Tel: 698-7179. 31 Wellmeadow Rd Hither CHEEN SE 13 London. 38htlay 1990 Dear trother to grand, This serves to let you know that I am still around. I deeply regret for failing to come over to your house last week-and as I am still here. Ab thought I was not coming ofter having told you I was leaving earlier in the week. And yet I was expecting him to pass by the house when I would have Joined him. Trusting that all went well I will get my heridents Book by on my return to Geneva. Now I'm plaining to leave on 6/6/90 for someva.

With this being unavoidable I am hopeful that you could still halp me whilst I am still here in London. Dam extremely busy consulting with PAC-exiles Nission Branches abroad - before responding favourably to the berty membership demand that the entire Hof Sobukwe's NEC "Collective Leadership" should return. We are not "Charterists ANC fromp" who have no funding headacher like us. I am doing my probably the last effort abroad to know who is who in the new PAC order of approach. Hipponeer with un and foreign Communist funded ANC - that even Democracion are backing have worrened. We are still going to beat them a third-time before we reconsile, if their Master shall ever

respect our political aspiration for real freedom. We are not fighting Whites Indians Coloureds nor fellows indigeneur "African people " we are trying to develop policies for co-existence on respect for a human being isrespective of his colour and nationality descent. By this convection we believe. the PAC-has a divine mission of its own to create the stuman Society that will be free from these Stalinima, Jerinisma, Matxisma, Tribalisms, etc; but the rejection of these isons should be accomplished by education in its widest scope. in the Nation. Who ever shuns being drunk by ruling political power will hold cabinet-seatin PAC - Tovernments. We are a malti-nationalities Society - and if Providence, has shown us

our people Territory and darty to be the first in the Stuman Race to demonstrate that coming of the Messach, there is no reason why we should not adhere to Herident Sources "non-racial Democratic najority rule African State" in which colour of the person must through education - be not seen as an anothema to other. Wishing you a safe trip back home and hoping our other friend Mr. Imeri (journalist) will be happy to rejoin you. May the Rand Daily Mail remember the PAC better than before. We are poor people we can not afford producing our ideas in our own free Aeuspaper. Street Zeph wishing he improves. your sincarely Aprilated

PRESIDENT OF FOFATUSA'S SPEECH IN COMMEMORATION OF FOFATUSA -PAC MARTYRS KILLED IN SOUTH AFRICA ON 21 MARCH 1960 CARNAGE

this is the party of the party

Mr.Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Diplomatic Missions within Geneva community. It is a great pleasure for us to attend this Session, to express my people's and personal concern, in the cause for which those who laid down their lives had believed it secrosanct—and, was a just cause worth those sacrifices!

I think it necessary to reveal Mr.Chairman, to your much exaited distinguished audience that'I am the architect of that Azania/RSA's magnanimous supreme sacrifice that PAC and POPATUEA mode to be commemorated by whole Mankind, so that our prosperity should get melodious freedom and regain our human dignity within the Comity of Pree and Independent Nations and People before whole family of mankind!

Those Heroes, my Friends form the entire majority of South Africa's black African people. We were crusading inter alia for our social justice, selfdetermination ... of all people in our native land. The Black Workers only national trade union movement FOFATUSA some still boycost) it alone, submitted demands ultimatum registered letter to: 4) Transnational Companies in the country, b) To the Pretoria State regime, and c) All Employers' Business Organisations - calling for an Emergency Dialogue. The historic letter was dated 11 November 1959. Instead FOFATUSA-President was threatened with arrest and visited, reminded that our trade union organisations which wanted to meet State, and ... interested parties (who make-up the Society) were not in fact recognized by the Government! The Businessmen, repeated in 1959, their willingness to meet FOFATUSA Labour Movement, but provided, the regime approved. I then asked Sobukwe, for: PAC-Summit Meeting which met in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State Province, in September 1959 ... pAC resolved to take action supported by whole Nation. to kill whole - Apartheid system! If the Government refused to negotiate PEACE on labour and political grievances of the black people with two bodies!

The National President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, asked me as his architect of the liberation movement strategy and Programme of Action to draw up Conference messages, That could help people understand that the regime had obdurately refused to cooperate in meeting FOFATUSA leaders to resolve national issues by means of negotiations, and this, I did. He asked me to set the day for launching Azania's first Anti-Apartheid-rule Demonstrations. Having been born on 1 April 1920,I thought my birthday circle could be ideal for the purpose. hence, I chose 21 of March, 1960! On that hectic morning leaders got into serious difficulties and the PAC-President, had African masses of the people and journalists hustling him to hold a scheduled Press Conference. When the leaders failed to arrive, he changed the strategy sending - task-force activists to brief me on his predicament! I had to choose joining him, or go ahead as planned. For, FCFATUSA was to hold a Press Conference on Thursday 24 March of that week to declare a total nationwide general industrial strike - calling upon regime to release the PAC leaders and FOFATUSA leaders to hold negotistions. I agreed, joining PAC-President. For I was his Party Chairman also, and shadow Minister for Labour in PAC-political party. As the Nation itself, was to only respond after reading of "PAC leaders - arrested", I, had to drop Unions'Press Conference to lead the long march demonstrations to Orlando - Police Station, in Soweto Johannesburg, accompanying Sobukwe!

After our arrest and detention in custody <u>sad reports</u> came, claiming the entire country had joined the PAC/FOFATUSA Anti-Apartheid national crusade and that at Shapeville District not far from Johannesburg, there had been carnage scenes with acores of African proletariat workers killed by builets fired from armoured saracen trucks. The leading Rand Daily Mail Newspaper, published a special ll.a.m.City Edition, reporting on the events and masses of black peoples total support for the campaign. However, the masses of the people obeyed the instructions of the Party and Labour leaders, that there should be no fighting with Police enforcing unjust Laws and Order duties. Consequently, no white people (South Africans) were killed, neither assaulted during sad two weeks of devastating stoppage of work that followed to encompass the whole peripheral and industrial areas.

2.2

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and FOFATUSA Sharpeville Campaign's PAC-Orders, were strictly kept"that activists shall refuse Lawyers'services for defence. For the purpose of stating grievances of the down-trodden African people's case in Courts." This scarred all other political parties and (white and black)trade unions'organisations in accepting to join the launching in South Africa/ Azania's first liberation movement (FAC). Which is continuing with the struggle and according to plan designed by this valiant African mation.

The Struggle Continued 1949-1960

Nyaose magnamimously worked finding out and Internationally made his public expose, of err diabolical features of Apartheid system of government. A Phenomena, he predicted — could internationally cause much grave consequences to the well-being of his country and its whole Society. He heard personally from Professor P.H. Cilliers, who was accompanied by Professor S.P. Olivier, both lecturers at the University of Stellenbosch at the time, "The two, together with the Afrikaans-speaking universities of Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch itself — were architects of the Apartheid policy." Who had contrived it at the request of the South African Nationalist Farty and won the 1948 General Election on its Manifesto of APARTHEID to the White population, later used for creating tribal Homelands.

"On 9 January 1949, I was elected by the Executive Committee of the European and Non-European Social Affairs Council in Durban, Natal, to attend as a delegate the South African Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town. The Committee urged me to speak on my honest free conscience on Apartheid Policy,Nyaose says." The two Professors I mention —were deputising Prime Minister Dr.D.F.Malan who had, previously accepted to address the Conference on Apartheid. When he suddenly decided to send architects of Apartheid Policy to deliver

⁴ Conference Lecture, which took the whole days' Symposium on Apartheid and its future for South Africa. I was there to speak."

Madam Prof.Agnes Hoernle, Chancellor of the Witwatersrand University was on the Chair.⁹I registered as the last Speaker, because. I had a Motion to submit as a basis for Resolution of Conference when that was accepted by the Chairwoman I drafted my motion for Resolution of Conference quickly, and when I was called upon to speak - it was announced that I was to table a Conference Resolution. Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, who was my Chencellor at Adams College at Amanzimtoti Institute rose up to declare that he had taught me too, as a student and he pledged to second my motion he had not as yet even seen. As I was already speaking he left me a message of: "I will support it in toto JD. Edgar H.Brookes."

It was at that Conference Political Symposium where Apartheid was fully explained and our South African Academics delegations in support of my Resolution joined my delegation in condemnation of Apartheid-rule in its very reformed form in <u>ab initio</u> in South Africa, Unfortunately we were opposing it after the white electorate had given its approval that it should be used for Black-rule by the white minority. It, had been the territory's practice and experiment of British Colonial-rule - although it was now to be more ruthlessly and callously applied - to the extent of inflicting revolting hardship.

"After my proghosis on Apartheid evils that were in the offing, the Reuters News Argus Group for Sunday Times and South African Associated Newspapers - requested the South African Institute of Race Relations to release me from Conference to give a Press Conference at Argus Press Room in Cape Town. The Sunday Times of that week carried 10/29 column front page report, of that Apartheid first public opposition by mankind against Apartheid. I had during my main speech vowed to rally my African oppressed black people, make their and our resolve, that we shall resolutely resist Apartheid-rule.

"In the circumstances, when I became the architect of the Sharpeville Crusade against Apartheid System in general, it was not by accident. For I was honouring my international obligation and duty to my people of South Africa as a whole, and liberation of my country, which had no liberation movement at that epoch. Since, the situation demanded that a liberation movement's revolution was a mecessity, I may to it, that we formed one. Hence, the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania(South Africa). My leadership in the labour movement was moundly based, but we needed, a courageous political revolutionary party that could make the necessary human sacrifices that many nations have had to go through before us."

4...

Homelands People and Leaders of Bantustans.

5.

I now appeal to the international committee to accept that the PAC and Workers liberation movement in South Africa, under our leadership — we shall not abandon the so-called black South African homelands and people's allegedly sell-outs rejected by elitist black South Africans. I am determined that my people should be seen united regardless of their political persuasions we cannot reconcile this divided South African Nation when we are still engaged in all sorts of recriminations and bicketings futile power-struggles ourselves within the liberation movement.

At this point in time, the international community and church movement granting assistance towards our total freedom should avoid to be used for favouring certain groups more than others. Because true leaders are elected by divided nationalities of Whites, Africans & Indians and not by foreign-funds given for: freedom movements. Why funds are allocated with discrimination to PAC/FOFATUSA? Are they converted to evil use of fomenting infighting and ravage the unity of our people? Using funds that were intended to hasten FREEDOM. The Mac-tse-Tung dictum says: 'Let many flowers blossom in the liberation struggle, 'is the best guideline to international aid Donors. For South African freedom movement groups and organisations - which our people continue to establish as resistance lasts - 'want grassroots' national unity and reconcillation in a just Non-racial democratic human Society - negotiated by all parties in the Conflict ... and including the Homelands People, Leaders and All-Workers, whose involvement is long overdue."

TA LURE END .

Presented by African Workers' President of FOFATUSA-in-exile, at Sharpeville Commemoration Service on the 23 March 1989.

Dear les My assistance requeste still stante da. In occasiono of who is who- please do publish extracts of shole of this after necescary changes to project PAC- Stankwe Gadoship we will do the mit. Please do this at home

Robert Sobukwe Papers

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