

## Responding to your Questionnaire Again

On 21 March 1960:

1. We were arrested at 9 a.m. on arrival at Orlando East Police Station. It was clear even though I had never been there before - that the authorities had made special preparations for locking us in on arrival and they precisely did that. The new look appearance of the prison was that it had been fenced with shining white metal cover. This arrangement prevented PAC-activists and workers from reaching us to give messages and food. Although, the daughters of the soil (on behalf of whose children and happy future we were resolved to create by our suffering for their national liberation, to achieve non-racial Democratic (black and white majority ruled Azania/South Africa) - were themselves able, to defiantly serve us with hot coffee and breakfast - which we had missed that morning.

The news of the Shooting Massacre of the PAC workers and both men and women which occurred at Sharpeville Police Station reached us and President Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, at 2 p.m. in the afternoon. When Zephania Mthopeng (PAC-Leader responsible for portfolio of Legal Constitutional Affairs in the party hierarchy) arrived late. He had visited President Sobukwe, J. D. Nyaso (PAC-Leader responsible inter alia for Labour Affairs as National President of FOFATUSA) and S.T. Ngemane (PAC-Leader responsible for Foreign Affairs portfolio) earlier without marching.

When Keident asked JD to find out why Uncle Zeph Mthopeng had missed leading the African masses in their historic daring demonstrations into history? Zeph said he came to apologize for his failure to keep — Prof's Order and appointment of that morning. He showed JD a telegram he had received to inform him that his father at Hammanskraal District was seriously sick — and that as a result he had dropped out from the launching in order to hurriedly go to his sick father's bedside. With the task of leading the African people having already been fulfilled by Prof, J.D. and S.T. Zeph was relieved and presumed to have left Johannesburg heading for Hammanskraal place. Prof was annoyed by the incident, even though, it was one of those many similar disappointments. For instance, one PAC branch Chairman Mr. Setlhodi of the Mofolo Village Branch was found by PAC-tack force cadres of the party having suddenly required clinical treatment of a leg injury. Cadres reported that they had found the Chairman of Branch, apparently groaning in pain and they were not given opportunity to hear his own story as to how had he become unlucky to be injured.

To our jubilation with emotional Zeph entering Marshal Square Prison Cell — he came with a report of the Sharpeville Police indiscriminate massacre which occurred when 20,000 supporters of PAC — South Africa's First Anti-Apartheid era nationwide demonstrations going even today began at Sharpeville people marched singing PAC-Freedom Songs (which tell the story of a nation deprived



of its territorial sovereignty — oppressed and persecuted — which every 'black person' understands that they could not have told of his plight better. And begin weeping — like those who sing them!

The PAC didn't only abandon — the ANC/SACTU Congresses Big-Five Alliance, but we had also abandoned the Freedom Charter, Slogans and Songs. And composed PAC-Africanists' songs by Black people who yearn for national liberation. In PAC-Songs Prof had a Messianic message of liberation to his people; says J. D. Nyassa, his political adviser within the PAC-hierarchy. A role he confirmed when questioned by other Colleagues Zeph, P.K. and ST, at Stoffberg Prison in Orange Free State Province in a meeting of the NWC administrative organ of the PAC. When others queried Prof Sobukwe, about Nyassa's strong influence on PAC leadership — role? To his colleagues' surprise, Sobukwe told them, that their fears were correct, but had he not invited everyone of them to put ideas making PAC a praiseworthy crusade as JD is doing to him for the Party?

We reminded them at Stoffberg Sunday Afternoon meeting, that they had applauded as <sup>the</sup> Good News that PAC's 24 March 1960 Sharpeville Campaign had become world legend and a success for mankind. And a miracle to out PAC's opposition to Apartheid White rule and yet JD had worked the Campaign's Decisive Programme alone. Had it been a failure, Prof said he could imagine what others would have told him blaming JD for it all. From that petty quarrel once again, we got on very well as imprisoned NWC/NWC — as we went from Prison to Prison mentally liberated. Zeph told Prof and others that the Campaign outside had been lauded right through the

the breadth of the Nation. His change of mind was great for thousands who had doubts and ridiculed Parties. Love joining PAC!

2. We did not get detailed coverage of News about the Shooting Massacre, because we were already prisoners awaiting trial. We were not allowed any political prisoners' privileges in 1960. We were severely punished for being found with a paper to read or to write anything on it.

At 2 pm on 21 March 1960 when Zeph, brought us the News, the actual number of our supporters killed by paracen armoured tank's bullets in that sad beginning in the hands of South African white police at Sharpeville was still unknown. In fact even by today's record - it is still unclear as to how many African people were killed by Police, because - those who were killed at Langa Township were denied normal burials by relatives' sponsored funerals. Similarly, the maimed activists hit by bullets who survived at Sharpeville - their story - sad fate and means of subsistence had to our probable wrong memory never been investigated. For in those times, the official attitude was that it was not a crime for a white person to shoot and kill a Natives (or African). Nowadays, with change of regime's leadership and mounting international worldwide support for Sharpeville's Anti-Apartheid struggle to overthrow Apartheid System - Victoria regime tolerates litigation cases for unprovoked killing of a person whether he/she be 'black African' - 'black person' or 'white person' - causes a serious Court case for compensation by relatives of the deceased regardless of colour. Thirty years ago,



There were no Courts of law risking to try Government officials and police and on behalf a black person complainant. Whole RSA-Society knew this much in the past three decades. So much that even in South African Industry - an 'African black worker' not being an employee at law - he or she could not sue a Company or Employer, because such a move was not practised and extremely rare indeed. Until, a new highly educated and independent African black leadership - among others Joseph Matiyi, C. Mabha, Dan Koye <sup>and many others</sup> revolutionized African black trade unions movement with a background of legal office training for cutting costs of workers' cases. Their kind began exerting Unions workers power militancy and shrewd leadership. Their emergence produced nationalist African leaders, who educated the masses at workplace, negotiated Determinations nationwide in scope and avoided white unions. They got involved changing labour laws themselves. Initiating new ones using Wage Boards in helping workers - all blacks and whites in industry without asking for favours. President Sobukwe, helped by Nyazee (Chairman of the Party and Secretary for Labour Affairs in Politics) both wrote and checked Prof's PAC works. Prof chose to begin African leadership from where Antony Mziwakhle Lembede, of Imbumbule Mission, Natal Province, had left off, when sudden death claimed his life. However, Sobukwe did not adopt the Lembede ANC-Programme as such which the ANC had long shelved. Instead Sobukwe, asked PAC to proselytize ANC youth membership of 1959-decade, to abandon ANC and join PAC-Africanist leaders tackling national problem of Apartheid itself, by Programme of Action that would throw the RSA core of UK-dilemma of White Domination

and Apartheid System into limelight of international community forums of the United Nations. Not being aware that Chief Jukulu had an ANC, M-Plan (meaning Mandela Plan) — the President of the newly formed PAC Shabane adopted his PAC's own J. D. N. Yase — Programme of Action which once implemented, African people emerged in the forum of all UN-member States as PAC-Sharpeville Peace Laws' Anti-Apartheid and Anti-White Domination Nationwide Campaign catalyst for change Prof declared on 21 March 1960. When it shattered the ANC's M-Plan and ANC-hobby and political career of toothless campaigns, Pretoria regime's harsh banning Order provoked by Yase's PAC-FOFATUSA, Sharpeville Revolt was declared to net in ANC-SACTU Congresses' Alliance — who had definitely refused participation when Prof and JD invited them, to demonstrate Alliance's total opposition to Apartheid system on 21 March 1960. They declined filling vacuum left by black people's divisions prevailing in South African Politics since the formation of the Union of South Africa. The Africans did not rally nor did they unite behind Zulu King's party, which was recognized as an eventual third party Sovereign to be a participant at Vereeniging Peace Talks, when White Settlers opposed a non-racial Society UK abandoned its Blacks' democratic right of representation in South Africa's Parliament. Hence, the seeds of Apartheid Discrimination are not RSA-regime's sole task to solve, for there are prima facie, UK-Colonial Obligations and promises that have not been fulfilled. Since Vereeniging Peace Talks, made possible by Zulu Royal National Army's abrupt intervention to end the Anglo/Boer War at Ladysmith Siege, Natal, an act of reciprocity, receding 76 years is long overdue for both the once rivaling British and Boer Afrikaners to fulfil their Colonial Vereeniging Obligations to this African Nation of Southern Africa; for Justice and truth knows no boundaries and neither expiration of time, maxim by Her Majesty's Prime Minister Lord John Lubbock M. Thacker, in December 1981, in a different special occasion.



Until the day of liberation after which PAC and FOFATUSA by mandate of the two Conferences of 1959 and 1960 are obliged to report to the Nation - the future national liberation struggle will continue, said Prof.

You ask what was my reaction? But of course you are not aware that I am personally Prof's architect of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid Campaign which has won United Nations honour recognizing this event's Annual Commemoration. It highlighted the sufferings of peace loving African people of Azania/South Africa. In various forms as to how, they are willy-nilly enslaved and humiliated enough to feel inferior - depending on their nationality origins. The criteria for determining one's rights - socially, economically, and politically with finally, opportunities of better paying jobs in employment, is the nationality origin of the black person. It is for this same reason that President Sekouwe had not called upon the other black minority nationalities of our country such as Asian Indians and Coloured persons of our country. The poor white Indians and Coloured working people of South Africa were not subjected to Pass Laws institutionalized system of slavery in labour matters, etc. In the circumstances, to talk of a ruling white minority class antagonism towards the South African working class - could be seen by African people as ideological wishful thinking. As such, idealism ignores the humiliation, suffered by indigenous businessmen, farmers, female nurses, doctors and lawyers and property

owners, etc; who are also subjected to Apartheid laws of skin colour and criminal prosecution at any time for failing to produce their pass books, requirement to comply with the application of Pass Laws. Restrictions on movements, employment, and human rights of South African citizens were not to apply without sympathy to folks of European descent - Indian persons of Asian origin and Coloured persons. Yet, the Pan Africanist Congress told Coloured people (1959) that they too, they are South Africa/Azania's indigenous Africans.

By institutionalizing Apartheid system, South Africa's white regime had blocked any sympathetic white South African of European descent from his or her playing a role of a 'progressive white principled communist'. Hence, African trade unions failed to win the membership of persons of European descent, or Whites into joining black African union organisations. Similarly, the enrolment of an indigenous black African worker into the registered trade union had been a mistaken fraudulent act of taxing a 'poor black fellow' to paying fees into an organisation within which he is discriminated, exploited and refused by law and white union members, the black workers' rights and employment opportunities - because of nationality descent of being an 'African'. Hence, Prof and the PAC, defined the 'African' so as to provide an ideological democratic birth of a new Azania/South African Nation in which "colour" - "nationality descent" ... education and wealth shall not be the criteria for citizenship in a free Azania/South Africa.



Imbued with these principles towards the future - I too, more than many others - I was deeply hurt by sad news of the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March 1960. I regret the incident for the rest of my life because President Sobukwe had appealed and the African people had faithfully responded well to the extent that - not a single white South African of European descent was killed, despite the fact that taking into account the PAC/FOFATUSA support demonstrations which continued during March and April 1960 - there is no doubt that more than one million African people in South Africa participated in the Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid which is still unfolding unabated. Prof returned to his cradle still refusing to call the Sharpeville Revolt initiated and decayed to grow until a PAC-Pretoria regime negotiated modus operandi Peace Plan is presented to the People of South Africa Azania as a whole.

The coldblooded murder of our Party supporters and black African workers in a peaceful march that this one was, I thought callous! Our protests were a national lamentation to record our demand for an end to white domination. Anticipating the possibility of being assassinated ourselves (the leaders), we made all time demands to implore for restoration of All-Forms of Democracy in a mood to create what we recommended contrary to others - "a Non-racial Democratic Majority rule Society."

You ask me about Prof's reaction:

Speaking to me - he expressed his disappointment over the brutal police aggression and cowardly use of dangerous arms against civilians. He looked down as if paying for our dead men and women and asked me again. "Montungwa! Why did the police defy our repeated assurances we have made - to the effect that our people will participate in our Campaign unarmed in marching to Police Stations - where they shall demand a State Pledge for the abolition of Apartheid Legislation Pass Laws - white Domination - and ask for a rebirth of a Non-racial Democratic Africanist State?" Prof asked me these looking much deeply disgusted - feeling that he had been ignored. And yet only industry got severe ominous jolty concessions to this present day as from the 21 March 1960.

Question 2 reply.

We heard about shooting at Sharpeville scene of massacre at 2 pm in the afternoon - whereas we had been arrested at 8 am. at Orlando Police Station. When the news reached us we were at Marshall Square prison in the centre of the City of Johannesburg.

Question 3 reply:

Not much, except that we were worried that it could be that in the face of possible Police Army provocations - our demonstration elsewhere might have caused violent confrontation to justify the shooting of African Anti-Apartheid marchers.



We did all to contain our fears upon learning about the shooting - it was very sad news. Remember, our people at the time were used in being beaten up with batons and sjamboks. Even then, although they used to get away with wounds and broken arms - but at that period the guns were only used quite often in cases of thefts and in workers strikes.

(4) A. I was disgusted because, President Sobukwe and NEC-members and myself, we visited Party and Workers popular Africanists regions to explain why the PAC urged them not to retaliate to Police provocations during the demonstrations.

Hence the PAC and FOPATUSA leaders appealed to the African people to accept the truth that at that time before 21 March 1960 up to 1963 - we shall be demanding a Dialogue with the Pretoria Government over the entire system of White-rule Domination.

It was for reason that we declared that as from 1963 - the political liberation movement the PAC-Party - shall continue with struggle for national liberation and territorial sovereignty (if still denied our god-given right to participate in Government) with readiness to kill and be killed". With this policy statement on guerrilla war to begin as from 1963 - we had dismissed doubts that the masses of the African people believe that those who wield military power may refuse to dialogue as long as Africans don't demonstrate a commitment to get freedom by whatever means available.

At the dwindling of the proletarian anti-Apartheid Demonstrations and industrial refusal to work in the following three months after Sharpeville African People's National Revolt - we were happy to read in smuggled newspapers that we had set a high standard of disciplinary control and example for not a single person of European or African descent had been killed by the demonstrators on the way.

Question 5 reply

Prof's reaction was bitter indignation, for he recalled, that we had done it all to assure the State and our African people that the 21 March 1960 Campaign was not an armed uprising, but public condemnation of White Minority rule - for which inter-alia we wanted talks directly with the Pretoria regime.

When Dr. Verwoerd was shot with a gun in 1960 at the Rand Agricultural Show in Johannesburg - the PAC / FOTATUSA Campaign almost did it all well. Following the first two months Stock Exchange debacle caused by Sharpeville Economic Crisis explosion fuelled by the Campaign. And the flight of money Capital Investments Paul Sauer, the Deputy Premier, did favourably agree - and invited PAC leaders (Cape Region) to return to Parliament the following day for Dialogue - when they did, Police arrested on arrival at Parliament building. And an opportunity of phrasing out much of the grievances was lost to this day.



For when Dr. Verwoerd returned from Hospital he protested when he learned that there had been an attempt to meet PAC-Sobukwe's men. The Prime Minister Verwoerd reminded the electorate that President Sobukwe had said he did not recognise RSA's right to govern. Adding that for such statement, he too, would not wish to talk to the PAC and President Sobukwe.

### Questionnaire Reply

Oh yes! Pop was surprised when the Mathew Nkomo and Joe Thelgoe PAC-Group leaders spokesmen at Fordsburg Magistrates Court were sentenced to hard-labour three years - with some lucky few getting 18 months hard labour to serve working under trying conditions for their part in leading the 21 March 1960-beginning of the PAC/PFATUSA Unfolding First Nationwide Anti-Apartheid and Anti-White Domination demonstrations in which even indigenous black people from the African reserves and rural countryside districts and small towns visited regimes police Stations and made their personal protests!

These sentences meant inter-alia that those convicted by the courts to serve - they were deprived the prisoners right to study and further their education (as it is allowed at present), and furthermore PAC-activists did not get any parole for good conduct in prisons. Even though we were verbally commended for having led exemplary good behaviour. At Stoffberg

tion, we were given a 'Water Conservation Dam to build encompassing two hills - drawing water from the Nagel River, in the Orange Free State. When we protested that there wasn't even a single engineer in our group, we were told that our educational backgrounds showed that we could construct the project if given the Diagram. Reluctantly, without any supervision we did build the Dam. Asked to name it, we said future generations of our people shall have to know that that was the place and district where Azania Freedom Crusaders PAC/POFATASA leaders had served and built the "Sobukewe Dam" as we named it after Prof. as the National President of the Party. We felt honoured and surprised - when told that a message had from Pretoria, saying we should be asked to give the Dam, we had built its historical name - because we had done a commendable good job.

But otherwise, we had expected light sentences, thinking that since we had not killed a single person (white or black). Having only forcefully articulated Black South African's national grievances demanding that they be solved with our participation in our time through amending the South Africa Act Document of 1909 - as amended from time to time - without our approval - we felt we had not provoked much hostility with the Government. But of course ours was a miscalculation, for we were considering the harm we had done to South Africa's economy. Until, we were reminded that we caused a long



and lasting damage that the Court was to sentence us - without having yet been able to know exactly - what total amount of damage the PAC/FOFATUSA Campaign had caused in wrecking the pillars of the economy, for a long time to come. When remarks of this kind were made by the presiding judge after which he reserved judgement. We began to realize that we were going to be severely dealt with during our imprisonment for having kicked South Africa's economy below the belt. The judge remarked that he was asked to sentence us quickly at a time when the seriously damage the PAC/FOFATUSA Campaign had inflicted to the country's economy was still spreading and difficult to reverse.

### Question 3 reply

Immediately we were sentenced a handful newly wedded young men wept for some months every evening - regretting separation from their wives. The prison about 8 months stay was enough to cause mental distress to almost every of us. But we had examined our territory's bloody colonial wars with some European Colonial Powers waging relentless aggression against indigenous Africans, with Zulu military trained army men helping Southern Africa and East Africa Black peoples in their fighting to resist forces of imperialism and the threat of colonial-rule - until at the end they too decided - after two hundred years to opt for imperial British colonial rule in the Anglo/Chambata War of 1906-8 in South Africa. We concluded that to

revive our peoples' national opposition to White Domination as seen in naked Apartheid-rule is to resume total opposition and demand negotiations for self-determination - after convincing our territory's minorities to accept our "Nationhood" regardless of their nationality origins - and equally regardless of our own nationality's origin, colour and descent. Since these objectives were to be brought into being by ourselves without a means and need for warring if we wanted our foreign nationalities to adapt rather than quit - we agreed that creation of a liberation movement crusade (not for concessions, - but for freedom, democracy and self-determination) was necessary.

Hence, we completely renounced the 1912 African National Congress Alliance policy of making demands after demands for concessions - on the grounds that PAC backed by independent Black African Workers and Trade Unions - would demand participation in a "non-racial democratic Society" to be negotiated by all our peoples regardless of colour and group interests because we all (whites and blacks) belong to "one Race the Human Race".

Immediately we were convicted we lost all our prisoners' awaiting trial status. PAC/FOFATUSA visitors we told never to visit us bringing food and clean clothes anymore.

We were supplied with scarlet red shirts and white thick-cloth trousers. We were subjected to strict prisoners' deprivations of human rights. Mind you, we were still at Fort Prison No 4 in Johannesburg.

On the other side of the high barbed wire stayed the ANC/SACTU/CPSA (whites and black comrades) who, as a consequence of PAC/FOFATUSA -



national countrywide Sharpeville Pass Laws' Anti-Apartheid and Anti-White Domination - which rocked the pillars of the whole edifice of institutionalized Apartheid Power-Structure, the Pretoria regime declared a State of Emergency. And to avoid a repetition of what the PAC and FOFATUSA had done the regime banning the PAC - it also made the Banning Order of the PAC/FOFATUSA - to restrict the ANC - Congress Alliance affiliated organisations.

Those who had participated in the Campaign on the ground that they were leaders of other minority parties humiliated by the nationwide Black Peoples' worldwide solidarity made known in the United Nations Special Session in New York - called to pledge UN-international community's support to the people of South Africa in the fight for the overthrow of Apartheid-rule. The ANC/Alliance detainees, invented a slogan clenching both fists together and over one's head - whenever they perchance saw PAC/FOFATUSA political Sharpeville Campaign jacketted activists and senior party leaders of the PAC - alike. At close range they shouted solidarity in addition to this 'salute'.

However the PAC - recognised that new slogan as a recognition on part of the ANC - Congresses' Alliance, that the PAC/FOFATUSA Programme of Action had triumphed - with themselves as rivals organisations left behind mortified and beaten in the power-struggle's vying political and labour organizations in South Africa.

Attitude of Warders:

The attitude of warders both (whites and blacks) did drastically change they became aggressive and provocative - and yet at the time we were not in a good mood ourselves. Having been taken aback by the severity of sentences imposed on the Africanists Fordsburg Court group, led by Matthew Kona and Joe Thloeloe - who did better than most in their region to reiterate President Sobukwe's speeches in the regime's Court of Justice. They backed them with some of Jesus Christ's biblical anecdotes as the trial was taking place in April of 1960 coinciding with the time for Easter Holidays.

Prof angered by what we considered too severe sentences for Kona and Thloeloe Fordsburg group - he Prof asked me to drop the idea of dismissing the prosecution case so that we could as well be sentenced to suffer side by side with our activists.

By then JD had already cross-examined the prosecution, Special Branch Police witnesses who were giving evidence against Black African Workers Conference and those of the last Conference where G-security police had set in and took names and speeches of Black Workers Delegates Conference of 19 March 1960. Where they (the independent African Trade Unions and General Workers Delegates) mandated Nyame to Kona, as our underground liberation movement in exile if need be - after release from imprisonment which was forced and welcomed. Refer to Court Record; JD eventually quashed the Court indictment against PSFATUSA and himself, as National President. However, as he was led



The Court Public Prosecutor informed the Court that Nyase had served as National Party Chairman & Speaker of Conferences of the PAC - and Secretary for Labour Affairs - he is therefore rated Accused No 3, in Sobukwe's PAC Party leadership. He should stand a fresh trial in his second role in the PAC - political leadership, and the Judge allowed it. Sobukwe had witnessed JD's defence and Court constitutional issues on which JD raised an argument and also technical points of law and dismissed the prosecution Case against FOFATUSA.

The PAC - Sobukwe Leaders had handled their defence case themselves before Apartheid Courts. However, the imprisonment without options of fines-given at Fortburg Court, prompted the sitting of a PAC - National Working Committee. Consisting Prof, Leballe, Nyase, Tjendane and Muthopeng at Fort Prison No 4. Resulting from the first Campaign Activists sentenced, it was agreed that Party hierarchy to save thousands being sentenced, must accept responsibility for this African people national revolt. Prof said: "Let us rededicate ourselves - lead and suffer with masses in this PAC/FOFATUSA Campaign for freedom and national liberation". The NWC - decided that Prof should draw-up a monumental heritage Court Speech for all time on his behalf - that of NWC, and the African People of Azania/South Africa in our search for freedom. And reiterate our belief that as African people we had no other options left to us by Apartheid rule - and that - we therefore ask for no apology for liberation movement Campaign which we admit to have organised and refused to call it off unconditionally until freedom come.

Having successfully defended the Prosecution Court trial against the black workers of South Africa and their labour movement for independent African trade unions National Centre - FOFATUSA, the Pretoria regime's indictment charge in Court was withdrawn.

Consequently, when the organisations were placed under a banning order - FOFATUSA could no longer be punished twice for its participation and black African Trade Unions and black workers activists in overwhelming nationwide and worldwide triumph of the Xyose PAC/FOFATUSA Sharpeville Anti-Apartheid White Minority-rule Campaign Demonstrations of 21 March 1960 which the PAC - President R.M. Sobukwe declared its launching by the entire African people - who magnificently responded right - through the country. As if to challenged by deeds rather than words - various public press statements which had been read one by the African National Congress Alliance (ANC) Secretary - General Mr. Alfred Nzo - who had ridiculed the PAC, accusing it (in the Post Newspaper) as 'having no public support in the African Community' and predicted that the country was going to see the PAC - Leaders launching that 'Sharpeville' Pass Laws Campaign - followed behind by only their coats, because they had no supporters in the country. His statement at the eve of the campaign - was followed by another one from the Anglican Bishop. Ambrose Reeves, who claimed to speak for 14 Organisations Group who under the leadership of the ANC (he the Bishop was their spokesman).



He publicly assured the country and probably the authorities as well that 'there was much talking by the PAC 'Africanists' about frightening change these youngmen were going to bring about. But only the ANC - Alliance could do something - the panicking that was spreading in the country was fear for nothing. It is a pity that the Bishop and ANC - Congress Alliance's lucky few - were the first who fled from the wrath of Dr. Verwoerd's Bitoria regime of that decade instead of reading about the repercussions of the Sharpeville PAC - FOFATUSA - Anti-Apartheid's First worldwide Campaign which is burgeoning even today unabated in the continuing struggle which was introduced by PAC - FOFATUSA, Sharpeville campaign on 21 March 1960.

For historical heritage of the correct information the PAC/FOFATUSA sources responsible for creation of Azania/South Africa liberation movement and struggle for national liberation have a letter signed by ANCSACT - CPSA - Congresses Alliance with some of their affiliates not mentioned herein. Their attitude was conveyed to the PAC - political party and reached by President Sobukwe. It was in response to ANC - Alliance letter drafted by JD who had insisted that the Anti-Apartheid Sharpeville Campaign is a 'national issue' it should not be selfishly a PAC/FOFATUSA exclusive memorial in the history of our future generations to come! Other NWC had already opposed invitation to Charterists. But Nyabesi as author, kept sounding Prof. that our Campaign would leave no leeway for any more black politics, until demand for Dialogue is met by Bitoria regime in negotiations with the PAC!

Hence, Prof and I, in my advisory capacity as well as architect of the Campaign agreed, that Prof, better constitutionally resort to emergency dictatorial powers<sup>2</sup> invested to him alone by the last National Special Conference of the Pan Africanist Congress held in December 1959. With similar emergency dictatorial powers<sup>2</sup> conferred to J.D. Nyashe to facilitate the operations and one-man leadership of the exile Black Workers for the underground FOFATUSA independent African workers and self-banned labour Black African Organisations that eventually went underground in January 1966 - implementing at Nyashe's order, the 19th March 1960 - Conference of Delegates' National Resolution that as the Black Workers liberation struggle is fraught with security police services harassment and intimidation and FOFATUSA's role in having funded, organised a PAC-membership programme to coincide with independent black African workers struggle for uncomparable desire and determination to dig-in and wage a relentless strategy in solidarity with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania - the PAC should deter its known activists by declaring itself defunct and go underneath as long as the National President shall find the time not yet arrived for exiles of the liberation movement to return to give a full account on the vicissitudinous struggle of Black African Workers in their exploitation and Apartheid discrimination - in which in various forms the responsible parties had been the regime's institutionalization of Apartheid; the Employer's organisations; and all whites, Coloureds and Asian Indian Workers' regime's registered labour unions organized and led



leadership were by SAT & LC (South African Trades and Labour Council); SATUC or TUCSA (Trade Union Council of South Africa) and SACTU or ANC 'Big Five' Congresses Alliance to wit: South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), African National Congress (ANC), Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), South African Coloured Peoples Congress (SACPC) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC). Having merged at Kipton to be known as the "African National Congress Alliance" (ANC-SACTU-CPSA - Alliance with others playing a minor role to the knowledge of the outsiders. The new reformed ANC-SACTU-CPSA and others collectively participated in the territory's institutionalized exploitation, discrimination of Black African workers and eventual short-lived killing of their African independent trade unions led in solidarity with Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania by Africanist veteran freedom fighter labour leader JD - who has spent most of his life modelling and nurturing and leading South African black workers discriminated employees between 1941-1979 - when they eventually triumphed at the South African Parliament's favourable reaction towards African peoples demand. At this particular instance Prime Minister Dr. B. J. Vorster, acceded in representations made by PAC - leader and National President of FOTATUSA in exile J. D. Nyatso grant Statutory Recognition to African Black Trade Unions by appointing as recommended by JD to the Pretoria Government - a Labour Legislation Commission of Inquiry - now popularly known as the Chairman Prof. Nicholas Everhardus Wilhelm and 13 other experts from Industry, Labour Unions blacks and whites participated. Its Report was approved in favour

of accepting a black worker to be accepted with the status of "an employee" in law. Secondly, the Report provided for a "non-racial democratic trade union", "freedom of association", the right engage in "collective bargaining", the legal right under certain conditions "to strike", the right for "close-shop deduction of trade union subscriptions or stop-orders" by unionised workers, regardless of colour, nationality and creed."

"The Commission had an enormous difficult task as the development in the promotion of black African workers had stern opposition from various quarters and from extremists registered unions groups—but luckily—after the resignation of Mr. Vorster the State President continued to seek peace with black labour force by granting trade union rights to all South Africans serving in South African Industry. In the light of this triumph in 1979, I thanked God, for having kept me hopeful that "Statutory Recognition of Trade Unions for all Workers Industrial Relations" I will certainly achieve—but much depended on my putting more concentration in making the three parties—the regime, the employers and registered white trade unions—be aware that regardless of the fact that Parliament failed me in 1947 Commission. And failed me also in 1948-1952 Commission—backed by rejecting "Native Settlement of Disputes Act of 1953"—and success of FOFATUSA—South African Labour Codes of Conduct—which through the cooperation of Dr. David Owen—British Foreign Secretary—FOFATUSA in exile succeeded to get the Campaign for Labour Codes of Good Conduct for Black Workers and Trade Unions Movement—I succeeded to launch a renaissance for black workers trade unionism in Southern Africa.



An era for revival of independent black African trade unions and Black Workers resilient power that South Africa's black labour-force have always demonstrated to me that they have the capacity to produce. If I sincerely call upon them to rescue their liberation movement in difficult confrontation such as that era. When I travelled European Capitals announcing in advance the last wild industrial strikes' campaign' of October 1972 to 1979 - when Black Workers liberation was granted by State President P.W. Botha. (Whose M.P.s (Members of South Africa's White Minority regime) to adopt Industrial Relations Legislation Commission of Inquiry Report to accord trade unions and other human rights to Black African Workers - a step towards the right direction towards the elimination of institutionalized Apartheid System," said Nyobe.

"I witnessed the ANC-Congress Alliance (in the last month ending before PAC-POFATUSA Sharpeville Campaign) refusing to participate in the now famous first only creation of Azania African people's Anti-Apartheid Sharpeville Campaign. The first, in which Prof. and myself, drafted a historic solidarity invitation letter requesting ANC 'Charterists' as PAC 'Africanists' call them - and they too, doing likewise to PAC - however, there are no insults that are implied in calling party adherents by such names.

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