

Kgosana's speech 20/3/60. ^{Copy of} Original (+ 2)

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SACHS 131/4.

Sons and daughters of the soil, on Monday 21st March, 1960, we launch our Positive Decisive Action against the Pass Laws. Exactly 7 a.m. we launch. Oh, yes, we launch - there is no doubt about it.

We have reached the cross roads - we have crossed our historical Rubicon - Izwe Lethu!

At this stage of our struggle we have a choice before us. Are we still prepared to be half-human beings in our fatherland or are we prepared to be citizens - men and women in a democratic non-racial South Africa? How long shall we be called Bantu, Native, Non-European, Non-White, or black, stinking Kaffir in our fatherland? When shall we be called Sir, Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ladies and Gentlemen? How long shall we stay in the squalors of Windermere or the Sahara Desert of Nyanga West? How long shall we ~~xxx~~ rot physically, spiritually and morally - ema Plangeni? How long shall we starve amidst plenty in our Fatherland? How long shall we be a rightless, voteless and voiceless eleven million in our fatherland?

On what meat doth this our oppressive White Man Boss feed that he has grown so great? Sons and daughters of Africa - there is a choice before us. We are either slaves or free men - that's all.

Our overall fight is against imperialism, colonialism and domination. I want to be properly understood here. Let the world take note, that we are not fighting Dr. Verwoerd, simply because he is Dr. Verwoerd; we are not fighting the Nationalist Party or the United Party. We are not fighting against

Europeans or Indians or Chinese. In short, we are fighting against nobody. Our energies and forces are directed against a set-up, against a conception and a myth. This myth - others call it racial superiority, others call it herrenvolkism, others white leadership with justice, or white supremacy. We are fighting against the Calvinistic doctrine that a certain Nation was specially chosen by God to lead, guide and protect other nations.

We are not a horde of stupid barbaric things which will fight against a white man simply because he is white. No sensible person can do that.

In order to destroy this myth of race superiority, the Pan-Africanist Congress has drawn up an unfolding programme - which starts tomorrow and ends up in 1963 with the realization of the United States of Africa. We start with the Pass Laws, then the next thing and the next, etc. - up to 1963.

We have decided to secure the total abolition of the Pass Laws. This means that not only the dom pass must go, but also the Labour Bureaux and influx control regulations must go with it. The question is how best we can achieve that.

The P.A.C. has made it clear that the first essential is a mental divorce from the Pass Laws. Our people have been so conditioned to the dom pass that they have been known to buy it for £15 or risk death in an attempt to salvage it from a burning building. In fact an African does not feel that he is himself if he does not feel the weight of the dom pass in his pocket. What is necessary, then, is for every African to make up his mind that from to-morrow he will never carry the dom pass.

I wish here to quote the final instructions of the President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe:

To all Regions and Branches of P.A.C.:

Sons and Daughters of the Soil, Remember Africa!

Very soon, now, we shall be launching. The step we are taking is historical, pregnant with untold possibilities. We must, therefore, appreciate our role. We must appreciate our responsibility. The African people have entrusted their whole future to us. And we have sworn that we are leading them, not to death, but to life abundant. My instructions, therefore, 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 own ranks who will be speaking irresponsibly of bloodshed and violence. They must be firmly told what our stand is.

Results of violence: Let us consider, for a moment, what violence will achieve. I say quite POSITIVELY, without fear of contradiction, that the only people who will benefit from violence are the police and the government. Immediately violence breaks out we will be taken up with it and give vent to our pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone at a Saracen or burning a particular building we are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare. But after a few days, when we have buried our dead and made moving grave-side speeches and our emotions have settled again, the police will round up a few people and the rest will go back to the Passes, having forgotten what our goal had been initially. Incidentally, in the process we shall have alienated the masses who will feel that we have made cannon fodder of them, for no significant purpose except for spectacular newspaper headlines.

This is not a game. We are not gambling. We are taking our first step in the march to African independence and the United

States of Africa. And we are not leading corpses to the new Africa. We are leading the vital, breathing and dynamic youth of our land. We are leading that youth, NOT TO DEATH, BUT TO LIFE ABUNDANT. Let us get that clear.

The government, knowing that they stand to gain by an outbreak of violence, may most probably stoop down to the level of employing certain African renegades, political or by throwing a stone at the police from a distance. Our Task Force, will, therefore, have to move on either side of every batch and to make sure they deal with saboteurs. Anybody who agitates for violence or starts violence whether he belongs to P.A.C. or not, we will regard as a paid agent of the government. Let the masses know that NOW.

The principal aim of our campaign is to get ourselves arrested, get our women remaining at home. This means that nobody will be going to work. Industry will come to a stand-still and the government will be forced to accept our terms. And once we score that victory, there will be nothing else we will not be able to tackle. But we must know quite clearly, NOW, that our struggle is an unfolding one, one campaign leading on to another in a NEVER-ENDING STREAM - until independence is won.

This is not a game. The white rulers are going to be extremely ruthless. But we must meet their hysterical brutality with calm, iron determination. We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic vile system of oppression. WE represent progress. They represent decadance. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. WE WILL WIN!