

Responding to your Questionnaire.

Personalities of PAC Leaders for  
Soweto, Johannesburg and over:

1. President Prof. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe  
Accused No 1 (now deceased).
2. Potlako Kitchner Leballo (alias P.K.)  
Party Secretary  
Accused No 2 (now deceased)
3. Jacob Dumdum Nyasse  
Party Chairman & Speaker of Conferences  
PAC Secretary for Labour Affairs;  
National President of FOFATUSA (Federation  
of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa)  
in-exile, alias "Zidladla Zengwe or JD"  
First Accused No 1 on FOFATUSA case of  
Lex vs Black African Workers  
Accused No 3 on Lex vs. PAC case
4. Selby Tembani Gendane (ST)  
Party Secretary for External Affairs  
Accused No 4
5. Zephania Mothopeng (Uncle Zeph)  
is the current President of the PAC in-exile,  
and is secretary for Legal Affairs  
Accused No. 5

There were senior Regional leaders, who were not in the National Executive nor in the National Working Committee (NWC). That was the daily functioning working administrative constitutional organ of The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania/South Africa. Those were: George Siwisa, Rozetta Naziba, Lancelot Mkhizi, Josias Mazumya (Founder leader and Organizer of the African Peoples Buses Strikes Boycott in Johannesburg and Alexandra), and Solly Moleketi. When eventually convicted, we became the prison chattels' labour force of a little over 200 in all.

# I restricted any female person joining 1960-African Peoples Resistance. Launched in quest for elimination of Pass Laws and Freedom to participate in State Affairs within the Government of our motherland - South Africa/Azania. Due to such awareness - as the author of the PAC/FOFATUSA - Sharpeville joint Unfolding and decisive positive Action Campaign by Africanists - I got the approval of the PAC - Central Committee of September 1959. To exempt African women from participating in that First Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid Demonstrations Resistance Campaign. It alone gave birth to South Africa's liberation movement whose popularity spread all over the world to this present era hereof.

- Present day media should be

reminded to acknowledge that the PAC/FOFATUSA political and labour freedom movement dual resistance organised and led by Africanists was national in scope and universal in mankind's indignation. And legendary, because it had never happened before uniting the entire African Nation - which up to that time, had been assuaged by the rival groups' organisations that both PAC and FOFATUSA commanded no following formed only in 1959. And as such had no influence such as that could be demonstrated by other organisations? Stood with gasped gaped mouths instead of eating their bitter words over false analysis that they had made - when the country came into a shuddering economic blow with the Stock Exchange and money Capital flight - the prophets of doom predicted that the country shall never recover from imposed sanctions caused to South Africa's economy. President Sobukwe - when depicting South Africa under Apartheid-rule had often said: "This country without us is a typical 'giant man of clay' and he never ceased to elaborate. He left everybody with a chance to guess what he meant. But he was speaking the truth for that reason that the African people are looking up to the horizon for their PAC - Sobukwe's leadership group - colleagues reproduce Sobukwe's aimed KACC plan they had contrived from 21 March 1960?"

For transforming our country (South Africa/Azania) into a 'non-racial democratic majority-ruled human Society'. To which we had all solemnly pledged our allegiance to our Republic in the African Continent. Believing, we shall have rediscovers we are foremost 'Africanists' regardless of our nationalities or origins.

Nobody answered Mr. Stanley Uys, who cartooned 21 March 1960 beginning of the struggle for 'change and revolution'. He exposed the myth that the Africanists Sobukwe's liberation movement talked big. But PAC, had no following to do anything without the much publicized elation. Uys then made a cartoon showing Prof. entering Fort Prison No 4 having unleashed and set ablaze PAC/FOFATUSA - Sharpeville Campaign.

Mr. Uys a news media-man asked in that article's cartoon, "where was ANC and other much talked about organisations"? And since then the African people decisively gave mandate to Sobukwe's led liberation movement. Uys fitted on cartoon Mandate to Prof-asking which Blacks opposed the Africanists and Pan-Africanist Congress?

### A Turning Point in History

The 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Campaign should be recorded in the history of our country - for what it is. A turning point in history! Deputy PM Paul Sauer, speaking in Parliament - described us "Africanists" saying: "that have turned a new leaf in the history of South Africa". Furthermore he prophetically said: "This country, shall never be what it

was yesterday." He went on: "We should consult, with these black leaders they have forced that they are true representative spokesmen of the African people in this country." This led to the sequel of Major Phillip Kgosana and his PAC team being invited for talks with MPs in Parliament. Unfortunately, when delegation reported the Security Forces, had plotted an arrest. So, PAC political negotiators under power of State of Emergency prevailing - were sent to prison. That official scandal justifies a demand herein for PAC Pretoria overdue talks

These are comments to you.

# The South African Government Dialogue with (PAC) speaking for the African people as a whole was pre-empted by Police Force. We would, I presume, be failing in our dedication to Sobukwe - and in our responsibility brother Benjamin, if we ignore to pick-up a Campaign Dialogue through this book on Pretoria's broken promise! Let us build a strong U-uses Urging South Africa and Anti-Apartheid Movement, to because that Pretoria must honour its March 1960 pledges to open talks Dialogue with PAC-liberation movement - which moved black peoples' politics out of struggle for concession - to liberation for National Consensus Independence.

PAC-National Working Committee

The other two NWC-members were: Peter N. Rabonoko - Secretary for Education in PAC, and Z. B. Molete - Secretary for Publicity and Information. When arrested the first NWC-formed a quorum for continuing its functions. Hence, the PAC continued to

to operate. President Sobukwe had by Resolution of Conference been given <sup>dictatorial</sup> 'presidential powers' to run our Underground Party by issuing orders. This done at last PAC Conference in preparation for a resilient revolution's inception ~~or~~ similarly a FOFATUSA special Conference was held on the 19 March 1960, at which the African Trade Unions and Black African Workers masses tightened their belts and girded our loins to fight a protracted bloody opposition to Apartheid. In all its manifestations, as well as force the Pretoria regime to grant Statutory Trade Union Rights, so that our cherished dream of 'free trade unions' could be achieved ~~of~~ knowing that as a general rule we could be banned — as National President of FOFATUSA — I was by Resolution of Conference, and amidst fainting women whose ~~are~~ shedding tears, I was given <sup>dictatorial</sup> 'presidential powers' to endlessly guide FOFATUSA leadership. This was on the understanding that if convicted — constitutional requirements would make it difficult to keep the groups' organisations and members co-ordinated. For example, as President, I could ask for anything to be done by anyone if he cautioned that he was doing so in terms of the "Presidential Dictatorial Powers". # Even in the National Working Committee, if the subject matter made the NWC get divided — the members could call upon President, to decide alone and report at the next meeting on what he had done. The banning of the PAC, which resolutely affected the SACTU/ANC-Congress Alliance and yet, it was not involved in the launching of the 21 March 1960 Sharpeville Revolt —

was anticipated as a good lesson PAC-taught SACTU/ANC-Congress Alliance. Because President Sobukwe (on my insistence) had invited them officially! Urging them to join the Nyasas-PAC-Campaign. Our invitation was a sincere one. We thought, they would grasp, such an offer with both hands and avid enthusiasm. But I am sorry to recall Prof and I, were mistaken. For it was obvious that if we did it alone - the SACTU/ANC-Alliance could forever miss - an opportunity of an exalted niche in South Africa, Azania & Roll Call at Heroes' Hall of Fame - which historians of a free Azania/South African people shall attribute to those, who had accepted the PAC/FOFATUSA-national leaders' clarion calls.

# We preached and toured South Africa, at home and abroad under great difficulties to spread the belief of the whole majority people of our country - that the scourge of Apartheid would in the long run be defeated and the FOFATUSA/PAC - hallowed liberation movement, slogans shall be exonerated. And inspire future generations of what President Sobukwe and his faithful few in the Nation, had had the courage and sacrifices to advocate. And eventually got ourselves physically, spiritually, socially, politically and brutally persecuted - by successive regimes in our country.

# We emerged at a time when the black African workers and indigenous people and Black people in varying degrees had

lost faith in leadership. Our people were tired of being deserted by timid leaders—each time the brutal police came. The leaders simply vanished in the mobs—leaving behind the masses as cannon fodder for police beatings, biting dogs and police gun-fire shootings and eventual imprisonment of black African workers who participated in demonstrations. The leaders of the epoch, were leaders and comrades, who often assisted to pay bails and fine fees—had the habit of avoiding serving in prisons. And yet, the poor black workers who were arrested had nobody to finance them like their leaders—whose sources of funds were undisclosed to members thought to be "Africanists".

While the protection was given to keep leaders out of prisons—was a good thing, international assistance—had the effect of alienating and discrediting black leaders from their memberships. Because in the opinion of political and trade union followers, their leaders had some undisclosed forms of protection against persecutions while members were exposed. On avoiding being shot, they had to vanish and desert the workers and peasants. Leader-skinned association with activist prisoners—until they were discharged.

This background is important because it explains why PAC/FOFATUSA Campaign was launched under the party slogans of 'no bail', 'no defence', and 'no fines'. It became an acid test—which scared many



and for the other organisations - only Patrick Duncan, retiring eminent member in the Liberal Party proved qualified and joined the PAC / FOTATUSA Shafterville First Liberation Movement Campaign. He declared to PAC leadership his willingness to demonstrate against Apartheid as symbolized by Pass Laws Legislation. Nyase says, "I was asked by President and NWC to interview him accompanied by Z. B. Molete for assessing his views. Duncan (Pat) was the son of the last Englishman British Colonial rules Governor-General Sir also Patrick Duncan, who represented Her Imperial UK-Government in South Africa. We advised him that the overthrow of White Domination manifested in Apartheid Legislation and Labour Laws for black African people were of special concern to all indigenous African People selected for first launching by an exploited nationality group, not class of people in South Africa. Wherefore I urged Pat, to think of serving in the PAC / FOTATUSA external missions services abroad and advised, not to join those who were to be imprisoned. He accepted that task and later became PAC representative in Algeria. Until his death deprived the African people of South Africa, his valuable services in the cause of freedom for our country.

What precipitated Shafterville  
Campaign of 21 March 1960

When the Nationalist Party came into power it had a few specific trump card issues by which to influence the only voters - the white voters. Those were to help explain, what it was

going to do with menace of the threatening forces of militant independent black African trade unions? Its position was clear.

- a) There was to be no place for trade unionism in which African workers could participate!
- b) The symbol of Apartheid persecution (Pass laws - for African indigenous people in every sector of South African way of life) - were to be extended for effective control of African women in their employment sphere for entrenching cheap labour in servitude. What was it? The introduction, brutal enforcement and police street and house to house arrests in search for Pass laws' offenders. It was a lucrative State enterprise.
- c) Special legislation for whittling away whatever had remained to be personally owned by a black African. These were either taken away or controlled by the State, blacks lost all!
- d) Lands in Urban Areas as well as on rural Areas were to be seized by law and be later transferred either to - whites; Coloureds; Indians or Africans. Although, this was necessary - it was essential for seizure and transfer of certain lands that were jealously envied for State for transfer to white citizens. And yet, no white regime shall ever remove white families and farmers from their land properties in South Africa, because such regime, or President, would be sacked from office by white voters.

# Hence, we exploited a political vacuum where - SACTU/ANC-Congress Alliance - who had merged into a new political amorphous entity was no longer appealing to majority

masses of the ordinary black Africans. We had a remote experience that only a few Whites, Coloureds and Indians could be influenced, to suffer and accept social isolation from their residential areas for the sake of opposing Apartheid humiliation of Africans - from which every White, Coloured and Indian person is exempted and protected by Constitution of 1969.

✶ The situation required that "Africanists" should organize and form a liberation movement of the exploited disenfranchised and political persecuted black African Majority - which could win the sympathy of the ruling white minority. And international solidarity in our struggle for national liberation - only then, we could negotiate a 'fee for all South Africa Constitution for Non-racial Democratic Human Society'. President Sobukwe and I sincerely believed that we could reverse events and halt Apartheid marches and force the South African Parliament and Nation to rethink and observe and realize that we were a Nation that had lost its proper course and direction to our common united African people's destiny that lies ahead in the future.

✶ Armed with conviction we believed that we could influence the whole country to adapt to our political convictions towards this common cause and destiny. I regret that Prof. is no longer with us - let us console ourselves in that in this indispensable book you can do your best to promote and reiterate what Sobukwe intended to achieve in a turbulent ordeal.

Through the National Working Committee (NWC) President Sobukwe's banned PAC-liberation movement, continued to operate administration of the underground PAC. However, the FOFATUSA defended by its labour movement for independent (black African workers' sole trade union movement) won its case and dismissed the the prosecution indictment on technical points of law raised by black workers President J. D. Nyasa at the Regional Special Political Cases' High Court, set up in Johannesburg, to try both organisations the PAC - political party and FOFATUSA - the Black African Workers and trade unions.

# The two organisations have in South African history organised and launched together, the present day burgeoning struggle for freedom and political overthrow of white Apartheid rule. It is they too - who campaigned South Africa lecturing on their proposed 'Non-racial Democratic Majority-rule Human Society' at a time - when most organisations were still not opposed to the concept of 'multi-racial Society'. An interesting final lecture took place at the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. President Sobukwe and his PAC - leaders had insisted that their lecture on South African Society - on the PAC - proposed solutions be attended by all existing political parties. Accordingly, the ruling Verwoerd's Nationalist Party Parliamentary Whip Mr. Trollip attended the lecture. A public announcement was made that Duma Nkomo

and Mr Chachalia had some problem with the police and missed attending the forum on schedule in which they would have represented the ANC-Congress Alliance. That PAC-lecture in 1959 was given to introduce the Party and to give justification for our emergence in South African politics. At closing the lecture was warmly received.

### South Africa's First Incarcerated Leader

Prof died an incarcerated leader because he had consistently refused to call-off the continuing freedom struggle which he and his PAC-colleagues formed into a permanent growing movement which the African people agreed that it shall go on until the Pretoria regime had PAC-consultations to dismantle the South Africa Constitution Act of 1909.

# The question should be raised in book-asking:

Is it true that the Pretoria regime has in the receding twenty-nine years forgotten that the Black African Peoples' "unfolding freedom struggle" Sobukwe said: "It shall never be called off but shall end on sea shores of freedom"?

# Is it not true that in the PAC-camera Pretoria case against Sobukwe's PAC-activists - Justice Curlewis in the Bethal Trial against Zephaniah M. Mthopeng and 17 others. The Judge discovered that it was a PAC-led Black Consciousness Movement of "Africanists", who organised the day-set out by accused No. 1 Zephaniah M. Mthopeng working in collaboration - with President Sobukwe that the June 1976 Soweto Students' schools uprising began? Consequently Judge Curlewis sentenced Mthopeng to serve

thirty years of imprisonment in Robben Island since 1979. There should a book attack on the common slant as to which political liberation movement is "the main one" as well as the common phrase that "such and such organisation either ANC, PAC, UDF etcetera is the authentic representative of the majority people of South Africa."

# However, to curb this international provocation and laying of seeds for future civil war infighting in South Africa - some historical and present unwritten history should be exposed:

- a) that on 21 March 1960 the power-struggle between the 1912 founded ANC and the 1959 inaugurated Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was settled. Some had been said particularly by the Anglican Church leaders in South Africa. When the chips were down between those for the ANC and those for the PAC - Sharpeville Campaign clarion call were judged for their support. The book should reveal that the entire Black African People supported the PAC. To the extent that those who had previously backed ANC - dropped it to support the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. This happened from 21 March 1960. Within a week the political organisations were banned from existence. We ask then how do Churches (the Anglican Church) in particular prove which political party

between ANC and PAC Inkatha Party and UDF - would win the majority support of the African peoples' support?

# The World should be reminded that President Sobushwe, went to his grave refusing to call off - the unfolding spreading PAC - revolution which began on 21 March 1960 - but the foreign media and Churches never gave any special solidarity with these PAC / APOFATUSA organisations who introduced mankind's worldwide Sheppwill Campaign to Combat Apartheid and White Minority rule in South Africa.

# If a study could be conducted the PAC - is reportedly claiming that ideologically and militarily they the PAC - have lost more men and made Pretoria lose more of its men engaged in defending Apartheid System in South Africa.

# Winding up criticism responsible for black peoples start of infighting and civil war - the book should point out that those who are foreign-backed are certainly destined to set up a totalitarian regime in South Africa - as there were no free independence elections in Angola - Mozambique, etc - where people hold no democratic elections in the belief that they are support and recognised - the Nation resorts to fighting a civil war to regain democracy, from an armed dictatorial class Society.

African Regional Special Court in Johannesburg was  
up to hear, the cause for which his Pan  
Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa and  
FOFATUSA a Black African Workers Liberation  
Movement (for discriminated African Labour Workers  
and Unions) <sup>had</sup> collaborated in organising and  
launching a nationwide political African masses  
(Anti-Apartheid-rule Pass Laws Campaigns. In a  
first demand for questioning <sup>the exclusive right to legislate</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>in</sup> the  
# On the legend of the uprising, only two  
organisations - the PAC and FOFATUSA had  
constitutionally carried <sup>African Peoples</sup> out the national mandate  
of the membership's constituents conference. Hence,  
we were responsible, tried, and convicted into  
severe hard labour years of imprisonment. # These  
we served to demonstrate contempt for oppression and  
humiliation suffered by black African people. Under  
Apartheid-rule system - not to mention deliberate  
disempowerment, of the entire indigenous  
black African working men and women  
proscribed, from performing semi-skilled best paying  
and professional jobs by pass laws provisions.  
Under multiple industrial legislation labour  
laws of the era 1911-1924-1932 and 1956,  
in the Republic of South Africa turbulent period.  
# On November 11, 1959, by Resolution of  
Conference of FOFATUSA affiliated Black  
African trade union organisations representing the  
Nation's Black African Worker masses resolved  
to resist to the last. We had already been  
outlawed from existence, as independent  
African Workers discriminated persons and seventeen  
trades unions. I circulated by registered  
official letters FOFATUSA's final Appeal <sup>to</sup> all



South African Employers Organisations,

Both Local and Foreign Companies, having subsidiary company businesses operating in South Africa. Asking them, to accept meeting the FOFA/TUSA delegation (I was to have led) for holding negotiations with the above industrialists' organisations (people to whom I was quite familiar in that era.

# They apparently wrote to the Minister of Labour Affairs Ben T. Schoeman. The minister threatened to deprive them certain privileges, if they dared to meet FOFA/TUSA on the crises. Hence, Pretoria Government's stark refusal to discuss, and consider 'Statutory Recognition for Freedom of Trade Unions and other Black African Workers Labour Rights'. As they are articulated in the International Labour Organisation's United Nations specialised Agency in Geneva, known as the ILO/BIT.

# The minister further served me through the Police Services a warning letter in which I was threatened with serious action if I asked Employees to ignore: "the government's warning that they should not meet FOFA/TUSA trade unions' delegation which the Government did not recognise."

# The Employers stated their willingness to meet FOFA/TUSA delegation provided, the Labour Minister agreed. They then asked me to obtain such approval.

# Herein, I am giving background reasons for indignation of nearly half a million black African work-seekers and students

(excluding African women who had previously been exempted from Pass Laws) political persecution until the introduction of the "Dom Pass Identity" Act. Africans' arrests and deportations were a daily sordid specific spectacle for degradation <sup>of African</sup> dignity.

# FOFATUSA and the (African Bakers and Confectioners Industrial Workers' Union - Amalgamated the National Biscuit Manufacturing Employees' Association) organisation of labour union closed to go underground in 1966. I had always been re-elected as Secretary-General since 1942. We resolved that: "FOFATUSA and its affiliated independent trade unions and General Workers - should accept, under my leadership, our divine role of being the custodians of the outlawed independent trade unionism for majority African Workers in South Africa. Taking a risk, as paid, for salvaging present unions and country from the looming economic political conflict whose pollen was blown in the wind by Apartheid."

# The only other labour unions' Federations after 1954-1959, had been TUCSA (Trade Union Council of South Africa); SACKU (South African Council of Labour Unions); and others, but together with: SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), they were all government registered Federations of white, Indian, and Coloured Unions. They enjoyed government privileges which were denied to black African workers and FOFATUSA - because of Apartheid rule. The above Federations with the exception of SACKU, had enrolled

a few Black African groups of workers who were exploited trade union interlopers for paying fees only

These had thought Minister Schoeman's harsh Labour Laws against black workers, would never catch up with them, <sup>whites</sup> hiding under wings of TUCSA and SACTU comrades registered government recognised white trade unions! So at that stage in time, they were a few, who still could not dare - join the PAC/FOFATUSA - Pass Laws Campaign, and stand up with us to be counted. Some deserted FOFATUSA from 1954, and took cover to ward off the Apartheid bellicose storms by either joining pseudo leftists in SACTU, or TUCSA white workers recognised, registered trade unions. Hoping, they would survive!

# However following the PAC/FOFATUSA Pass Laws Campaign any white trade union which had black African workers in it, and had affiliated to SACTU-Group, were regarded by regime as associated with communism. Even though the Communist Party itself, had long been banned from 1950. But the PAC/FOFATUSA Campaign - for which both Organisations were in separate indictments, charged and tried, Prof was responsible for PAC indictment. Nyase was first separately, charged as National President of FOFATUSA. & then dismissed, the indictment charges against FOFATUSA <sup>on technical constitutional points of law.</sup> The Constitution of FOFATUSA and minutes of the last Conference, held on Saturday 19 March 1960, were produced by the Special Branch Police, who had attended Black African workers' and heard Declarations of Workers in support of

the PAC/FOFATUSA Pass Laws Campaign of that Monday 21 March 1960 for which Workers gave mandate in the presence of Nkomo asking me to lead and seek FOFATUSA material aid for campaign to fast for freedom. In alignment with PAC - support for President Sebukwe, FOFATUSA articulated some issues for all that had become political. Although, in their background they had, in many ways, been caused by rigidly labour and industrial relations in South Africa.

In brief when I set by the fire side, in Bethaniam, Fort Shepstone District of Natal Province, I called my younger brother to play the role on how the would be irritated Pretoria regime of Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, and his equally ruthless Chief of Security Law Officer, J. Vorster might probably react? I was faced with task of how to galvanize whole nation for barely six-months old Prof's PAC political Rally. # Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) to assume a responsibility for articulating the entire social, economic and political metamorphosis 'change' process. That President Sebukwe and I, for the African Trade Union Movement and masses of the Workers (including those who still held the membership of organizations striving for helpless concessions) asked us to demand for "an end to Imperial British Colonial rule constitutional power-structures Apartheid. We believed Apartheid cannot be <sup>superseeded</sup> without approval Parliament and RSA's - white dominating. Elections-Referendum's consent. The Imperial Government of Great Britain has Legality to review and withdraw its "South Africa Hat of 1969-1988" upon which <sup>entrenching the very top of British imperial rule</sup> the <sup>entire</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>South</sup> <sup>Africa</sup> <sup>hat</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>1969-1988</sup> legacy to RSA. Hence, after several days' consultation

as amended  
1988

I came to my final analysis that I could then convince Prof. on what became entitled 'Sharpeville Pass Laws Campaign' (and my campaign's minute details and demands) that were articulated for the six-month-old PAC. I was hoping it could reverse Apartheid march of events.

And create a climate of negotiations for a new South African/Bazania (an African majority Black and White) ruled Nation.

# At that time I had convinced Prof. that South Africa's Problem is a Colonial, Bover paradoxical Imperial British Legacy. And that no South African President or Prime Minister, or Group of Leaders, can solve it without auspices and equality of Imperial Britain - which withdrew unceremoniously from South Africa. Without holding Constitutional Patriotic Parley that must involve both (Black and White)

National Groups that make up our New RSA Nation. # When Great Britain shuffled for 'questionable Independence' she excluded indigenous African Nation of the territory itself - who served to end the Anglo-Boer War in 1902. Only Constitutional Dialogue with auspices of the Imperial British Government or Her Heirs, shall lead to a 'Constitutional Peace and have legality and guarantee a clause of not tampering with the New Bazania Africanist Constitution? That shall replace the UK-South Africa Act of 1929-10, as amended from time to time, to this day of writing, any other Approach shall be short-lived.

# President Sobukwe, had twice visited the NWC (1959) at FOFA/TUSA offices in Johannesburg (1961) and at Stoffberg Prison Sunday meeting that members of

the NWC - wishing the PAC to make rapid legend  
in history, they should like him, seek <sup>JD's</sup> honest  
advice on issues. Because - when we argue  
have serious points JD keeps quiet, but  
when I ask him - he gives the Party correct advice to  
see without effort. Therefore says: Prof said: "We in  
this Party we should make an effective use  
of his presence in our 'collective leadership'."

# "We had been too hard on us - whereas  
JD has all along been in thick of politics in  
his administrative career of leadership - so  
we are lucky to have him let us give him, the  
respect he deserves to advise us." Prof repeated  
these remarks at Steffberg. # P.H. Lekalla, repeated Prof's  
advice at Mozambique P.A.C. - Conference  
in Tanzania abroad. He was refusing to  
chair the Party Conference because JD had  
attended. At then warned that Prof provided that:  
"the PAC should depend on JD, when the  
situation demands empiricism and talent which  
he solicited, had (never been disappointed) when  
he resorted to JD for social solution &  
advice". said Lekalla in Tanzania.

# Indeed JD's appeal, that A.B. Agosho  
PAC - Treasurer - General together with Peter  
Rabonoko (Secretary - General), and any other  
person who might have been implicated in  
receiving allegedly £2000 - (British pound  
sterling) posted to Dar-Es-Salaam for  
the Treasurer - General (A.B. Agosho) to collect  
for the use of Conference - might have come  
from the CIA sources should be heard was  
rejected. P.H. Moltsi (Secretary for Pan African Affairs)

also defended Ugebo's right and duty to have received the money for Conference use

We opposed any immediate suspension of the Treasurer-General over that money issue. We argued that the Treasurer-General should be heard. However, the P.K. Leballo's newly appointed PAC-leaders already representing the Party by virtue of their positions unconstitutionally acquired - they overwhelmingly tabled a motion for the Treasurer-General's suspension. With Leballo presiding on the meeting the suspension was instantly effected.

# The Treasurer-General left the PAC-Moshi Reconciliation Conference Hall, followed there and then by Peter Kaboroko, who charged that if Leballo as Chairman - allowed the Party activists unconstitutionally participating to suspend Mr. A.B. Ugebo - without hearing his side of the story and that of other persons who were suspected to have had some information about that money's origin (such as Matthew Uloana) who at some rowdy noise his name was mentioned) Kaboroko stood-up. He said, he personally had been assisted by A.B. Ugebo for attending the Moshi Conference presumably from that amount.

# Kaboroko protested about Ugebo's suspension, and asked that if Ugebo was not allowed to answer the allegation that the money had come from the CIA, for use to disrupt that Party PAC-Moshi Reconciliation Conference - he Kaboroko, had no option but to join Ugebo outside the Conference Hall as a protest.

However, with Leballo's supporters applauding Raboroka's reaction to leave the Conference, JD and Peter H. Moleletsi protested in vain on the issue. As a result Tana Mahomo (Secretary for Cultural Affairs) in the PAC, who was still to come — decided not to come. But even then the Conference went on with JD and Peter Moleletsi giving their leadership activities and financial reports on PAC-affairs which were adopted.

# We all realized that the Conference had not achieved its important aspect — the party reconciliation of the elected genuine PAC-leaders. I was appointed to head a special Commission to Inquiry to Investigate "All-Allegations on Unaccounted for Party Funds".

# This was done with the support and approval of both the African Liberation Committee for Africa (an-OAU-Agency) responsible for funding liberation movements and registering them in order that they be recognized by Governments and International Organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations (with offices in Geneva), and that Commissioner of Inquiry I was to be assisted by J. B. Moleletsi (Secretary for Information and Publicity) and Peter Raboroka (Secretary for Education). The J.B. PAC-Commission of Inquiry on PAC-Funds, — was given wide powers to subpoena any PAC-member leader and official involved in PAC disappeared funds of the party since it began activities as an underground liberation movement. A period, that was conducive to all sorts of funds mismanagements. As party decisions had to be taken by persons as individuals and groups only where that was possible.



The first copy I prepared on evidence and proof adduced by accused individuals (was by chance submitted to the African Liberation Committee Offices - where it was handed to a certain Mr. Gyaka (Funds Accountant of the ALC) in Dar-Es-Salaam Tanzania.

# Unfortunately for the PAC-movement the Chairman's J.D. Nyasse, Z.B. Molete and Phaborrha Commission on PAC-Funds Mismanagement Report is not available, except the Copy's first part that was delivered to the ALC - just a few days before the PAC-Offices at Ukuepe Street Dar-Es-Salaam - were subsequently raided - broken into and the whole amount of the Report already published in book form were stolen from the Office.

# At that moment in time - the evidence of P.H. Leballé was not available because he had not yet accepted to appear before the Commission. Hence, the Commissioners felt that it was for the authorities to compel him to answer for funds accusations made against him in good faith by other members. Unfortunately, the burglary of the Offices and theft of the published Report, ruled out any alternative course for continuing to do anything as PAC accredited leaders in exile. Hence, we found ourselves - compelled to abandon - that task.

# However, there was proof that Nema Mahomes did purchase the tugboat ship for the PAC. Furthermore, J.D. did build FOATUSA eight-room well-equipped and furnished offices, from which he was forced leave and the property was subsequently sold

by the PAC - appointed leadership in exile.  
# When foreign interference set into party internal affairs, JD agreed on advice to leave party work in Dar-Es-Salaam - informed interested governments and left the party. To concentrate in re-organising Black African Workers Anti-Apartheid Campaign for 'Statutory Recognition of Independent African Trade Unions' which had completely gone underground to survive as mere groups that FOFA/TUSA had left them highly politicized on labour-rights fight for survival. They maintained a fierce, strikes Campaign.

# H.F. Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia and his C.F.U. (Council of Ethiopian Labour Unions) authorised FOFA/TUSA to operate in Ethiopia for the exclusive benefit of South African Workers the Majority of whom are Black Independent African Workers who JD as their exiled leader had the African Peoples' mandate to represent by resolution of Conference of 19 March 1968 of the turbulent Sharpeville National Revolt over Pass Laws Anti-Apartheid Campaign.

# In Ethiopia FOFA/TUSA leased a property for setting-up Black Workers Mission Offices again following a setback suffered in Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania.

# Here below in this book, we reveal the exclusive truth which speaks for itself - on the language and repeated effort from 1947; 1953 and largely 1973-1979 representative of Black African Workers J.B. NYACSA <sup>Legend</sup> or Labour leader of our times in exile) to whom Azania/South Africa's entire Non-racial Democratic Independent Trade Union Movement is indebted, helped indeed - whole mankind for his Trade Unions Peace-Plan in South Africa's Field of Labour and

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