Religious Affairs department of the ANC to act to bring down apartheid. Mainline conventional churches have declared it a heresy which must be destroyed. Allan Boesak reacting to the restrictions imposed maintained that the Botha Government was an illegal one and thus has no authority to restrict organizations.(5)

More recently at the funeral of Johnny Makatini the late ANC official responsible for Foreign Affairs, Frank Chikane (a former Disciple of the Black consciousness movement) in a funeral oration called on the world to act against apartheid, as

"the ..... regime (was) an enemy of South Africa (and) its unjust policies (were) causing the destruction of (the) society."(6)

The Churches have also issued a call for a boycott of the election held in South Africa on the twenty sixth of October, 1988. demanded a boycott of the elections. The bombing of Khotso House, (the headquarters of the South Africa Council of Churches in Johannesburg) in which twentythree people were injured was considered to be the destruction of the home of protest.

Many are leaders of conventional churches



however, and work is needed on the role of independent churches in the post 1960 period before one can conclusively assess their contribution to the resistance struggle in South Africa. With the banning of the PAC, the CPSA, the ANC and other movements in the country, and the emasculation of others, like COSATU, AZAPO and the UDF, the Church is increasingly becoming one of the few avenues available for use as platforms for resistance.

One can suggest, however, that evangelical pan Africanism has gradually lost its political content and that some Churches, like the Zionist type Churches treated by Jean Comafroff in her recent book (7) have retreated from active resistance to the State and have become more involved with the social, spiritual and economic welfare of their members. Indeed, some have been marginalised from their early political role even further. They have thrown the weight of their support behind the State and its leaders. In 1985, for example, Bishop Lekganyana and members of his ZCC Church congregation, offered the freedom of the Moria to Louis Botha. (6) The Bishop, in his sermon at the ceremony, urged members of his congregation to obey Peter, Chapter 2, Verse 13 in the Bible, which called on subjects to "submit themselves to every ordinance of man for God's sake". (6) From early days, when Ethiopian Churches were

regarded as mediums for a revolt against Church and State, the ZCC, under Bishop Lekganyana, was urging its over one million members to accept and obey Church and State policies under an apartheid regime.

### The Need for Pan African Cooperation in the Region

Prior to the independence of present day Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola, there was need for some type of cooperation in the region for the success of the struggle against Portuguese Colonialism and White settler Colonialism. In military and strategic terms therefore cadres and leaders of the MPLA, FRELIMO, ZANU and ZAPU, the ANC and the PAC cooperated during years of struggle, while leaders of independent, Mozambique and Angola cooperated closely with movements in exile fighting for independence.

Events in the region in the 1970s and 1980s have emphasised the need for some kind of Unity in the region, and indeed concerted action by Africans in the continent in a bid to face collectively the assault by South Africa in neighbouring States in the region.

Thus the very success of the strategic and military policies of the South African government, though, has prompted a call from the OAU for the establishment of a



pan African peace-keeping force in the region. It has also led to a spate of meetings between leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Malawi, to discuss military and economic cooperation in the region.(10)

Apart from direct military and other subversive attacks by its surrogate organizations, blackmail and economic sabotage in the region, the South African government has restricted the trading activities of neighbouring States by disrupting rail routes and closing down those routes passing through South Africa. As part of its total strategy of destabilization, launched in January 1981, it has also destroyed industries in neighbouring countries. This has caused the death of thousands of civilian, through man made famine or the bullet, while many others have been maimed and left disabled. The destruction of family life and the desire to escape from the ravages of war have also created a refugee problem in the region. As a result, governments in the region have had to spend their resources in caring for the sick, providing food and shelter for the wounded, and protecting their citizens from attacks by MNR and UNITA forces or from direct military bombings and other attacks by the South African defence force.

This is a sad development, because the potential



for a prosperous economy in the region is immense. Gold, manganese, chromium, diamonds, silver and emeralds are found in parts of the region, while oil is available in Angola. There is also a vast potential for agricultural products which is as yet untapped, because of instability caused by civil wars which have ravaged Angola, Mozambique and, to a certain extent, Zimbabwe. Since independence, South African policy of destabilization has also hindered economic progress.

As early as 1959, Sobukwe maintained (as the chapter on the new pan Africanism has shown) that a coordinated development strategy, for development would make the region one of the major agricultural and individual areas in the continent.

Lastly, the region is still faced with the prospect of South Africa initiating a type of regional grouping which will have that country as the dominant influence. As was shown in the chapter on the new pan Africanism, the South African government in the 1940s had threatened to call a pan African conference in 1945, a threat which prompted Du Bois to arrange a conference in the same year. Neither Du Bois' conference nor that planned by the South African government materialised. Since the 1940s, South African governments have made attempts to forge some kind of links with their neighbours in the

region. Pan Africanism thus has to compete with white power in the region.

Attempts by White South Africa to consolidate its power by the establishment of a huge white power block dominated by her leaders started in earnest in 1948. This coincided in the 1950s with a shift in policy by the Portuguese towards their colonies, in the region, namely the then Portuguese East and West Africa.

Before the mid 1940s, the Government in Lisbon had always believed that there was a threat of its losing these territories to either the British or the French. After the Second World War, government officials began to realise that the real threat to their position in their former colonies would come from African nationalism. Portugal then began to seek to forge an informal alliance with South Africa and the then Southern Rhodesia. They envisaged the idea of a great white alliance across South Africa, making South Africa dependent on Mozambique through the Cabora Bassa Scheme. This idea collapsed, however, with the independence of Angola and Mozambique.

In the 1960s, Hendrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa, planned the establishment of an economic community in the region which would have the

then Southern Rhodesia and South Africa as its bases. Nothing much, however, developed out of Verwoerd's planned community. He also initiated a policy of detente with independent African countries. With the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966 and the election of B.J. Vorster as leader of the Nationalist party, the policy of 'detente' in the region was revived. Links were established with countries like Malawi which established diplomatic relations with the South African government in 1967. The Economic support given to Banda's policy which will be discussed briefly, was also part of Vorster's policy of detente in the region.

Pressure from independent African countries, the guerilla threat, in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and economic necessity were among some of the factors responsible for the detente policy. This Mazrui and Tidy have pointed out aimed at political and economic cooperation among states in the region with South Africa as the dominant force. In addition, Louis Botha in the 1970s launched his new strategic initiative as part of the country's total strategy of destabilization, which was based on his idea of a constellation of Southern African States. Described as a "charming and imaginative" scheme CONSAS was supposed to encourage economic cooperation between South Africa and her neighbours, and was to act as an anti-marxist



alliance grouped around South Africa. It was also seen as a bulwark against pan African unity, looked on with increasing distrust by South Africa governments since the 1958 and 1959 conferences in Accra. CONSAS never took off. Zimbabwe became independent and SADCC was born in 1980. In the 1980s the plan was back on the agenda as part of the foreign policy objectives of South Africa, although it again failed to materialise.

Like their African counterparts in the region, therefore, white South Africans have always seen the need for cooperation, and the two forces have had to compete for dominance in the region. While few African leaders have since 1960 questioned the virtues of the ideology of Pan Africanism, the form of unity and the practical implications of cooperation have posed problems, for the ideology. In 1963, the more moderate wing of the Pan African movement advocating regional intergration as opposed to the radical wing calling for political unity won the day. For the next decade or more, regional integration was the form of unity endorsed by member states, and organisations like ECOWAS and SADCC reflected this endorsement. All however acknowledged the need for unity.

In addition, countries like Malawi, Swaziland, Botswana, and Mozambique have over the years become

dependent on South Africa for their very existence. British colonial policies in the region and the dependence of some of these countries on South Africa for an outlet to the sea, for the import and export of agricultural and other products, have made many of them appendages of South Africa. To really counter this, cooperation in both the economic and political field in the region is a necessity. In addition, labour migration from countries like, Malawi and Mozambique have over the past one hundred years been a source of cheap labour for the Southern Rhodesian labour market(11) and the South African mineral and agricultural sector.(12) It has also been a source of valuable foreign exchange earnings for a number of these countries and a lifeline for families in countries like Malawi where wages on tea plantations do not match those earned on the mines. In the foreseeable future, some type of new arrangement which will recognise this factor, while attempts at collectively trying to reduce this dependence will have to be made.

Lastly, the security requirements of independent states in the region would demand the need for friendly states bordering each other in the region. The point was made quite succinctly by Kwame Nkrumah, in his AFRICA MUST UNITE, when he said:

"Just as our strength lies in a unified policy and action, for progress and development, so the strength of the ... lie in our disunity. We in Africa can only meet them effectively by presenting a united front and continental purpose."(13)

Hostile or unfriendly neighbours could easily be used as bases for the destabilization of independent African countries in the region. The cases of Malawi and the MNR, or the MNR and the then Southern Rhodesia, are concrete examples of this very real possibility, which again emphasises the need for the consolidation of friendly relationships between countries in the region, and for regional cooperation.

In spite of these very real dangers, Pan Africanism has had very little attraction to many leaders in the region. Local nationalism and opportunistic patriotism seemed to have marginalised the Pan African ideology. Leaders like Kamuzu Banda and Chief Leabua Jonathan became deviants of the Pan African cause after independence, and forged close links with white minority regimes in the then Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, and the Portuguese administrations in Angola and Mozambique. The ideology has over the years become increasingly marginalised in the region and there is a marked contrast between the perceived realization for unity and the marginalization of its ideals and its articulators.



## The Marginalization of Secular Pan African Ideas in Malawi

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As the Chapter on the new Pan Africanism in this work has shown, Hastings Banda, on his return from the Gold Coast advocated Pan Africanism as an ideology for forward movement in present day Malawi. By the time of the Cabinet Crisis however, Pan African ideals were taking a back seat in his thinking.

In 1964, Banda, for example, had visited Lisbon and Maputo, and in the same year had initiated talks with the Portuguese for the construction of a rail link to Nacala, as against the development of the route through Tanzania supported by some members of the Malawi Congress Party. In addition, in official speeches, he was paying glowing tributes to Salazar. Portugal was accorded one of the biggest pavillions at the Trade Fair organized during Malawi's independence celebrations. Lastly, in contravention of OAU and UN general assembly restrictions, Banda appointed a consul in Mozambique, increased trade with both Mozambique and South Africa, and began negotiations for part of Nothern Mozambique with the government of Mozambique. In attempting to justify Malawi's links with South Africa, in an address to the 1964 OAU summit meeting, Banda maintained that severing diplomatic and trading links with South Africa

would lead to economic strangulation of the country. He continued:

"I have my own ideas about freedom, and our country should be free of the last vestiges of colonialism and imperialism. I have my ideas on an all African Government, and I believe in it ... But the geographical position of Malawi (made) it impossible to carry out to the letter, resolutions to sever relations with South Africa. In addition, economic strangulation will mean political strangulation and the fall of the government. The same could be applied to Basutoland, Zambia and Swaziland. It would therefore be cruel and inhuman for anyone in this assembly to say that when Basutoland becomes independent in twelve to eighteen months from now, she must sever totally all connections or ties with South Africa because she would not exist."(14)

Banda's cooperation with white regimes in the region was extended to South Africa in the mid 1960's. By 1967 he had established diplomatic relations with South Africa and economic benefits followed. The country received a loan from South Africa for the construction of a phase of the new capital Lilongwe. Financial support was also obtained from the South Africans for the Malawian section of the Nacala link with Mozambique. South African advisers were invited to work in a number of Malawi government offices, while more loans were acquired for other development projects.

Indeed Banda is regarded by observers as "the greatest success .... in South Africa's Constellation of States Policy" which is itself antagonistic to Pan



African ideals.

In the 1970s, Banda became the first independent African leader to undertake a state visit to South Africa.

In reaction to accusations by members of the OAU of contravention of Pan African principles, as embodied in a number of OAU resolutions, Kamuzu Banda launched scathing attacks on his opponents, whom he described as "ignorant tanners and cobblers" who knew nothing of the art of government. He was the classic example of the marginalization of Pan African ideals in an independent African country by a leader who had used the rhetoric of Pan Africanism during the struggle for independence.

Nationalism as an ideology was a phase in the struggle in Africa which had to be transcended. This was clearly stated by Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s. In spite of the large number of migrant Nyasa labourers and other workers in South Africa <sup>at a time when the C.P</sup> was still a legal organization, and when Marxist/Leninist literature was finding its way into the Union, Communism never seemed to have an influence in Malawi. Malawian micro nationalism overrode the ideals of pan Africanism and leaders like Dunduzo Chisiza, Kanyame Chiume, H. Chipembere and other members of the MCP who had had some connection with the pan



African movement and with Nkrumah's Ghana became marginalised from the political scene following the cabinet crisis in Malawi after independence.

#### Pan Africanism Marginalised in South Africa

In South Africa pan Africanism seems to have been marginalised by the forces of Marxism and Nationalism. Ideological conflicts between Marxism and Nationalism as articulated by the South African Communist Party have been an ongoing struggle since the 1920s. Ranuga's work has dealt in some details with, among other things, the ideological conflict between nationalism and marxism within the ANC and the relationship between the ANC, the PAC and the CPSA. This conflict was apparent between articulators of Garveyism in the Union and members of the Communist party in the 1920s. Thaele, it has been shown, (15) worked for a while with CPSA supporters, Tojeni and Ndobe, in the Cape branch of the ANC. He soon fell out with the Communists as his commitment to Communist ideals has been described as eclectic. There have also been claims that he later assisted in the expulsion of left wing ANC members involved in the rural struggle in the 1930s.

Yergan's flirtation with radical groups in the Cape, and his subsequent visit to Moscow in 1935, have

been held partly responsible for his decision to resign from the YMCA, an association which had been used as a vehicle for the propagation of the Bookerite and DuBoisian ideals. His attitude to the problems in South Africa, which was a radical departure from the solutions prescribed by his employers, meant that he could no longer work with them. He later, however, had problems with the Communists in America and became increasingly marginalised from the struggle in South Africa, and the pan African movement in general.

In the 1920s, the Comintern evolved a new policy in its strategy for the solution of the problems in South Africa. According to Roux,(16) Legassik,(17) and Simmons (18) the Comintern wanted the establishment of an independent Black republic as a step to the realisation of socialism in South Africa. In their contention they maintained that:

"South Africa (was) a black country. The majority of the people (were) black and so were the majority of workers and peasants. Seven-eighths of the land (was) owned by whites ... Therefore the national question in South Africa, which (was) based on the agrarian question, (lay) at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa."(19)

This was in contradiction to the South African Communist Party's (CPSA) view that nationalism was a reactionary ideology which could not be



accommodated in the CPSA's ideology in South Africa. By 1934, the CPSA had dropped its commitment to the establishment of a Black Republic. Given that in the South African situation, oppression was both a class and a racial issue, Marxism and African nationalism came in direct opposition. While both the CPSA and the ANC lived separate existences, leaders could jostle for influence in both parties, and a number of them could wear different hats at different times. But with the 1950 proscription of the CPSA under the Suppression of Communism Act, leading members of the CPSA began to take an active role in ANC affairs.

Soon African nationalism was being prescribed by members of the ANCYL as the rallying cry(20) on which the liberation of Africans should be built. In addition to some ANCYL members rejecting the domination of the ANC by white Communists, African nationalism soon came in direct contradiction with the forces and ideas of Communism. Apart from Willie Nkomo and a few other ANCYL members, Youth League attitude to Communism was eclectic. As Simmons and Simmons have rightly pointed out, by the 1950s "the class struggle (was becoming) merged with the national struggle".

For Africanists within the ANC and for PAC members, however, the struggle was a national struggle for



liberation. African Nationalism to them was:

"The only liberatory creed that (could) weld the masses who are members of heterogeneous tribes into a solid disciplined and united fighting force, provide them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe and give formal expression to their desire to be a nation."(21)

While this is no doubt useful at a particular phase in the struggle, it could be argued that it was a phase that had to be transcended and it should not be seen as a final phase in the struggle in South Africa. The split within the ANC which occurred in 1959 and which led to the formation of the PAC was partly caused by the rejection by Africanists of Communist domination of the African National Congress. The process of the marginalisation of Africanists which began in 1959 could therefore be partly explained by the Communist influence in the movement. The endorsement of the Freedom Charter, to the Africanists was a confirmation of their fears of Communist domination of the ANC. Before the 1930's there was very little basis for Trade Union organisation among Africans in South Africa. Many Africans filled unskilled positions except in the mines, where the government made sure that union leaders didn't operate. This meant that there was no basis for industrial unionism. Even during the inter-war years, African workers were used at unskilled levels and only a few were allowed to slip into skilled work. African workers therefore had no industrial muscle to use in any confrontation with the

South African Government. The change in the structure of production after 1945 meant that trade union activities could be pursued with some vigour, knowing that their action would have some effects on the government and economy of South Africa.

Although with its anti-pass campaign of 1960 the PAC made some huge gains among the African population the movement in exile faced insurmountable and self destructive problems in the 1960s and 1970s. Within South Africa, the now famous Sharpeville massacre, the planned 1963 general uprising, poqo insurgency and other guerrilla attacks planned by the PAC have had limited success as indeed have ANC strategies during the period. In addition, the PAC found it difficult obtaining bases on the region to train its cadres in the 1970s and early 1980s in the country. Pan Africanism as an ideology for liberation in the South African context is on the decline. Although the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were both banned in the 1960s, other African organisations in the country have continued to espouse the ideals of ANC ideology. The United Democratic Front, the largest extra-parliamentary organisation, decided in July 1987 to adopt the Freedom Charter as its guiding manifesto.(22) Later that year, both the South African Youth Congress and COSATU adopted the Charter,(23) while religious leaders like the

Reverend Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, the general secretary of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, maintained after his release from detention that:

"The Freedom Charter (provided) a broadbased progressive forum for all those who (were) committed to self-determination for the majority of people."(24)

Although ANC activists and their leaders have recognised the importance of some form of regional cooperation among independent countries in southern Africa, the ideals of pan Africanism are not part of the movement's rhetoric or ideology. Events over the last five years have shown that there is a 'mini revival' of the Pan African Congress in South Africa.

THE WEEKLY MAIL (part of the alternative press in the country) in making this assertion, pointed to APLA claims that they were responsible for the grenade attack on policemen on parade, the first major assault on the newly formed municipal police. They have also claimed responsibility for the scorpion attacks on security police force patrols in Alexandra township,(25) and the assassination of Brigadier Andrew Malope, the police commander at the Centre of the Winterweld massacre.(26)

The Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok's statement that attempts by five PAC cadres to reach South Africa were thwarted when they were arrested at Athens



airport,(27) has suggested some action by the movement within the country. The movement in exile has also continued its propaganda war with addresses and statements in the UN general assembly and at meetings organised by the special committee against apartheid.(28) However, with the exception of its commitment to African unity, the issues that divided the ANC and PAC have considerably narrowed. Both now want a non-racial society, following the ANC shift in position from its multi-racialist stance. Both are espousing some form of socialism, with the PAC's demand for the establishment of an Africanist socialist Republic. Observers within South Africa believe that the main issue operating <sup>between</sup> the two movements in the 1980s is the ideological difference between their approaches to the struggle while the ANC favours a more broadly based struggle, the PAC emphasises the concept of a worker-led revolution.

In the 1970s Russia and China entered the ideological war in the struggle. The Russians supported the ANC while the Chinese backed the PAC and provided military training for its cadres.(29) New developments emerged in the international scene, and there was a change of attitude by both Russia and China to both the ANC and the PAC. With Perestroika and Glasnost have come a new determination by the Russians to avoid military

involvement in Africa either in terms of direct intervention or by way of military support for liberation movements. Indeed in 1988, the Russians were talking about a non-violent path to liberation in South-Africa.(30)

In addition their attitude towards the PAC seems to be changing. In late 1988, the PAC Chairman, Comrade Johnson Mlambo paid an unprecedented visit to Moscow (31). This visit was a diplomatic breakthrough for the movement as it ended years of frosty relationship between the movement and the Russians. However, the Chinese interest in sponsoring the liberation movements is diminishing(32) and increasingly the PAC is now turning to the Libyans for training and arms. In an article entitled "Libya mainly Responsible for training! PAC Revives Terrorist wing" THE CITIZEN has maintained that Scorpion machine pistols and hand grenades supplied mainly by the Libyans are the main weapons now used by the PAC while about 100 PAC cadres have received training in the use of different types of Eastern Bloc weapons at Benghazi in Libya in the mid 1970. The 'rapprochement' between the Russians and the Chinese might well end the ideological struggle within the liberation movement for friends. The significance of this development when placed side by side with the new policy on non-military support for liberation movements in



Africa is at once onerous and encouraging for both the ANC and the PAC.

In the popularity stakes, observers will point out that both in and outside south Africa the PAC has lost out, and that with the numerous changes in the leadership of the PAC (33) the ANC's leader, Oliver Tambo, is better known than his PAC counterpart.(34) Pan Africanism as an ideology for liberation in South Africa is on the wane. It is, it could be said, being marginalised by the forces of Marxist/Leninist ideas. For ANC leaders see the struggle as both a Nationalist and a class struggle, while the PAC believe that it is primarily a Nationalist struggle for self-determination.

Although no detailed study of the movement in Mozambique and Angola has been undertaken in the work, from preliminary investigations and from the nature of the governments established in both countries, it could be argued that the ideals of Pan Africanism were marginalised by Marxist/ Leninist ideas during the period of the struggle and after liberation. A class, rather than a race proposition, has been the dominant theme.

What has remained in the region, however, has been traces of the Bookerite and Du Boisian strand of Pan



Africanism: Strands which stress the values of hard work, Christian love, an exploration of legitimate avenues of protest (although these are being used together with an armed struggle), a commitment to a non-racial society, and a class struggle.

Factors Responsible for the Marginalization of  
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Pan Africanism in the Region.  
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In general, however the very factors (among these the geographical proximity, a century old system of labour migration, the landlocked and vulnerable position of a number of countries in the region) which should have made for cooperation between these countries after independence, became, until 1980, instruments for a different type of cooperation between them and South Africa.

Since 1980, attempts have been made to forge some kind of economic integration in the region. The establishment of the South African Development coordination conference (SADCC) in 1980 aimed at making countries in the region, among them Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, self-supporting, by reducing their dependence on South Africa and by encouraging regional economic cooperation.

Although SADCC has performed better than economic observers predicted, like all regional groups in Africa, it has been facing a number of problems. Some of these problems, like the recent drought in parts of the region and the effects of the total strategy of destabilization launched by the South Africans at the beginning of the 1980s, are outside the control of SADCC members. The promotion of inter-SADCC trade has, however, fallen below the expectations of economic experts and some leaders in the region. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, for example, has contended that, contrary to SADCC expectations, member states were not producing for each other.(35) In addition, he maintained that the volume of trade between SADCC members was still very low. Inter-SADCC trade, according to economic observers, represents only about four per cent of the total trade of SADCC countries, while South Africa has remained a more important trading partner for member countries than the whole of the designated preferential trading area.(36)

Even when these problems are solved, a new type of arrangement would have to be reached after the liberation of South Africa. An arrangement that would accommodate South Africa as an equal trading partner, which would not be the dominant force in the Organization.



South African policies in the region and other military, economic and security considerations by independent countries in Southern Africa are now bringing home forcefully the need not only for economic cooperation but for military and other forms of cooperation.

A number of factors could be held responsible for the general lack of interest in the Pan African ideal or the marginalization of the ideology until 1980 from the mainstream of political thinking in the region, in spite of the very practical necessity for cooperation.

Pan African Conferences since 1945 have advocated unity between independent African States. Therefore in Southern Africa, cooperation or integration efforts could only commence in the post 1966 period.(37)

Opposition to the ideals of the movement by the South African governments have also been a dominant factor.

(They have looked with increasing scepticism at attempts at unity, Sekou Toure, Julius Nyerere and Hastings Banda).(38)

The section on Garveyism in this work illustrated how South African opposition to the movement affected its chances of success in the Union in the 1920s and 1930s. In the late 1950s nationalist politicians in the Union had expressed fears about the



tone and intention of the 1958 Pan African Conference in Accra. These fears were expressed in DIE BURGER in December of the same year, a translated version of which reads:

"It is a tough thought that future cooperation in Africa may increasingly mean cooperation with these men or others who will not differ much from the conference delegates at Acra. Their aspirations must finally lead to an irreconcilable conflict between them and us. This we must do everything to avoid. We must work, hope and pray that it never happens".(39)

They have attempted therefore since the 1940s to channel into safe avenues pan African aspirations in parts of the region either manifested in the secular or evangelical forms. Thus, their attempts since 1945 at establishing some kind of regional alliance which would have South Africa as the dominant force.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that deliberate action by South African governments and its surrogates in the region have been solely responsible for the failure of pan Africanism to make a more meaningful impact on the region in particular or Africa in general. For if this were the supposition, then one might be looking for solutions to the problem in the wrong directions, particularly after liberation and meaningful independence is gained by South Africa. These problems are immense, but are extraneous to the

ideology. However, there are some contradictions within the movement itself which accounted for some of its shortcomings.

The absence of a coherent conception of the ideology since its inception, while seen by some as one of its basic strengths became with time one of the deterrents to the achievement of its ideals. The lack of consensus on the language issue was an ideal example. The ANCYL in the early 1950s had, as has been illustrated, advocated the adoption of Swahili as the official language of the continent, while it stressed the retention of local indigenous languages. Similarly, in the 1950s the Pan African Unification Organization, headed by Nakomo Dunchein, was advocating the adoption of Hausa as the Lingua franca.(40) The manifesto of the Organization maintained:

"It goes without saying that the United States of Africa will have to choose as the official language one of the African languages. Among them, two are outstanding: Hausa and Swahili. But we have put our choice on Hausa, because it is spoken by more than 25 million people. . . Hausa is much more advance than any other African language and unlike Swahili it is practically of pure African creation. No foreign Eastern influence is to be found in it."

In 1959 Sobukwe suggested in a DRUM article, that English or French would have to be adopted as the lingua franca of the new Africa.(41) This lack of consensus no doubt, reflected the difficulties posed by the issue, in



spite of the fact that all groups were aware of the prominent role of linguistic unity in any successful cultural, economic or political arrangement.

Divisions within the continent as to the form of unity best suited for the continent has also affected the movement's development. Differences between the Cassablanca and the Monrovia groups and their leading articulators plagued the movement through out the 1960s and 1970s. Even within the two groups, leaders differed over the form of unity needed.

Sobukwe had advocated a unitary form of continental government. The trend in Africa since the 1960s has been towards the functional regional co-operation approach as exemplified by the existence over a period, of regional groupings like the Ghana Guinea Mali union, the UDFAC, the Union Douaniere des Etas de l'Afrique Centrale (the Customs Union of Central African States), the EACM (the East African Community and Common Market), Pafmeca, the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (later changed to (PAFMESCA), ECOWAS (Communaute Economique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest), SADCC and the Sene-Gambian Confederation. Many of the early bodies proved unsuccessful and were abolished. Their failure to survive, or to contribute meaningfully to the material, political and social welfare of the people in East and



West Africa, and the controversy generated among leaders within the groupings, must have alarmed those states still under colonial administration, who as yet could not participate in deliberations, or whose leaders were not committed to the pan African ideal.

Sobukwe, in his advocacy for a unitary system of government, believed that all genuine nationalists were pan Africanists who would support political unity. Many of the regional organisations listed above have, in the words of Diop, attempted to "square the circle to achieve meaningful unity without political unity".(42) The contradiction in the concept of regional co-operation as a strategy towards a greater unity would seem to be, that few African leaders are prepared to sacrifice national interests on the altar of pan African unity. No African leader will be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices, or to give up their hard won sovereignty which political unity will involve. However, Ranuga and others have rightly pointed out that nationalism was a phase in African development which had to be transcended, and was never to be regarded as the final solution.(43)

The growing conflict between African micro-nationalism(44) and pan Africanism in Southern Africa and the rest of Africa was also a factor mitigating

against the pan African ideal. The triumph of nationalism over pan Africanism in Malawi is an example in point. The consideration of a number of leaders in the region after independence has been a pre-occupation with domestic and internal affairs with foreign policy considerations being submerged by the national survival interests of these countries. The major concern has been the need to build strong nations, and maintain the existing territorial boundaries inherited from the colonial period. African micro-nationalism (44) has thus been a factor for disunity in the continent in general and southern Africa in particular. Loyalty to the nation has taken priority over loyalty to the cause of Africa. In a number of countries therefore pan African ideals have been marginalised by nationalism.

The nature of political developments in parts of Southern Africa also affected the chances of the success of the movement in the region. Power and leadership in a number of countries in the region became personalised and unchecked, and this made it difficult for the cultivation of that political will which was an essential ingredient for pan African unity in the region.

Other factors, like ideological differences, rivalry between the superpowers for controlling



influence in countries in the region, weak infrastructural communication links, have all been divisive.

In addition, it is reasonable to suggest that competing national economies would hinder attempts at effective regional cooperation until some attempt is made at creating complementary economies in the different countries in the region.

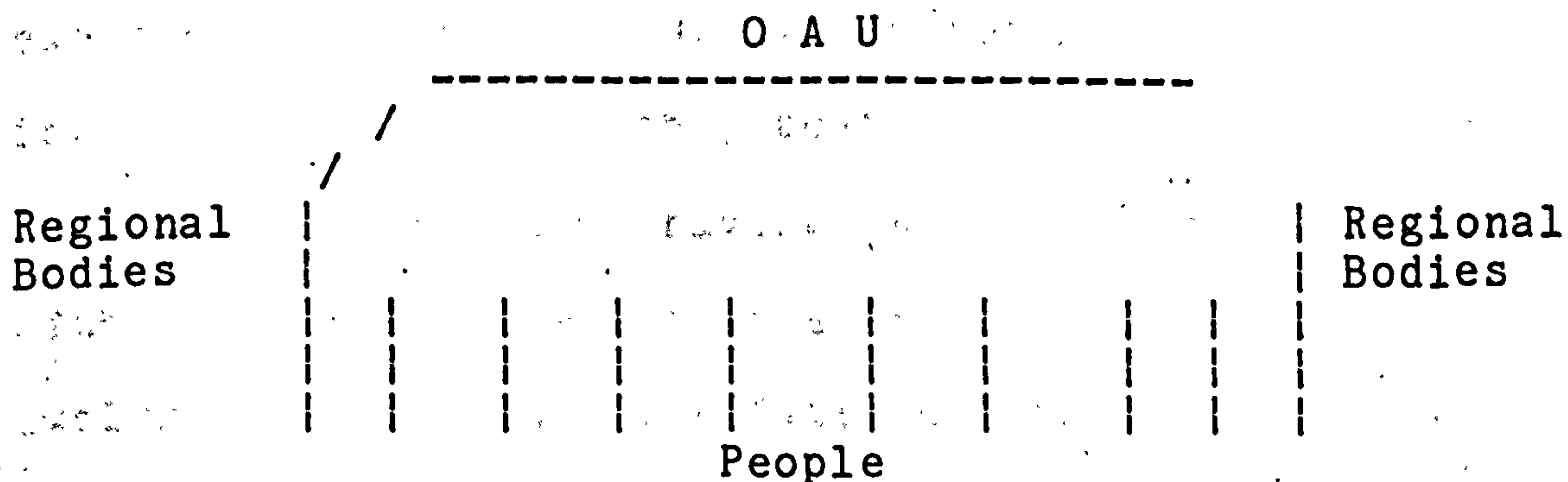
Lastly, the intellectual and elite nature of Pan Africanism is seen by observers as a stumbling block to the success of the movement. Maitama Sule, a one time foreign minister in the government of the First Republic in Nigeria in the 1960s, had this to say of the prospects of Pan Africanism:

"Pan Africanism is the only solution to our problems in Africa, no one doubts the need to promote pan Africanism. But we must not be sentimental. We must be realistic..... It is essential to remember that whatever ideas we may have about pan Africanism, it will not materialise as quickly as we would like it to if we start building from the top downwards."(45)

A similar view was expressed at the same conference by Danduzu Chisi za. The Organization of African UNity, the organizational expression of the pan African movement in 1960s, had very little appeal to the generality of the people in countries in Africa. The



body was dominated and run by political leaders and bureaucrats, many of whom had conflicting allegiances to their countries and to the pan African ideal. The structure and form of OAU, if captured in the form of a diagram as illustrated below, <sup>by</sup> Pitika Ntulu(46) has suggested would look like the shape of a coffin rather than an organization that should give vibrant life and form to a dynamic ideology.



This is attributed largely to the fact that the generality of the people know very little about the objectives and aspirations of the organization, although in aspects of their daily lives some of these aspirations are being fulfilled. The various strands of the Pan African movement in Southern Africa have been articulated by educated members of the society. The Bookerite and Duboisian ideals, influenced members of political movements in the region, particularly those who had attended Lovedale, St. Mathews and other institutions of higher learning run by independent diasporan and African Church leaders. Others had

received their education in black educational institutes in America or at the Colwyn Bay Institute in Wales.

They had all imbibed the ethics of capitalism and believed the African should have a right to enjoy the benefits to be derived from the system.

The colour of their skin was the factor denying them of these rights. Some, like Thema, therefore expressed militant black nationalist ideals, but interspersed them with placatory talks with whites. The ambivalence of them having to reach an accommodation with whites, while at the same time resisting their exclusion from the benefits of the system, created a peculiar type of politics. They were in a way living in a society suspended. A society where they were not accepted by whites, and where Africans would accept them only if they became one of them. Herein it seems was one of the reasons for the marginalization of men like Thema, Thaele, Gumede, and a host of others and their ideas.

In the post-1945 period, the new Pan Africanism in South Africa as represented by the ANCYL and the PAC, made an attempt to reach out to the masses, but the leaders of both movements were products of their time and had gone through the same educational system. It has



been suggested also that the Youth League did not succeed in establishing a mass base among youths in the Rand area ((47) in the 1940s and 1950s. Its appeal was mainly to students and ex-students and in the words of Motlana, one of the League's former secretaries, the League:

"concentrated on people with education. In addition, the tone and content of the manifesto could not have meant much to the masses at the time. Although it was good to speak of Africa for the Africans to the masses in the streets, they usually replied, Yes, Africa for the Africans, so what? and (they) didn't have an answer to that." (48)

They also, in the opinion of Motlana, failed to attract ordinary young dropouts from the school system, who didn't receive much education and who didn't read the RAND DAILY MAIL.

In addition to its failure to appeal to the uneducated in the society, the psycho-cultural appeal, while giving a new courage to blacks in the region, and attempting to bring about a mental revolution among them, proved insufficient after a time to carry the generality of the people forward. Although African nationalism is useful as a concept to rally the people together for the demands of the struggle, it could not, by itself, provide the forces needed for dismantling apartheid, neither could the principle of non-violence,



until the 1960s the guiding principle of methods of the struggle in the pan African movement.(49) In South Africa in particular, the ideals of a non-violent struggle would never succeed, and the liberation movements and the African continent lack the military capabilities to take on the South African government in a military confrontation. The other possibilities tried so far have proved unsuccessful. In addition, the PAC advocacy for an Africanist socialist democracy in the 1960s has never been fully grasped, and its commitment to a "socialist economy, based on the needs, interests and aspirations of the people of Africa" has been overshadowed by what observers see as the PAC struggle for national self-determination. In a situation where the struggle for liberation is increasingly being seen as a class struggle first and a national struggle next, the ideals of the PAC are being marginalised in the scenario of black politics in the country.

However, pan Africanism has always been a dynamic and fluid ideology. It has, over the years, adapted its ideas to meet the changing demands of Africans in Africa and in the <sup>African</sup> diaspora. If it is to respond to the aspirations and expectations of Southern Africans in general and South Africans in particular, it should adapt its ideology to meet the demands of the struggle, and go beyond the level of ideas if it is to remain a

relevant ideology in the region that it undoubtedly should be. The practical realities of politics in the region means that some type of integration or cooperation is a necessity in the years ahead.

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34. See for example, Interview by the African Correspondent of the African Concord, with  
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37. Mozambique became independent in 1974, Angola in 1976, while others in the region attained independent status in the late 1960s.
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## C H A P T E R    X I I =====

### CONCLUSION -----

The study has examined the historical development of four major strands of pan Africanism in the Southern African subregion during the period 1900-1966. The work analyses the movement from the evangelical pan Africanism of the late 19th century to what is called the new pan Africanism of the post World War Two period. In all the phases of the movement treated in the work, Pan Africanism in its two dimensions has been regarded as the redeeming ideology for Blacks in both the African diaspora and in the African continent. An ideology which will unite 'all men of colour' in their struggles against oppression and discrimination in church and state, and transform the continent with the help of diasporan Blacks.

The Tuskegean ideals of appeasement, conciliation, hard work and a cautious apolitical approach, prevalent in the United States of America before and after World War One, continued to influence leading black preachers, educationists and political leaders after the war and manifested itself in the activities of men like D. S. Malekebu, John Dube, and AME and NBC Church leaders who took over some of the institutions of learning in the

country, and, for some time, Max Yergan.

Later, the Du Boisian faith in the instruments of democracy and moderate political campaigns as a means of freeing Africans from social proscription and inequality, and the attainment of political and social equality became incorporated into the ideals of Blacks in the region.

The articulators of these ideals believe that the prevailing economic, social and political situation dictated their approaches.

The strands of Pan Africanism were, however, confronted with other liberation ideologies in the period after the First World War. The exclusive Black nationalism of Garveyism which also advocated a mental revolution, self respect, racial solidarity, race pride and black capitalism did provide a psychological boost for southern Africans, and attempted to solve the economic and social problems of Africans in the region.

Although influential, it was transient as it faced the forces of white power, in the form of colonial governments in parts of the region, and the negative propaganda of Africans like Aggrey and Yergan. The failure of Garvey's Black Star Line scheme, his

imprisonment, subsequent deportation <sup>from the United States of America</sup> and death in the 1940s, also adversely affected the movement's fortunes in the region. While it is true that aspects of exclusive black nationalism found its way into early ANCYL manifestoes, by and large the emphasis since 1959 has been on 'non-racialism'. 'Macro-nationalism' and the Marxist/Leninist discourse have had a more lasting effect. Since the Comintern and the CPSA dropped the commitment to the establishment of a Black Republic, which was to be established after workers had overthrown the white government, seized power and redistributed the land, Marxism/Leninism has emphasised a two-stage struggle, a national and a class struggle.

During the period 1928-1933, the Black Republic slogan of the Comintern coincided with the popular slogan of the time. Although the CPSA rejected the policy, the class dimension within the struggle increasingly came to dominate thinking in the liberation movement. The study has shown how white power and Marxism/Leninism increasingly marginalised the ideals of Pan Africanism in South Africa.

Despite the OAU decision, making colonial boundaries sacrosanct because of fears of the result of border adjustments in the continent, Malawi and Lesotho have both over the years called for a revision of their



boundaries to take cognisance of the ethnic identity of peoples living in neighbouring countries. In other spheres, the interest of particular nations and the "opportunistic patriotism" of leaders like Banda have also contributed to the marginalisation of Pan Africanism in the region.

The radical political content in early evangelical Pan Africanism has also, as the work has shown, been emasculated, while the movement itself has been marginalised from the political scene in the region. In contrast to the radicalism that manifested itself in the early Ethiopianism, the movement in the 1930s, 40s and 1950s was taking a different course. While overt radical political manifestations in the movement appeared muted, it has been argued that this did not infer that the movement was completely apolitical. At a time when radical political forces presented themselves as viable solutions, the political content in Ethiopian churches reappeared. Thus, one can see fleeting appearances in the 1930s and 1950s.

Generally, however, independent churches like the AME and NBC channelled their efforts towards educational, medical and other programmes, while Zionist and other independent churches retreated to some kind of a political escapism. With this change in attitude,

evangelical Pan Africanism has been ostracised from the political scene. Chapter XII has highlighted briefly the role of some religious leaders of mainstream churches. Increasingly in the late 1980s leaders like Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, and Frank Chikane have played prominent roles in the struggle for liberation.

The articulators of the various strands of the movement in its two dimensions have also become marginalised figures in the politics of the region and the study has analysed the careers of R. V. Seloape Thema, Max Yergan, Isa Macdonald Lawrence, and Mangaliso Sobukwe. All four figures, the work showed, became marginalised in their own different ways. Thema's resignation from the ANC in 1950s, and his membership of the Moral Rearmament Movement, demonstrated the extent of his exclusion from African politics. Yergan's resignation from the YMCA, his problems later with the Council of African Affairs, and his indictment by Mondlane and Sisulu showed how far away from the aspirations of Africans in Southern Africa his brand of politics had moved in the 1960s. Malekebu was the victim of the retreat from politics of the PIM and the deliberate policy of isolation by the independent Malawian government. Lawrence remained active in politics until his death in 1944, soon after the establishment of the Nyasaland African Congress. Sobukwe was marginalised by detention under the special



Sobukwe Clause, and after his release, further restrictions and bannings were imposed by the South African government. Other PAC leaders were marginalised from the struggle by adopting similar measures, while others escaped into exile. It could be argued that, while the power of the South African government was a factor marginalising the movement, the Pan African Congress of Azania appeared to depend on Sobukwe and leading Africanists. When these were marginalised, the PAC experienced leadership problems which affected its ability to function effectively. It is thus possible to argue that if the power of the government to marginalise the movement was limited, it was serious enough to affect the growth of the movement. Banda in Malawi retreated from his early Pan African postures, forced largely by the pull of micro-nationalism and economic expediency.

A number of factors could be held responsible for the marginalisation of the articulators of Pan Africanism identified in the study. Among these were what Marks referred to in her work on John Dube, as the ambiguities of dependency in the region, in addition, a number of them were educated members of the society, and they soon became men suspended in their societies. They longed to become accepted members of the society from which they were barred because of their race. They



believed that with 'uplift', self help and educational advancement, they would enjoy the benefits of the system as citizens equal in status with their white counterparts. Their hopes were dashed, however, when it was realised that even after years of 'uplift' and self advancement, the role envisaged for them in their societies remained the same. Some, like Yergan and Thema, became disillusioned with the failure of their efforts to achieve meaningful changes. Their attempts to adopt new strategies led eventually to their marginalisation. In the end, they were never fully accepted by whites and were rejected by Africans. Lastly, their attempts to wear different hats at the same time or at different time created contradictions, which eventually led to problems which could not be solved.

Between 1920 and 1966, micro-nationalism, Pan Africanism and Marxism/Leninism were in direct antagonism with one another. In South Africa, the socialist discourse has been the moving force behind the struggle for liberation since the 1950s, and Pan Africanism has been ostracised from the the mainstream of African politics. Although the ANC stresses the two stage struggle strategy, the race factor is an integral element in the socio-economic and political system in the country, and the class forces cannot ignore the question of race.

The method used in this study, of interspersing biographical sketches with a historical analysis of the major identified strands of the movement, enabled the writer to provide an analysis of the development of Pan Africanism as an idea and a movement, and a survey of the careers of some of the leading characters of the movement in parts of Southern Africa. The biographical sketches emphasised the complexities of human characters, as they showed a number of them wearing different ideological hats at different times in their careers. Although one cannot generalise that their ideas were in direct conflict with their lives and careers, the chapters on the careers of the leaders showed that they could be both nationalists and Marxists, Pan Africanists, and integrationists or separatists at the same time or at different times.

If the ideology of Pan Africanism is to remain meaningful in the region, and meet the demands and aspirations of the people, it will have to go through changes which would take the factors highlighted in this work into consideration.

## APPENDIX

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### STRONG REPRESENTATIONS FROM THE NORTH 1914

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The following is a copy of a petition to the King that is now being circulated among "the natives of Nyasaland, Barotseland and Matabeleland (now known as Rhodesia, North and South), and other British subjects endorsing the same".

1. Whereas, during the past 30 years, it has pleased the Government of Great Britain, on Philanthropic and other grounds, to take possession of the above- name territories without giving any public or definite pledge as to the manifest rights and future of the numerous native owners found in the possession thereof;

2. And, whereas, it has become customary to parcel out, sell, grant, and otherwise alienate such lands, treating the right of native ownership throughout these vast and valuable regions as extinguished, or of negligible importance;

3. And whereas, by reason of native non-acquaintance with the methods and laws of modern Europeans, and by



reason of the native people of Africa having a disposition to repose trust in the honorable intent of educated white men, such native owners have hitherto, for the most part, passively acquiesced;

4. And whereas, numerous natives of Nyasaland, of North and South Rhodesia, and of the regions beyond and around them, have now visited and sojourned in the parts of South Africa where Europeans abound, and where thier rule is most firmly established, and have thereby become ecquaninted with the conditions of life and the treatment of natives when completely under the power of the British Government as now established in South Africa, and find the conditions to be so intolerable and burdensome, even those in the midst thereof, as to make native life on a peaceful basis well-nigh impossible by reason of ejection from homesteads, by refusal of right to retain or acquire land by purchase, by harrassing pass laws and constant imprisonments of travelling natives, or if found without employment: by new proposals of compulsory segregation by heavy taxation without native representation; by "police traps" and "black peril" terrors, and in many other ways of giving effect to a policy based on racial enmity and oppression.

5. And whereas, large numbers, if not all the natives in

the British territories first named, as well as those of regions adjacent wherein, all told, the natives count as several thousands to every European - after prolonged consideration, deliberately prefer death, as free men, to life and loss of land and liberty to the extent they now find that British rule, when fully established, as in South Africa, openly permits without rebuke, under the Union Government of South Africa, while the Colonial officials, or Executive in Britain, disclaim responsibility or power of remedy;

6. And whereas we find that even English men who desire the just treatment of natives are in imminent danger of being hunted and expelled from Nyasaland without trial, and are refused the re-entry, on pain of arrest and imprisonment or death, one English missionary having been openly so treated, contrary to the will and wish of all native residents (against which we hereby record our protest, and appeal for redress);

7. And whereas, finally, it is our earnest desire, as also the desire of the vast majority of the native population in the territories specified, to live in a state of peace and mutual goodwill with each other and with the white races, and to secure for all concerned an honourable place, on equal terms, in our great but undeveloped fatherland that we may conjointly "subdue

and replenish the earth" as God first commended men to do.

Wherefore, we, your petitioners, do urgently and respectfully request your Majesty's Government, which still retains full responsibility for, and complete control of, the vast regions herein particularised, to take such immediate and decisive steps as will ensure the preservation of the land and the liberties, as well as the speedy uplifting and education, on an equal basis with the British settler, of the entire native population, and that to this end, from the close of the current year, 1914, Your Majesty's Government will see to it.

That all revenue derived from the said Territories, and their development, from any and every source, shall be administered in equal amounts and in just proportions for the educational, political and other benefits of natives and Europeans alike, within the said Territories, and under the exclusive supreme control of the British Home Government, and that educated civilised natives, as they become available in any part of British African Dominions, shall have equality of representation upon the Legislative Councils, and in the Assemblies in the respective Territories, and be fully eligible for official posts of trust, administrative, financial,



military and otherwise subject to the same tests of fitness as those applied to British officials and other servants; and that in purely native, or unadvanced districts, Native Advisory Councils shall be established for the purpose of the promoting harmonious co-operation between the native peoples and their administrators in matters relating to the peace and well being of the native and white populations.

Peter Nyambo, Harry Kanduna,  
On behalf of a million natives north of the  
Zambesi River and of Southern Rhodesia.

Joseph Booth,  
Sea Point, Cape Town.

C. H. Haggart, M.L.A.,  
Cape Town.

Hugh Meyler, M.L.A.,  
Cape Town.

J. Ramsden Balmforth,  
Minister, Cape Town.

J. Wellwood Mushet,  
Merchant, Cape Town.

Annie S. Booth,  
Sea Point, Cape Town.

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MA53/22/2/1 - MA53/5/1/4, 1909-1922, Maseru Archives.

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Private Collections/Papers



The collection of Mrs. W. M. Ashley -  
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These paper contains materials on Malekubu's life and career. Some were sent to the writer, courtesy Mrs. Ashley.

John Edward Bruce Papers. Schomburg Centre for Research  
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in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Harlem.

Contains a few letters from Black South Africans to Bruce, among them Tengo Jabavu and A. K. Soga.

The Du Bois Papers. Massachussets University. Copy in  
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Howard University, Washington D.C.

Contains documents relating to the Pan African Congresses. Also letters to and from Padmore and leading South African figures, among them Tengo Jabavu, Abdurrahman. John L. Dube, Sol Plaatje and S. M. Makgatho.

The Patrick Duncan Papers. The Borthwick Institute of  
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Historical Research, University of York.

Papers of Sir Patrick Duncan, the first White member of the PAC.

Contains materials on the PAC, the All African Convention in the Gold Coast in 1959.

The Hoole Papers. Part of the Oxford Development Records  
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Projects, MSS Afr 5997 Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Contains surveys and reports on Nyasaland, particularly concerning Ethiopian Churches.

The Hoover Institute Collection. Copy with Howard  
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Contains important materials dealing with the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and other Organisation in South Africa.

Nicholas Hyman Collection - Private collection of materials on Basutoland, South Africa and Nyasaland. Also includes the verbatim report of the Proceedings of the Native Representative



Council.

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Includes surveys and reports pertaining to Native  
Controlled Missions in the then Nyasaland and the  
relationship between the government, the African  
chiefs and the people of Nyasaland Protectorate.

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Contains new material on the Garvey movements in parts of  
Africa in general and South Africa in particular.

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Research, University of York.

Contains an unpublished autobiographical sketch of  
Richard Seloape Thema.

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his work as YMCA secretary in South Africa.

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Governor of Nyasaland, 1942-1947.

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Contains among others papers relating to Washington and  
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A.B.M. Xuma, then with the All-African Convention.

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Collection, London.

#### Oral Interviews

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In the course of my field research I was able to interview  
a number of Malawians, South Africans and Pan  
Africanists from the US and West Indian diaspora, in  
London, York, Manchester, Washington D.C, New York,  
Philadelphia, and Lagos. Colleagues and friends also  
kindly interviewed a number of people on my behalf  
from prescribed questionnaires in South Africa.

The following individuals provided invaluable information,  
verbally or in writing which enriched the work.  
A number of Malawians who supplied materials and  
information did not wish to be identified.



NAME	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW	DESIGNATION
Mrs. W.M. Ashley	By Correspondence, from Florida.	1986	Biographer of Daniel S. Malekebu.
Dr. Harvey (Jnr.)	N.B.C. Office, Philadelphia	1985/86	Corresponding Secretary of the N.B.C. 1985/86.
Hirson, B.	London	1986	One time member SACP
Professor Hollis Lynch	New York	1985	Biographer of Edward Wilmot Blyden.
C. R. L. James	London.	1986/87	Veteran Pan-Africanist.
Hamilton Keke	London.	1985/86	One time PAC Representative in London.
Hazel King	By Correspondence from London.	1986/87	Researcher on the Colywn Bay Inst.
The late P. K. Leballo	London.	1986	One time PAC President.
Dr. Tom Lodge	York	1985	Expert on the PAC
Johnny Makatini	Lagos	1988	The late ANC Foreign Affairs Representative.
A. P. Mda	Interview conducted by Ernest Messina in Lesotho	1987	Former ANCYL member.
Johnson Mlambo	London.	1986	Former PAC President, Robben Island Prisoner.
John Ncobo	London	1986	One time PAC treasurer
V. P. Nomadolo	London, Manchester.	1985	Former PAC Representative in London.
Ptika Ntulu	London.	1986	Former PAC Representative in London for Trade Union Affairs.
The late Nyati	London.	1985	Former PAC

Pokela			President.
Prof. Kwesi Prah	York	1987	Head of Reaseach Division. Inst. of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho, Roma, Lesotho.
Professor G. Shepperson	Endinburgh, Scotland	1986/87	Author of Book on John Chilembwe.

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