

vra na die laaste teregwysing, is heeltemal 'n ander storie. Ek dink nie u moet so vrae vra dat dit blyk dat u 'n dreigement - 'n dreigende houding teenoor hom inneem nie.

STAATSAANKLAER: Soos dit u behaag, Edelaagbare.

STAATSAANKLAER: Wat is die antwoord, Mnr. die Tolk? ----- Ek is bevreed die tolk is af van die vrsag, Edelaagbare.

VERHOOR DEUR STAATSAANKLAER (VERVOLG) Jy sê by het jou op verskeie kere gevra om aan te sluit by die P.A.C.? ----- Ek sê nog so.

Is dit nou vanaf 1961 tot 1963? ----- Ja, tot die beskuldigde sy bed opgegee het daar by die hostel, het hy my gevra om saam met hom aan te sluit.

Jy meen tot hy weggegaan het by die hostel? ----Al die tyd het die beskuldigde my gevra om saam met hom in te kom totdat hy daar weg is by die hostel.

Het die beskuldigde nooit aan jou verduidelik wat die beleid was van hierdie organisasie waarby jy moes aansluit? ---- Hy het.

Wat het hy aan jou verduidelik, wat is die beleid? ----Die beskuldigde het gesê as ons suksesvol is sal ons lekker lewe.

Nou wat het hy gesê moet julle doen om suksesvol te wees? ---- Hy het gesê ons sal by voorbeeld 'n oplossing kry.

Vir wat? --- Oplossing by voorbeeld met ons manier waarop ons behoort te lewe.

Wat het hy gesê ten opsigte van die manier waarop julle lewe? ----- Dat ons behoort te lewe soos enige iemand anders, Edelaagbare.

Ja. Het julle dan nie gelewe soos ander mense nie, volgens die beskuldigde? -----Dis waarom ek geweier het om aan te sluit, want ek het gevind dat ek net so lewe soos enige iemand anders.

Ja, wat het die beskuldigde nog gesê? ----- Soos wat by voorbeeld?

Het hy jou verduidelik wat is die beleid van hierdie P.A.C., wat probeer hulle doen, op watter manier sou hulle dit probeer doen? ---- Ek weet nie wat om te sê nie.

Het hy net aan julle gesê dat julle moet 'n oplossing vind om beter te probeer lewe?

DEUR DIE HOF: Kan hy nie antwoord op die vraag nie? ----- Die beskuldigde het onder andere ook gesê dat as ons voordelige dinge by voorbeeld wil bereik dan sal ons in ordentlike huise woon.

VERHOOR DEUR STAATSAANKLAER (VERVOLG) Is enige slagspreuke deur die beskuldigde aangehaal tydens hierdie geleentheid wat hy julle wou oorreëdel het om aan te sluit? --- Die beskuldigde het by voorbeeld gesê ek moet my hand opsteek toe hy met my gepraat het.

Watter hand? ----- Die regterhand.

En moes jy iets sê terwyl jy jou hand opsteek? ----- Hy het gepraat.

Wat het hy gesê? ----- Hy het gesê 'ons land'.

Het hy dit in Afrikaans gesê of het hy dit in Santsotaal gesê? ----- In Santsotaal.

Wat het hy gesê, wat was die woorde wat hy gebruik het? --- Iswoleto.

Ja, het hy nog enige ander aanhalings gemaak, behalwe Iswoleto? --- Ek onthou nie dat die beskuldigde enige iets anders gesê het nie, want ek het met hom argumenteer oor hierdie besigheid, Edelagbare.

Wat was die strekking van julle argumente? ----- Ek het vir hom gesê, ek wil nie hier aansluit nie.

Ja, en wat het hy gesê as jy vir hom so sê, jy wil nie aansluit nie? Het hy jou maar gelos of het hy aangehou? ----- Wat wel gebeur het ons was nie op spreekende - ons het nie meer met mekaar gepraat nie.

Het daar later 'n wrywing ontstaan tussen julle twee as gevolg van hierdie versoeke van hom? ----- Ja.

STAATSAANKLAER: GEEN VERDERE VRAE.

* HOF VERDAG *

ON RESUMPTION OF COURT: 1st September, 1965.

JUDGMENT.

BY THE COURT:

The accused is charged with two counts of contravening the suppression of Communism Act No. 44/1950. The first of contravening Section 11(c) read with Section 31(a)(1), in which it is alleged that during the period from the 8th April, 1960 to the 17th October, 1963, and at Johannesburg he wrongfully and unlawfully and in contravention of the provision in Section A, sub-Section 1, Section 3, became or continued to be an office bearer, officer or other member of an unlawful organisation to wit the Pan Africanist Congress.

The second count of contravening Section 11 (c) read with Section 31(a)(4) of the said act, that during the period 8th April, 1960 and the 17th October, 1963, and at Johannesburg he did take part in an activity or activities of an unlawful organisation, to wit, the Pan Africanist Congress, or carry on in the direct or indirect interest of the said unlawful organisation, and activity or activities in which he was or could have been engaged during the said period.

The accused pleaded not guilty to both these counts.

In order to succeed on these charges the State must prove (1) the existence of an organisation called the P.A.C. or Pan Africanist Congress. (2) The declaration of such organisation is unlawful, and (3) that after such declaration the P.A.C. continued to exist and to carry on its activities. (4) The accused continued to be an office bearer etc. of the P.A.C, and (5) that the accused took part in activities of the P.A.C.

In terms of the provision of Section 12(4)(c) of the Act, the Prosecutor handed in a number of documents and photostatic copies which became part of the record. These documents, on the face thereof, were compiled, maintained, used, issued or published

by or on behalf of the F.A.C., and consequently admissible against the accused as prima facie proof of the contents thereof. No attempt was made at any stage to rebut this prima facie proof in any way.

From a study of Exhibit A, the constitution of the F.A.C., and Exhibit B, the P.A.C. Disciplinary code, and the other documents, it is quite clear that the organisation known as the P.A.C. did in fact exist.

The second requirement is met by the references and production in Court by the Prosecutor of a Government Gazette, containing (a) Proclamation No: 119/1960, dated 8/4/60, the validity of which was extended by Section 22 of Act 93/1963, by which the P.A.C. was declared an unlawful organisation.

Regarding a third requirement, the following documents make it abundantly clear that the P.A.C. did not cease its existence on the 8th April, 1960, but went underground to continue with its operations and activities. Firstly the press release, Exhibit F. Secondly, P.A.C. reply to Snyman and Vorster report, Exhibit G, and thirdly, a call to P.A.C. leaders, Exhibit D.

In his address to the Court Mr. Schwartzal, however, did attack the admissibility of Exhibits A to H, because firstly the Court does not know the origin or background or how they became in possession of the State, and secondly because they are irrelevant. The Court cannot agree. Section 12 (4) (c) of the Act is quite clear, it provides for the handing in of these documents, which clearly set forth the object of the organisation.

This is only prima facie evidence, but was not rebutted.

Lastly, requirements must be established from the verbal evidence laid before the Court. Phillip was a witness, called by the State, who testified that he accused stayed with him and other Bantu men in the hostel, and he said the accused repeatedly spoke politics to him. "Beskuldigde praat politiek met my. Hy vra ek moet aansluit by die Congress, by die P.A.C. Toe hy sien ek weier,

sê hy, ek is 'n 'sell out'. Verder het hy gesê as P.A.C. aan bewind kom sal ons gevang en ontman word, en hy het ook gesê hy is lid van die P.A.C." Under cross-examination he said that he kept on saying, 'join, join', and he threatened that failure on our part to do so we would be castrated. 'He asked me and others to join.'

The Court found that Phillip was an excellent witness. His demeanour in Court was closely observed. He gave his evidence clearly, fluently. He was taken under a long cross-examination, but did not contradict himself, and the Court feels that Phillip is a satisfactory witness. He is not alone in his evidence, his evidence is also corroborated by the evidence of James. He told the Court that the accused invited them to join the P.A.C., and when he refused the accused told him that he would be compelled to do so.

I may mention that James is the younger brother of the accused. He also told the Court that "as ons nie aansluit nie sal ons later os gemaak word." He also told about, when asked about slagspreuke, "beskuldigde sê ek moet my hand opsteek en dan praat hy, en hy sê 'iswoleto', our country."

Now, the Court found - and it is true that this witness during his evidence broke down and even cried - it was obvious that it was extremely difficult for him to come here to court to testify against his elder brother, he even said so in his evidence, "Ek is baie gehag aan die beskuldigde, en ek wil nie graag teen hom getuig nie." It is true that James had also been arrested by the police, he said he had been beaten by the police to speak the truth about his brother. The Court is quite satisfied that when he came to court here, he spoke the truth. I repeat again, it was obvious that it was very, very difficult for this witness to testify against his brother. It grieved him so much that he did break down and cried, and he even cried for some time, the court had to adjourn to give him time to compose himself. But, when he had decided to give the evidence he spoke the truth and the Court even finds

that that is more significant, and accepts that as a fact that he was speaking the truth in these difficult circumstances. It would have been quite easy for him to turn around and protect his brother, say things which might not be true in order to make it easier for his brother. He came out and he appeared to be honest in what he said, and the Court accepts his evidence, and thus corroborating the evidence of Phillip.

Johannes was a third person who also stayed with them at the time in the hostel. He also said that the accused spoke about the Congress. He asked them to join. His evidence in itself is not as strong as that of the other two witnesses, but to a large extent corroborates what the others have said.

The fourth witness, Clement, told the Court about a certain meeting to which he went, he was called there by some other man and he went to this meeting, as soon as he saw that this was a meeting which was addressed by the accused, he asked if this was now a meeting of the F.A.C, and when it appeared to him that this was a meeting he left. He cannot say what actually transpired there, and from his evidence the Court cannot accept that there was actually a meeting of any banned organisation. But even if he could testify that there was a meeting, the Court is not satisfied about the identity of the accused at that meeting.

It is true, there is evidence, that at some stage in the jail at a parade he pointed out the accused. There is no official evidence of this parade, and the Court feels that applying the rules, which is necessary when identity should be established, and the State has not proved beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused was the person who addressed that meeting, if ever there was a meeting of any banned organisation. The Court will then omit the evidence of Clement, and not regard it as evidence at all against the accused.

We also have the evidence for the State of Warrant Officer Van Niekerk, who testified about the letters found on the accused.

This is not denied by the accused. And he further explained certain terms and uses and its implications.

The accused in his evidence admits that he stayed at the hostel with these witnesses, but he denies that he asked them to join or ever spoke to them about politics or banned organisations.

The accused as a witness did not create the same favourable impression as the State witnesses. Whilst giving evidence-in-chief he spoke freely, but was not quite so much at ease under cross-examination.

His explanation about the phrase "Thanks for the letter and tipping me off about the snake", was anything but convincing. He also found it difficult to explain why he went to Bechuanaland to work when he was not allowed to work there and really intended to go to Zambia, he went there because of higher remuneration. The Court feels that the evidence given by the accused on these grounds is not true.

Under all the circumstances the Court accepts the evidence of the State witnesses, as mentioned, and must reject that of the accused.

The Court then finds that the accused actually attempted to and persuaded Phillip, James and Johannes to join the P.A.C. a banned organisation, even using threats to obtain his object and that he told at least Phillip that he was a member.

In the light of Semdu's case, (1964) (1) P.H. pg. 59 it has also been confirmed that a person who takes part in these activities must at least be a member.

In the circumstances the accused is found **GUilty** on Both COUNTS AS CHARGED.

ACCUSED HAS ONE PREVIOUS CONVICTION.

ACCUSED ADMITS PREVIOUS CONVICTION.

MR. SCHWARTZHAL ADDRESSES THE COURT IN MITIGATION

SENTENCE.BY THE COURT:

MALOKA CHRISTOPHER MWUTE, you have been found guilty on two counts of contravening the suppression of Communism Act. First that you became or remained a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, an unlawful organisation, and the second count that you took part in activities of this organisation.

That these offences are viewed in a serious light by the legislature is evident from the penalties which are prescribed by Law. The Act provides a maximum penalty of ten years imprisonment for each of these offences.

From study made of the documents handed into Court, it is clear that the scope of this unlawful organisation is very great, that it even envisages sabotage and murder, offences for which the death penalty may be imposed, and that it is clear if these objects are carried out to the extent as set forth in those documents, that certainly bloodshed must result. It is therefore necessary for the Court to take a serious view and impose a sentence, not only as a punishment to the wrongdoer, but which must also act as a deterrent to others.

As far as your previous conviction is concerned it is noticed that in December, 1963, you were sentenced for leaving the Republic without the necessary passport or permit. The dates alleged in the present chargesheet are from the 8th April, 1960 to the 17th October, 1963, so the sentence imposed on you on your last conviction is subsequent to the commission of the present offence, and the Court will therefore not take into consideration the previous conviction for the purpose of imposing sentence. The Court will also bear in mind what was said on your behalf by your learned Counsel. The fact that you have been five months awaiting trial in jail.

From the evidence too there is nothing more than that you

persuaded or even have threatened other men to join the organization. There is no evidence that you incited them or got them to do further offences at that stage. The Court will take that into consideration and also the fact that there are two counts, which as I have already mentioned, are closely related to one another, and of course will take an accumulative effect of the sentences on each count also. The Court will bear that in mind. Including also the accumulative effect of the previous sentence, which when everything is taken into account really also has bearing on this matter.

In the circumstances you will be sentenced to TWO YEARS IMPRISONMENT ON EACH COUNT.

W.R. JOOSTE.

MAGISTRATE.

TRANSCRIBER:

MRS. B. PIENAAR.

SAAK NO:

DATUM:

CORSKRYFSTER SE SERTIFIKAAT:

Ek die ondergetekende, sertifiseer hiermee dat die voorafgaande n ware oorskrif is van die oorspronklike getuienis, meganies opgeneem in die saak van:

DIE STAAT TEEN:

.....

.....

CORSKRYFSTER.

CASE NO:

H.152/65.

DATE:

25/6/65.

TRANSCRIBER'S CERTIFICATE.

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript of the original evidence recorded by mechanical means in the case of :

THE STATE VERSUS:

MALOKA C. MUTE.

.....

.....

MRS. B. PIENAAR.

.....

TRANSCRIBER.

THE PAN-AFRICANIST.

VOL. V No. 1

MAY/JUNE 1915

CASE | EXH.
H 152/85 No. C

J. J. [Signature]



OFFICIAL ORGAN
OF THE

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS.

PRICE

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THE AFRICANIST

Official Organ Of The Pan-Africanist Congress,

Published and issued through

THE EDITOR

P.O. BOX 1610, JOHANNESBURG.

MAY / JUNE, 1959.

THE EDITOR SPEAKS

CHOOSE NOW: OPPRESSION OR FREEDOM -

The PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS was successfully launched as the liberation movement of the African people at a convention held at the Communal Hall, Orlando, Johannesburg, from the 4th to the 6th of April, 1959.

ATTITUDE OF PRESS:

Right up to the time of the Convention, the whole White Press carried on a campaign of sustained denigration and belittlement against the Africanists. "New Age", of course, wallowed in the gutter as usual. But because of the determined hard work of our members, the almost desperate response of the desperate youth of our land, the Convention was, from all reports, a resounding success. This, in spite of the hostility of the Press. Since the Press is again engaged in a campaign of vilification, distortion and denigration, it is essential that we take this lesson to heart: that since no press has built us up, no press can destroy us. It must be made clear now, that no press can interpret our policy for us; no press can canalise our struggle; no press can command our subservience. But there is another lesson for us to learn, namely, that since we are the only people who can interpret our own policy and since it is our duty and obligation to reach all levels of African society, it is imperative that we immediately produce and run a paper of our own.

RESPONSE OF YOUTH.

The most striking thing about the Convention was the youthfulness of its composition. There was a freshness in the debates, a freshness in the approach to problems, a youthful freshness in the hearing of delegates which only young active minds and young active bodies could produce. Someone remarked apropos the youthfulness of the delegates that there was in fact no need for a Youth League in the PAC! Because the movement as such was a movement of the youth.

Further evidence of the seriousness with which these youthful delegates approached their task is to be found not only in the fact that they were punctual, disciplined and patient - sitting for 16½ hours on Sunday - but also in the fact that they discussed, amended and studied critically a number of very important documents, such as the constitution, the manifesto and the declaration of policy. And then one learns from the A.N.C. statement on the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress signed by Duma Nokwe, that the "brains" of the A.N.C. could not understand our manifesto!! How revealing! The A.N.C. intellectuals could not understand what our semi-literate and

illiterate youthful delegates understood! Truly, one "must have an Irish heart to sing an Irish song". These young men and women understood the manifesto because it is theirs; it reflects their policy, gives expression to their aspirations.

IMMEDIATE RESULTS OF CONVENTION.

On the positive side the immediate result of this PAC Convention has been the capture of the imagination of the African people. The same spirit is abroad as we experienced immediately after the adoption of the 1949 Nationsbuilding Programme. Once more it has become clear that our people have all along been waiting hopefully for the emergence of an organisation which would give expression to their deepest feelings and aspirations; an organisation that would provide them with a national home. And they know that they have found in the PAC a home. And we will not let them down.

Another spectacular result of our Convention has been the shameless theft by the A.N.C. of the PAC's programme and slogans. After Mr. Luthuli had stated boldly just before the Accra Conference that our struggle here was not for independence nor for self-determination, but for equal rights, the "Afrika Day Issue" of New Age came out with the unbelievable statement: "We are against white domination, we demand the right of self-determination". Who demand these things, is our question. Who are against white domination? Who want self-determination? For whom? Who? who? who? Then comes a statement that the A.N.C. will not bail or defend arrested people in her campaigns. How does this compare with the slogan the President brought out at the closed session of the PAC Convention, immediately after his election, that "no bail, no defence, no fine"? What plagiarism!

Ofcourse these are the usual stunts. The aim is to steal our thunder. But the lips that utter these slogans are cracked, the voices croaking and the hearts anemic. We will again have a lot of sound and fury signifying - to borrow a term from the gutter - just sweet bokorall.

OUR TASK.

Our immediate task is to recruit the army of liberation. 100,000 AFRICANS WANTED, ALIVE, REWARD - FREEDOM. We want these Africans by July 31st, 1959. AGAIN WANTED: OUR OWN NEWSPAPER - IMMEDIATELY.

With these tasks accomplished, we will move triumphantly, invincibly, to the United States of Afrika; to the Africanist Socialist Democracy; to the new era of the common man, to the era of respect for human dignity, to the era of the free and full development of the human personality, to the era of achievement, the era of an Afrika rejuvenated, an Afrika recreated, an Afrika reborn. **IZWE LETHU I AFRIKA!**
I AFRIKA !! KEARONA !!!

The message that follows overleaf - Page 1 - was received from the Honourable Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on the 3rd of April 1959, on the occasion of the inaugural Convention of African Nationalists, held at the Communal Hall, Orlando.

THE PAN AFRICANIST
DISCIPLINARY CODE.

J.R. 25/6/65

shall be Pan Africanist Congress.

S.E.S. SERVICE, SACRIFICE, AND SUFFERING.

- (i) African Nationalism be the basis of our political philosophy for an Africanist Socialist Democratic State.
- (ii) To maintain our selves and the movement as vanguard of the struggle for African Nationalism with courage and determination.
- (iii) To wage the struggle in this country for National independence under the banner of the Programme of ACTION of 1949, adopted in Bloemfontein.
- (iv) Africanism shall be the ideal for Africanist Socialist Democracy.
- (v) To secure and maintain the complete unity of movement.
- (vi) To maintain complete purity of the PAC as the only organisation of the African people for their national liberation in Africa.
- (vii) To work with other nationalist democratic movements in Africa, with a view to overthrow imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism and all forms of national and racial oppression of the African people.

- Branch & Regional etc.*
- 4. DISCIPLINE:**
- (i) There shall be disciplinary Tribunal of Justice consisting of three or more members appointed by the N.E.C.
 - (ii) Its decision shall be reported to the N.E.C. for ratification or otherwise.
 - (iii) Until appeal comes before the Annual National Conference, the decision of the N.E.C. shall be effective and binding.

- 5. SANCTIONS and PENALTIES:** Disciplinary Tribunal of Justice shall enforce all the provision of the Africanist Code in their entirety.
- (i) The sanctions and penalties shall include fines, ostracism, isolation, suspension and outright expulsion for a long or short period or for good.
 - (ii) The provisions of this Code shall be enforced.

6. EXPRESSION OF IDEAS:-

- (i) Statements relating to policy, programme of principles and tactical line of the movement should not be lightly made.
- (ii) All public utterances or statements must reflect policy and programme of principles of the movement by any other member of the movement.
- (iii) Policy statements in the press or radios must be made by the NEC or President or Secretary General.
- (iv) Irresponsible statements made by anybody shall not be countenance.

7. RESPONSIBILITY:-

- (i) Members should develop a high sense of responsibility and discipline with respect to all matters relating to the movement.
- (ii) They should keep all matters treated as confidential at their meetings or group discussion - forms strictly confidential.
- (iii) They should refrain from tail-biting, back-biting, gossiping, rumour-mongering and spreading lies and distortions of truth.
- (iv) Their utterances must reflect the ideas, philosophy, Policy and programme of the movement, the idea of Afrika for the Africans the Africans for Humanity, and Humanity for God must be understood and appreciated.

8. SPREADING IDEAS:-

- (i) Members should spread the ideas of the movement through press, radio and platforms fearlessly. / (ii) Members

- (ii) Members's duty is to circulate ~~do~~ in doggers bills, c ~~blers~~, Licturettes ~~l~~ ~~written~~ addresses etc.
- (iii) It should be the duty of each member to strive to convert p people to the ideas of the movement and into the movement itself.
- (iv) Members must spread the ideas of our cause in the streets, in house to house campaigns, in the trains, in the restaurants at the static functions, cinemas, on the sport fields, at the station platforms, in social gatherings, tea-parties dance parties, churches, schools, adoration by the grave sides.

9. ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE:-

- (i) It will be the duty of each member of the movement to improve increase and develop his or her knowledge of the affairs of mankind in general, and of the continent in which we live in particular.
- (ii) The members should read books and newspapers for it is an offence to the P&C to be ignorant of current events.
- (iii) They should make it a duty to read and to hold discussions, and lectures should be arranged to educate the rank and file and the less educated members.
- (iv) The more theoretically advanced members should conduct classes for the less advanced.
- (v) A library of pamphlets, newspaper clippings, extras from books, lecturettes etc. should be compiled in order to improve and develop and build the ideas of the members around the central philosophy of African Nationalism.

10. PERSONAL HABITS:-

- (i) Members of the movement should develop healthy sound personal habits.
- (ii) Members should maintain an exemplary standard of cleanliness.
- (iii) They should deport themselves with honour, dignity, and proper decorum in the sight of the movement and the nation.
- (iv) They should be punctual for their appointments, especially for meetings, discussions or other duties relating to the movement.
- (v) They should be tireless in day-to-day work in the interests of the movement and the Nation.
- (vi) They should develop and demonstrate honesty, frankness, and courtesy towards one another.
- (vii) They should develop and show a true respect for the African womanhood, and demonstrate in practice the theory of sex equality with respect to men and women of our movement and Nation.
- (viii) They should strive to be principled in their approach to the main problems of life and the world.
- (ix) They should develop a true love for the African people, the Fatherland in particular and for all mankind in general.

11. RELATION WITH OTHER MOVEMENTS:-

- (i) The Africanists should be armed with theory to such an extent that they can meet other movements or groups on a basis of equality but not to promote the ideas of other movements/parties.
- (ii) Members should be keen to study different ideologies, in particular, the philosophy of Africa Nationalism and Africanism in order to equip themselves fully.
- (iii) Members should deport themselves with poise and calmness and dignity in the presence of other movements or groups in debating chambers or elsewhere.
- (iv) They should not display immaturity or pettiness or apologeticness or ill-concealed inferiority.
- (v) They should be natural, dynamic and human, but ruthless when necessary.
- (vi) They should win the other man with arguments, and not with a knuckle.

There should be punctual attendance at the meetings which should be made known in good time to all members concerned

...../11 Meeting.

THE P.A.F. CONFERENCE

- (a) The R.E.C. shall consist of the following:
 - (a) The President, the National Secretary, the Treasurer-General, Deputy Presidents (the latter ~~and~~ depending on number to the Regions existing), the Secretariat, consisting of the Secretaries for: Pan African Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Publicity and Information, Labour, Education, Culture and Economic Affairs, the National Organizer and three other members.
 - (b) The R.E.C. shall hold office for three years after the Regional elections the National Secretary shall assume the National Executive Committee, including the Chairperson of Regions who upon expiry become Deputy Presidents, for the election of a similar Deputy President then and among the number of a deputy Presidents. This similar Deputy President shall hold office, until the expiry of the R.E.C. period of office, irrespective of subsequent Regional Election results.
 - (c) The members of the R.E.C. shall not hold office in either the Regional Executive Committee or Local Executive Committee.

1/2 1/2
1/2 1/2

Land & Development
Economic Affairs
Finance
Education

VI. THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE

The National Working Committee shall be the main suborgan of the National Executive Committee, and shall consist of:-

- (a) The President, and
- (b) Four other members elected by the R.E.C. from among themselves.

VII. POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE:

- (a) The R.E.C. shall see to it that the Decisions of Conference and those of the R.E.C. are duly executed and its policies are duly implemented.
- (b) It shall supervise the administrative machinery of the organization on national, Regional and Local levels, and shall take such measures as it deems fit to enforce the decisions and programs of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Members of the R.E.C. shall normally reside in an area situated within a radius of 50 miles from headquarters to be indicated from time to time.

- (c) The R.E.C. shall meet in a plenary session at least once in a month or, if emergency arises, from day to day to review the major trends, formulate policies and modify strategy for the guidance of the R.E.C. and assume full powers for supervising the basic programs of the P.A.C.

COMPOSITION OF THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE:

(a) The Regional Conference shall consist of representatives from each local branch indicated in section (5) (g) above.

(b) The Regional Conference shall elect the Regional Executive Committee, composed of the following:-

- (a) President and Vice-Chairman.
- (b) Secretary and Assistant Secretary.
- (c) Treasurer, and
- (d) Four other Committee members.

All the above-mentioned shall be elected every two years.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

- (a) To organize local branches within the Region, and to co-ordinate their activities.
- (b) To carry out the programs and policy of the P.A.C., and the instructions and directions received from the National Executive Committee.
- (c) To take recommendations to the R.E.C. on matters affecting the welfare of the organization within their region.
- (d) To implement the decisions of the Regional Conference, provided that such decisions are not in conflict with the programs and policy of the P.A.C.
- (e) To submit the annual statements and reports to the Regional Conference and to the R.E.C.

residual
Party, Admin
Inter-Regional
Finance
Economic Affairs
Pan Africanist Congress
Legal
Continental
Organizing
Labour

to help manage, control and guide the work of the P.A.C. in Educational and Cultural organisations in their Region under the General supervision of the National Executive Committee.

- (g) To undertake all such activities as may further the work of the P.A.C. in the Region concerned.
- (h) The E. E. C. at the end of the financial year cause the Treasurer to prepare and submit audited accounts to the Regional Conference.

14. REGIONAL BRANCHES

- (a) The local Branch shall be the basic unit of the Organisation of P.A.C. Each shall be governed by a Branch Executive Committee, which shall consist of:
 - i. Chairman and Vice-Chairman.
 - ii. Secretary and Assistant Secretary,
 - iii. Treasurer, and
 - iv. Four other members.
- (b) The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected at the Branch Annual Meeting.
- (c) There shall be a Branch meeting at least once a fortnight.
- (d) Fifteen members shall constitute a branch.

15. DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

- i. To carry on organisational and propaganda work among the masses in order to acquaint them with the standpoint of the P.A.C.
- ii. To keep in close contact with the masses, and to report periodically their experiences to the Regional Committee.
- iii. To study the educational and cultural life of the people in their area.
- iv. To foster the spirit of initiative among the masses by taking a leading part in organising them to solve their problems.
- v. To collect and receive and to collect the P.A.C. membership dues.
- vi. To forward the list of members to the Regional Executive Committee and to report any act of indiscipline and other dishonour and disputes.
- vii. To discipline any member of the Branch as provided for in the Disciplinary Code.
- viii. To foster political and general education amongst P.A.C. members, especially the Youth.
- ix. The Branch Executive Committee shall prepare and submit a financial statement to the Annual Members' Meeting which shall have been endorsed as correct by the Regional Committee.

17. AMENDMENTS:

- a. This Constitution, or any part thereof, may be amended, rescinded, altered or added thereto by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting at an annual National Conference.
- b. Proposals regarding any amendment of the Constitution must be sent to the National Secretary at least two months before the Conference at which they are to be considered, and circulated in writing to the Branches at least one month before the conference.
- c. The duties of the members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting.

ADOPTED BY ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS HELD AT ORLANDO,
MISSISSIPPI, 6th - 5th - 6th. APRIL 1955.

SUB. POTLAND E. LEBALLS
(NATIONAL SECRETARY),
MARGALIN S. THORNE
(PRESIDENT).

solve. The tremendous, epoch-making scientific achievements in the exploration of space, with man-made satellites orbiting the earth, the new and interesting discoveries made in the Geophysical year, the production of rust-resistant strains of wheat in the field of agriculture, the amazing discoveries in the fields of medicine, chemistry and physics - all these, mean that man is acquiring a better knowledge of his environment and is well on the way to establishing absolute control over that environment.

However, in spite of all these rapid advances in the material and physical world, man appears to be either unwilling or unable to solve the problem of social relations between man and man. Because of this failure on the part of man, we see the world split today into two large hostile blocks, the so-called Capitalists and Socialists blocks represented by the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union respectively. These two blocks are engaged in terrible competition, use tough language and tactics, employ brinkmanship stunts which have the whole world heading for a nervous breakdown. They each are armed with terrible weapons of destruction and continue to spend millions of pounds in the production of more and more of these weapons. In spite of all the diplomatic talk of co-existence, these blocks each behave as though they did not believe that co-existence was possible.

AFRIKA'S POSITION:

The question then arises, where does Afrika fit into this picture and where, particularly, do we African nationalists, we Africanists in South Afrika, fit in?

There is no doubt that with the liquidation of Western imperialism and colonialism in Asia, the Capitalist market has shrunk considerably. As a result, Afrika has become the happy-hunting ground of adventuristic capital. There is again a scramble for Afrika and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to win the loyalty of the African states. Afrika is being wooed with more ardour than she has ever been. There is a lot of flirting going on, of course, some Africans flirting with the Soviet camp, and others with the American camp. In some cases the courtship has reached a stage where the parties are going out together; and they probably hold hands in the dark, but nowhere has it yet reached a stage where the parties can kiss in public without blushing.

This wooing occurs at a time when the whole continent of Afrika is in labour, suffering the pangs of a new birth and everybody is looking anxiously and expectantly towards Afrika to see, as our people so aptly put it ukuthi iyoza nkonomi (what creature will come forth). We are being wooed internationally at a time when in South Afrika the naked forces of savage Herrenvolkism are running riot; when a determined effort is being made to annihilate the African people through systematic starvation; at a time when brutal attempts are being made to retard, dwarf and stunt the mental development of a whole people through organised "mis-education"; at a time when thousands of our people roam the streets in search of work and are being told by the foreign ruler to go back to a "home" which he has assigned them, whether that means the break up of their families or not; at a time when the distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation, the "dom pass" is being

- (ii) Meetings should be short, precise and to the point.
- (iii) The Chairman of the meeting must be respected.
- (iv) He must conduct the meeting in proper procedure and with fairness to the members.
- (v) His rulings must be respected by all members of the movement.
- (vi) Clear decisions with no equivocations must be taken, and these should be practicable, and within the scope of the movement.
- (vii) The meetings of the movement must be business-like and serious-minded. The Chairman must know his job well, and must have studied the methods of conducting meetings.
- (viii) The members must be open, frank, objective, brief and business-like in their approach to discussions. There should be no waste of time, redundancy or irrelevant bickerings.

13. DISCUSSION - DECISION:-

- (i) Decision affecting the movement should be arrived at after the issue has been properly discussed by a quorum.
- (ii) In the course of a discussion each and every member is free to air his views and to agree or disagree with all and any member of the movement, including the leader.
- (iii) No man or woman will of necessity enjoy a privileged position entitling his or her views to greater weight than those of others merely because they are expressed by so-and-so. All views should have an equal chance of acceptance. The weight of views should depend on the relevance and substance and not on who puts them forward.
- (iv) All discussions shall be on a democratic basis. Every man or woman is entitled to a hearing, and each and all are subject to criticism.
- (v) Once a decision has been properly taken after a democratic and objective discussion of the subject matter, then it becomes binding on all. In the execution of such a decision, no divergences must be allowed. The leader of the movement has to issue directives which must be obeyed and carried out.
- (vi) At that stage, the leader exercises almost dictatorial powers which he wields with humanity, so long as he acts within the letter and spirit of the democratic decision and the Code.

14. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM:-

This means that the power of directive of the movement is centralised in the SAC which acts through the President who wields unquestionable power so long as he acts within the grounds laid by the decisions of the movement which have been democratically arrived at. It means a centralisation of directive or executive power to take place, so as to ensure the most effective implementation of decision. If the movement genuinely wants to large ahead must adopt and carry out this principle with firmness and thoroughness.

15. FACIIONALISM:-

- (i) Factionalism is the enemy of solidarity and unity of action.
- (ii) To destroy it at its roots, frank and open criticism should be encouraged within the movement. A movement that accepts democratic centralism in its approach to its movement and organisational problems will know how to deal with the virus of factionalism.
- (iii) Where the normal processes of free discussion fail to curb factional tendencies, then firm iron discipline should come into play, and factional elements, no matter how important, should be chopped off, without ceremony.

16. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE:-

- (i) On my life, honour and fortunes, I solemnly pledge and swear that I shall always live up to the aims and aspirations of the Pan Africanist Congress, and will never under any circumstances divulge any secrets or betray an Africanist; and that if I start to divulge any secrets, I am the movements of the Pan Africanist Congress or betray a member of the cause, or use the influence of the P.A.C. for my own personal interests or advertisement, I shall do so at my own risk and peril

extended from the African male dog to the African female bitch. It is at this time, when fascist tyranny has reached its zenith in South Afrika, that Afrika's loyalty is being competed for. And the question is, what is our answer?

Our answer, Kr. Speaker and children of the Soil, has been given by the African leaders of the continent. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly stated that in international affairs, Africa wishes to pursue a policy of positive neutrality, allying herself to neither of the existing blocs but, in the words of Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe of Nigeria, remaining "independent in all things but neutral in none that affect the destiny of Afrika". Mr. Tom Mboya of Kenya has expressed himself more forthrightly, declaring that it is not the intention of African states to change one master (western imperialism) for another (Soviet hegemony).

We endorse the views of the African leaders on this point. But we must point out that we are not blind to the fact that the countries which pursue a policy of planned state economy have outstripped, in industrial development, those that follow the path of private enterprise. Today, China is industrially far ahead of India. Unfortunately, however, this rapid industrial development has been accompanied in all cases by a rigid totalitarianism notwithstanding Mao Tse Tung's "Hundred Flowers" announcement. Africanists reject totalitarianism in any form and accept political democracy as understood in the west. We also reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of a few. We accept as policy the equitable distribution of wealth aiming, as far as we are concerned, to equality of income which to us is the only basis on which the slogan of "equal opportunities" can be founded.

Borrowing then the best from the East and the best from the West, we nonetheless retain and maintain our distinctive personality and refuse to be the satraps or stooges of either power block.

RELATION TO STATES IN AFRIKA:

Our relation to the States in Afrika may be stated precisely and briefly by quoting from George Padmore's book, 'Pan Africanism or Communism'. Discussing the future of Afrika, Padmore observes that "there is a growing feeling among politically conscious Africans throughout the continent that their destiny is one, that what happens in one part of Afrika to Africans must affect Africans living in other parts".

We honour Ghana as the first independent state in modern Afrika which, under the courageous nationalist leadership of Dr. Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has actively interested itself in the liberation of the whole continent from White domination, and has held out the vision of a democratic United States of Afrika. We regard it as the sacred duty of every African state to strive ceaselessly and energetically for the creation of a United States of Afrika, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar.

The days of small, independent countries are gone. Today we have, on the one hand, great powerful countries of the world, America and Russia, cover huge tracts of land territorially and number hundreds of millions in population. On the other hand the small weak independent countries of Europe are beginning to realise that for their own survival they have to form military and economic federations, hence NATO and the European market.

Respectful regards to the Speaker and historical lore that we share

REV. KWO 64 PFP A C C R A 45/

- 1 IV 1969. Orlando

Secretariat,
Africanist Movement,
1144 Dale South, Johannesburg.

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR INAUGURAL CONVENTION CONVIN
DELEGATES FRATERNAL GREETINGS STOP WISH MEETING EVIN
SUCCESS IN UNING AFRICAN PEOPLE IN NON VIOLENT AN
CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND RACIA
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF DETERMINATION - KWAME NKURUM
+FIG 1144.

THE OPENING ADDRESS

delivered by Mangaliso R. Dabukwe

o t

THE AFRICANIST INAUGURAL CONVENTION.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sons and Daughters of Afrika !
Mr. Speaker has already informed you that we had hoped that
this inaugural Convention of the Africanists would be opened
by Dr. Kazamu Hastings Banda, setting which, by Mr. Kenneth
Kaunda of the Zambia African National Congress in Northern
Rhodesia. Both have been unable to attend our convention,
for both are now, in the hands of the colonialists, "det-
ained" in some concentration camp because they dared to
demand the right of self-determination for the indigenous
African people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The
honourable task of opening this conference has, therefore,
fallen on me, an Africanist, and I wish to thank the Centra
Committee for the honour. I am particularly grateful for
the opportunity this offers me to treat briefly of certain
issues relevant to our struggle which, though adequately
treated in the documents that will be considered by this
Convention, require to be presented to such a gathering.

I hope, then, Mr. Speaker, in the course of my address,
to answer broadly questions pertaining to our stand in
contemporary international politics, our relation to the
states of Afrika, both independent and dependent, our attitude
to the entire nationalist movement in Afrika, our stand on
the question of Race in general and the so-called racial
question in South Africa. Finally, I hope to outline
briefly our ultimate objectives.

INTERNATIONAL SCENE:

We are living today, Sons and Daughters of the Soil,
fighters in the cause of African freedom, we are living today
in an era that is pregnant with untold possibilities for
both good and evil. In the course of the past two years we
have seen man breaking asunder, with dramatic suddenness,
the chains that have bound his mind, solving problems which
for ages it has been regarded as impossible to solve.

with the other countries of Afrika, it is imperative, for purely practical reasons that the whole of Afrika be united into a single unit, centrally controlled. Only in that way can we solve the immense problems that face the continent.

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN AFRIKA:

It is for the reasons stated above that we admire, bless and identify ourselves with the entire nationalist movements in Afrika. They are the core, the basic units, the individual cells of that large organism envisaged, namely, the United States of Afrika; a union of free, sovereign independent democratic states of Afrika.

For the lasting peace of Afrika and the solution of the economic, social and political problems of the continent, there needs must be a democratic principle. This means that white supremacy, under whatever guise it manifests itself, must be destroyed. And that is what the nationalists on the continent are setting out to do. They all are agreed that the African majority must rule. In the African context, it is the overwhelming African majority that will mould and shape the content of democracy. Allow me to quote Dr. Dubois, the father of Pan-Africanism: "Most men in the world", writes Dubois, "are coloured. A belief in humanity means a belief in coloured men. The future of the world will, in all reasonable possibility, be what coloured men make it". As for the world, so for Afrika. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it.

THE RACE QUESTION:

And now for the thorny questions of race. I do not wish to give a lengthy and learned dissertation on Race. Suffice it to say that even those scientists who do recognise the existence of separate races, have to admit that there are border line cases which will not fit into any of the three Races of mankind.

All scientists agree that all men can trace their ancestry back to the first Homo Sapiens, that man is distinguished from other mammals and also from earlier types of man by the nature of his intelligence. The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is superior to another, and there is no race that is inferior to others.

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary, therefore, the word 'race' as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation.

In Afrika the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe, in order to facilitate and justify their inhuman exploitation of the indigenous people of the land. It is from this myth of race with its attendant claims of cultural superiority that the doctrine of white supremacy stems. Thus it is that an ex-engine driver can think of himself as fully qualified to be the head of the government of an African state, but refuse to believe that a highly educated black doctor, more familiar with Western culture than the white premier is, cannot even run a municipal council.

I do not wish to belabour this point. Time is precious. Let me close discussion of this topic by declaring, on behalf of the Africanists, that with UNESCO we hold that "every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind

IN SOUTH AFRIKA:

In South Africa we recognise the existence of national groups which are the result of geographical origin within a certain area as well as a shared historical experience of these groups. The Europeans are a foreign minority group which has exclusive control of political, economic, social and military power. It is the dominant group. It is the exploiting group, responsible for the pernicious doctrine of White supremacy which has resulted in the humiliation and degradation of the indigenous African people. It is this group which has dispossessed the African people of their land and with arrogant conceit has set itself up as the "guardians", the "trustees" of the Africans. It is this group which conceives of the African people as a child nation, composed of Boys and Girls, ranging in age from 120 years to one day. It is this group which, after 300 years, can still stare with brazen affrontery that the Native, the Bantu, the Kaffir is still backward and savage etc. But they still want to remain "guardians", "trustees", and what have you, of the African people. In short, it is this group which has mismanaged affairs in South Africa just as their kith and kin are mismanaging affairs in Europe. It is from this group that the most rabid race baiters and agitators come. It is members of this group who, whenever they meet in their Parliament, say things which agitate the hearts of million of peace-loving Africans. This is the group which turns out thousands of experts on that new South African science - the Native mind.

Then there is the Indian foreign minority group. This group came to this country not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. In the South African set-up of today, this group is an oppressed minority. But there are some members of this group, the merchant class in particular, who have become tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance. This class identifies itself by and large with the oppressor but, significantly, this is the group which provides the political leadership of the Indian people in South Africa. And all that the politics of this class have meant up to now is preservation and defence of the sectional interests of the Indian merchant class. The down trodden, poor "stinking coolies" of Natal who, alone, as a result of the pressure of material conditions, can identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow White supremacy, have not yet produced their leadership. We hope they will do so soon.

The African constitute the indigenous group and form the majority of the population. They are the most ruthlessly exploited and are subjected to humiliation, degradation and insult.

Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when White supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the African people can be organised only under the banner of African nationalism in an All-African Organisation

HIERDIE AFSKRIF VIR LANDDROES/RIGTER.
THIS COPY FOR MAGISTRATE/JUDGE.



Snak Nr. 6/755/85
Verb. 30-4-65

Droster-no. Dekas No.	E.R.-no. C.R. No.	V.A.-klas. P.P. classification.	V.A.-no. P.P. No.
63/25213	R/16075	27 TO 15 28 OM 20	100407/55
Aan To	3-4-2. THE GRAYS		
Beskuldigde Accused.	Christopher Patis		
R.A.A. R.C.A.	100.4.55		
Aanklag Charge	o/a i/a) Art 44/1050 Daverendig vas die deel- skilling van verhoor myningsreig		21.4.65
	3/Ders. van der Berg		DB

OPPLAEGING. (4) Publikasie moet van abstrak van horende rekord met afdruk van verhoor deursig versagtel, van die S.A.S.S., Partien 46B, Pretoria, versagtel.

(5) Een abstrak moet van die Publikasie Afdeling vir insigging van die Landdroes verhoorlyk word. Waar die beskuldigde van 'n in Deel I van die Deurde Bylae vermeldde misdryf beskuldig is moet die abstrak wesen waarop die Buro of vertoerlik versagtel is.

(6) Een abstrak moet van die Klark van die Hof verhoorlyk word van aan die Landdroes het Gesaggewingsing yding is word, of het beskuldigde geen versig versagtelings.

(7) Vir abstrak moet, in sake van 'n Hoof- of Skandigingshorende saken, van die Klark van die Hof vir beskuldiging verhoorlyk word, inskuldigende die deur die Buro gesaggewingsing abstrak waar sulke die geval is.

IMPORTANT. (4) Police to return one copy of this record to the S.A.C.S., P.O. Box 46B, Pretoria, with results of trial embodied thereon.

(5) One copy must be handed to the Public Prosecutor for use by the Magistrate. Where the accused is charged with an offence mentioned in Part I of the Third Schedule, it must be the copy which bears the certificate of the Bureau of Investigation.

(6) One copy must be handed to the Clerk of the Court for attaching to the Criminal Warrant, even if accused has no previous convictions.

(7) Four copies must be handed to the Clerk of the Court for disposal in cases not down for hearing in Superior and Circuit Courts, including the copy certified by the Bureau where such is the case.

The beschuldigde het, nadat aan hom geel is dat die bylae die bylae verhoorlyk wesen versagtelings of keurlyk geel, en geel is om hulle te afdruk of vertoerlik, verklaar ---

The accused who having been informed that it appears that he/she was identified of the offences aforesaid and being called upon to admit or deny these convictions, declares ---

Adams J.

Medhows
1-9-65

Handtekening van beskuldigde
Signed by accused

Hof
Court

F. Regan

Handtekening van abstr.
Signature of abstractor

Datum
Date

Handtekening van Landdroes
Magistrate's signature

Datum
Date

Togevolge subartikel (1) van Artikel 44 van die Wet op die Strafprosedure no. 56 van 1955 moet horende gesaggewingsing die die vorige skandigingsreordings wat op die keurlyk horende rekords teen die beskuldigde afdruk versagtel is die sulke van horende Buro versagtel is.

In terms of sub-section (1) of section 44 of the Criminal Procedure Act No. 56 of 1955 it is hereby certified that the previous convictions recorded on the reverse side hereof are recorded in the records of the Bureau against the horende mentioned accused.

Datum van versagtelings
on afdruk
Date certified and
insiggetel

23-4-1965

[Signature]
S. Officer
O. Commanding
L.A. Criminal Bureau/S.A. Criminal Bureau.

Handtekening van Court case No.
Classifikasie Classification No.

Handtekening van
Magistrate's signature
of abstractor

VORIGE VEROORDELINGE.

PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS.

S.A. 48 B.

Nad aan plek van verhoor. Court and place of trial Hofsaal no. Court case no.	1. Datum van skuldigbevinding. Date of conviction. 2. Datum van vonnis. Date of sentence.	Vennis. Sentence.	Hofstyl. Offence.	Naam besonder vermeld. Name convicted under.
Streeks.Pretoria. 563/63.	18.12.63 21.12.63.	SAKB.61/75213 K.P./16075. 2 jaar G/S waarvan 1 jaar G/S opgeskort word vir 3 jaar op voore. dat besk. nis weens 'n soortgelyke oortreding skuldig bevind word nis.	N.S.A. verlaat sonder paspoort of permit.	Christopher Maloka. 256657/63.

Tenye onder aangehaal is die vertaling van verspreide in 'n 108 en 108. Die oorspronkele getuienis: Verspreiding in Unghar, en Aanwagting 111, is wettigheids materiaal van die Staat en is verspreiding in alreë en strafbaar. Die oorspronkele getuienis, wat verspreide die die getuienis is, verspreiding in Unghar en 'n verspreide dokument, wat verspreide die die verspreide is, en Aanwagting wat die die die verspreide getuienis is in verspreide.

Unless otherwise indicated, the crimes described in 108 and 108, Reserving under property, Forgery and Libelling, and Assault U.S.A. are in fact the crimes: Reserving with intent to commit an offence and theft, Reserving under property and libelling it in fact been made. Forgery and Libelling a forged document and knowing it to have been forged, and Assault with intent to do physical bodily harm.

Blaai om.
Turn over.

- CONSTITUTION -

1. NAME:

The name of the organization shall be the Pan Africanist Congress, hereinafter referred to as the P. A. C.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTS:

- (a) To unite and rally the African people into one national front on the basis of African Nationalism.
- (b) To fight for the overthrow of white domination, and for the implementation and maintenance of the right of self-determination for the African people.
- (c) To work and strive for the establishment and maintenance of an Africanist socialist democracy recognising the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the human personality.
- (d) To promote the educational, cultural and economic advancement of the African People.
- (e) To propagate and promote the concept of the Federation of Southern Africa, and Pan Africanism by promoting unity among peoples of Africa.

3. MEMBERSHIP:

- (a) Any African who is of the age of 16 years or above and accepts the principles, programmes and discipline of the P. A. C. shall be eligible for membership, provided that:
- (i) He/She is not a member of any political organisation whose policy is inconsistent with that of the P. A. C.
- (ii) The National Executive Committee shall from time to time determine whether a certain organisation's policy is inconsistent with the cause of the P. A. C.
- (iii) In doubtful cases applications shall be forwarded by the local Executive Committee to the National Executive Committee, together with the reasons for doubt, before the application is accepted or rejected. There shall only then shall the N.E.C. issue such applicant, upon payment of the enrolment fee, a membership card after which the applicant shall be regarded as a member of the P. A. C.
- (b) Application for membership shall be normally made on duly prescribed forms which shall be completed by the applicant and forwarded for consideration by the National Executive Committee.
- (c) On enrolment each member shall be supplied with a membership card.

4. FINANCE:

- (a) The general funds of the P. A. C. shall be derived from proceeds of functions (parties, dances, football matches, etc.), voluntary subscriptions, levies, appeals, donations, bazaars, sales of P. A. C. literature, badges, subscription fees of individual member and other sources approved by the P. A. C.
- (b) It shall be competent for the National Executive Committee to finance projects and to request the members to make contributions to such projects should general funds be inadequate.
- (c) Funds contributed by members for any specific purpose shall not be alienated for any other purpose save by the resolution of the N. E. C.
- (d) The National Executive Committee shall establish and administer a National Reserve Fund, and at the end of the financial year the N. E. C. may vote a sum to be determined for this purpose.
- (e) The N. E. C. shall at the end of each year prepare estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the ensuing year, such estimates shall be submitted to the Annual Conference for consideration.
- (f) The financial year of the P. A. C. shall begin on the 1st. day of November to the 31st. day of October the following year.
- (g) All N. E. C. accounts other than recurring expenditure such as rent, salaries, petty cash, shall be submitted to the N. E. C. for approval prior to payment; and no amount not exceeding £50 shall be granted from time to time as petty cash.

- (k) All national funds shall be deposited in a bank, and applications for withdrawal must be signed by the Treasurer-General and either the National Secretary or the President.
- (l) Subscription fees shall be equally distributed between the three organs of the P. A. C. namely the Branch, the Region and the National Organs. Also provision for the keeping of records shall apply mutatis mutandis between the three organs of the P. A. C. unless otherwise indicated.
- (m) The N. E. C. shall at the end of the financial year cause the Treasurer-General to prepare and submit audited accounts to the National Conference.

5. THE NATIONAL FLAG.

The official colours of the P. A. C. shall be green, black and gold. The P. A. C. flag shall be a green field with a black map of Africa and a gold star in the north-west of Africa. The map shall represent the youth and vitality of the continent. Black shall represent the colour of its people, and gold shall represent the wealth actual and potential.

6. THE ANNUAL AND SPECIAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

- a. The National Conference of the P. A. C. shall be the supreme organ of the organisation and shall lay down the broad basic policy and programme of the P. A. C. and its decisions shall be binding on all members and all organs of the Pan Africanist Congress.
- b. The annual National Conference shall be held at such times and place as may be decided upon by previous Conference or, in the absence of such a decision, by the National Executive Committee.
- c. The functions duties and powers of the National Conference shall be supervisory, deliberative, administrative and determinative.
- d. A special National Conference may be called by the N. E. C. in cases of emergencies.
- e. Upon receipt of a requisition signed by one-third of the number of branches represented at the previous Conference, a special Conference shall be called by the N. E. C. in connection with the subject matter of the requisition within six weeks of the receipt of such requisition by the National Secretary or President.
- f. The Annual Conference shall consider reports and audited accounts presented by the N. E. C.
- g. Branches which are in full compliance with their fees shall be entitled to be represented at a General Conference by one delegate for every 15 members, provided that no single branch shall be represented by more than 10 delegates.
- h. Any branch of the P. A. C. which is in arrears with its subscription fees / levies shall have no right to participate in any general Conference.
- i. At least six weeks before the date for the holding of an Annual Conference the N. E. C. shall frame and circulate an agenda to all branches of the P. A. C. To secure inclusion in the agenda of items from the Region or Branches, these must be forwarded to the National Secretary at least 8 weeks before the date of the Conference. Delegates to the Conference shall be entitled to move amendments at Annual and Special Conferences to any resolutions or proposals, or to any proposed alteration to the Constitution that may appear on any agenda paper of such Conference.
- j. Only P. A. C. organs such as Branches, and not individual members, shall send resolutions for determination at the Annual or Special National Conference.

7. COMPOSITION OF THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE:

The National Conference shall be constituted as follows:

- (a) Delegates from Branches elected subject to Section 6 (g) above.
- (b) All members of the National Executive Committee and members of the Working Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the National Conference.

8. QUALIFICATIONS FOR DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

- (a) All delegates to the National Conference must be bona fide members of the organs of the P. A. C.
- (b) No person shall be a delegate for more than one organ of the P. A. C.
- (c) No person who is in arrears with his subscription fee shall be eligible as a delegate to the National Conference.
- (d) Every delegate must, as an individual, accept the Constitution, programme, principles and policies of the P. A. C. and conform to them.

where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of the minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans.

We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the African means the freedom of all in South Africa, the European included, because only the African can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in which all men will be citizens of a common state and will live and be governed as individuals and not as distinctive sectional groups.

OUR ULTIMATE GOALS:

In conclusion, I wish to state that the Africanists do not at all subscribe to the fashionable doctrine of South African exceptionalism. Our contention is that South Africa is an integral part of the indivisible whole that is Afrika. She cannot solve her problems in isolation from and with utter disregard of the rest of the continent.

It is precisely for that reason that we reject both apartheid and so-called multi-racialism as solutions of our socio-economic problems. Apart from the number of reasons and arguments that can be advanced against apartheid, we take our stand on the principle that Afrika is one and desires to be one and nobody, I repeat, nobody has the right to balkanise our land.

Against multi-racialism we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term of multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Afrika those very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests, implying as it does, proportional representation irrespective of population figures. In that sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To us the term "multi-racialism" implies that there are such basic insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes.

We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Afrika and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals, not groups.

Economically we aim at the rapid extension of industrial development in order to alleviate pressure on the land, which is what progress means in terms of modern society. We stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth.

Socially we aim at the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms or manifestations of the racial myth. To sum it up we stand for an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Afrika. Come and sit under its shade and

become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree.

Sons and Daughters of Africa, I declare this inaugural convention of the Africanists open! ~~1959~~

oooooooooooooooooooo

The following is a message which was received from the Premier of the Republic of Guinea, on the occasion of the inaugural convention of the Africanists:-

TELEGRAM.

JHJ17 IOJ475 WC28 CK45/3 CONAKRY 9 4 3 1959

= PRIORITE ABSOLUE PRESIDENT
GOVERNEMENT REPUBLIQUE GUINEE A TRE
AFRICANISTMOVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA
1144 DUBE SOUTH P.O. ORLANDO JHBURG

0070 OCCASIONK VOTRE SEANCE INAUGURALE OUS PRIE E KE VOUS
PRIE ACCEPTER SALUT FRATERNEL DU GOUVERNEMENT ET DU PLEUPLE
DE GUINEE STOP VOUS ASSURONS ENTIERE SOLIDARITE ET VOUS
ADRESSONS MEILLEURS SOUHAITS PUR SUCCES EPFORST = 50 =
EN VUE LIQUIDATION COMPLETE ET RAPIDE DOMINATION
COLONIALISTE STOP SOMMES DE COEUR AVEC VOUS POUR REALISATION
MEILLEURS DELAIS FEDERATION AFRIQUE DU SUD ET PANAFRICANISME
DEVANT ABOUTIR CREATION ETATS UNIS D AFRIQUE POUR LE PLUS
GRAND BIEN DE NOTRE CONTINENT STOP SENTIMENTS FRATERNELS
SEKOU TOURE: PREMIER.

TRANSLATION:

On the occasion of your inaugural meeting, please accept fraternal salute from the government of the people of Guinea. We wish you entire solidarity and success in your efforts to liquidate completely the domination of the colonialists. The federation of all Pan African States, together with the idea of a United States of Africa, must be realised soon. Please accept our sentiments and fraternal greetings in this regard. S. TOURE

THE 1959 PAN AFRICANIST MANIFESTO.

The significant portion of our social milieu begins with the expansion of the markets founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century. Succeeding years witnessed the "discovery" of new lands by the Europeans, the Papal award of the whole of Africa to the Portuguese, increased European slave raids on Africa that denuded Africa of Africans and led to the establishment in the Americas of the greatest mass chattel slavery that the world had ever known. Africa had been successfully robbed of Africans. It was this chattel slavery that contributed substantially to the initiation of the European industrial revolution which in turn resulted in the unleashing of the forces of reaction which culminated in the rape of Africa at the close of the last century.

Early European settlement of Africa especially of its southern tip, was a direct result of the rise of European commercial capital. Wave upon wave of European settlers came to Africa and their penetration of the interior involved the loss of sovereignty by the indigenous peoples and the alienation of more and more portions of their land. With the rise of the industrial capital of Europe and its increased search for raw

materials and more markets, the partition of Africa went apace and the doctrine of "effective occupation" was enunciated, a theory calculated to "sugar coat" the bitter pills of land robbery and political subjugation. More and more settlers came into the country until today there are 5,000,000 Europeans who up to the dawn of African liberation had constituted themselves a ruling class over the 250,000,000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of white domination, whether visible or invisible, which is characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of the indigenous African masses. Throughout this historical epoch, the age of white domination, whenever the spokesmen or representatives of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to the phenomenon as the "spread of Western civilisation or the extension of Christian trusteeship". The undisguised truth is that white domination has grounded down the status of man and stunted the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in human history. White domination was established by the sword and is maintained by the sword.

Significant events of the twentieth century especially of the latter part of it, have constituted a massive challenge to Herrenvolkism, a particular manifestation of imperialism and colonialism. Already European exploiters and oppressors have been dramatically expelled from such countries as Indonesia, India, China, Burma, Vietnam, etc. These are today being systematically routed and forcibly caused to retreat in confusion. The post-war world has witnessed the expulsion of the European imperialist exploiters and oppressors from large tracts of Africa and the emergence of no less than nine sovereign and independent African states. We are indeed witnessing a twilight of the tin gods of white domination - a *gotterdammerung*.

Elsewhere in Africa the progressive forces of African nationalism continue to be locked in mortal combat with the reactionary forces of Herrenvolkism. By the end of next year the peoples of Togoland, Somaliland, the Cameroons and Nigeria will have achieved freedom. The French policy of 'association' is being rejected in favour of decolonisation and independence. To the chagrin of the imperialists the government of Free Algeria is a reality. Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda are on the verge of obtaining their freedom from British imperialism. Contrary to their traditional policy the Belgian imperialists have been forced to accede, at least in principle, to the African people's demand for the recognition of their independence in the Congo. The policy of partnership pursued in the Central African Federation has been exposed for what it is: the greatest political fraud of our times. Even in those massive concentration camps, Angola and Mozambique, the African people have begun to reject the status quo in favour of their own freedom. The liquidation of the forces of oppression is a process that not even nuclear power can halt.

The days of European domination of Africa are numbered. Even in South Africa the writing is glaringly on the wall for those of our European rulers who can see and decipher it. For exactly three-hundred and seven years today, the African people have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded. They have in the past, as they do now, declared themselves for freedom. They reject white domination in any shape or form. They are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of their country from alien hands. They are determined to exercise the most fundamental of human rights, the inalienable right of an

indigenous people to determine and shape their own destiny. To the African people there can be no room in any way or in any part of Africa for any non-indigenous peoples who deny to the indigenous populations their fundamental right to control their own material and spiritual interests effectively. South Africa which is an integral part of the continent, is the inalienable heritage of the African people and its effective control in their undisputed and unquestionable birthright.

Following the 'capture' of a portion of the black leadership of South Africa by a section of the leadership of the white ruling class, the masses of our people are in extreme danger of being deceived into losing sight of the objectives of our struggle. This captured black leadership claims to be fighting for freedom when in truth it is fighting to perpetuate the tutelage of the African people. It is tooth and nail against the Africans gaining the effective control of their own country. It is fighting for the maintenance of the status quo. It is fighting for the "constitutional guarantees" or "national rights" for our alien nationals. It has completely abandoned the objective of freedom. It has joined the ranks of the reactionary forces. It is no longer within the ranks of the liberation movement.

These "leaders" consider South Africa and its wealth to belong to all who live in it, the alien dispossessors and the indigenous dispossessed, the alien robbers and their indigenous victims. They regard as equals the foreign master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited, the foreign oppressor and indigenous oppressed. They regard as brothers the subject Africans and their European overlords. They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic to see that the interests of the subject peoples who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded, are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class. Citizen Toussant once remarked that: "whenever anybody, be he white or mulatto, wants a dirty job done, he gets the Negro to do it". The charterist leadership, true to type, is doing the oppressor's dirty job, namely, seeing to it that the African is deprived for all time of his inherent right to control his country effectively; of seeing to it that whatever new social order is established in this country, the essentials of white domination are retained, even though its frills and trappings may be ripped off. This attitude has been labelled MULTI-RACIALISM by their white masters. They have even boldly suggested that being a multi-racialist is a virtue!

The African people are very much proud of their race - the human race. They recognise no inescapable fundamental differences among members of even the three main branches of that race: the Caucasoids, Mongoloids and Afrinoids.

They do not subscribe to the theory that there are inherent mental, emotional and psychological differences among the members of the different branches of the human species. They hold the granting of "rights" on the basis of ethnological origin to be the entrenching of sectional arrogance and the continued maintenance of contempt for human worth and disregard for human dignity. They regard the differences that exist among various groups or sub-groups of man to be mainly acquired in and through the individual. The African people recognise the influence of common environmental factors in the acquisition of group characters. They do not, and will not, tolerate any division of their country for purposes that are calculated to foster sectional arrogance, and continued

contempt for the worth of the human personality, and the disregard for human dignity. The African people are fully aware that suggestions of apartheid, whether total or partial, of segregation social or political, of Christian trusteeship, white leadership with justice, of partnership etc., are all intended merely as a cloak for their continued oppression, exploitation and degradation. They deny the foreigners any right to balkinise or pakistanise their country. To any such schemes, programmes or policies, the African people cannot be a party. The African people are neither racists nor racialists, and they unreservedly condemn all form of racialism, including multi-racialism. They do not nurse any crude hatred for the European peoples, BUT they do cherish a deep-seated detestation for the Herrenvolk system.

The African people of South Africa recognise themselves as part of one African nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Madagascar to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organisational expression for this nation in a merger of free independent African states; a United States of Africa, which will serve as an effective bulwark against the forces of imperialism, colonialism, herrenvolkism and tribalism, and as a sure and lasting foundation for an Africanistic socialist democracy. The African people regard the development of such a nation as essential for the preservation of their sovereignty, of their vital material and spiritual interests and for the creation of conditions under which they will be enabled to make their lasting contribution to human advancement in a free Afrika.

The African people will not tolerate the existence of other national groups within the confines of one nation. For the healthy growth and development of the African nation it is imperative that all individuals must owe their first, and only, loyalty to the African nation, and not to their ethnic or national groups. The African people regard the influence of material conditions in the development of a nation as being of greater significance than mere ethnic origin. Within the social environment of the African nation there will be room for all individuals who identify themselves materially, intellectually and spiritually with the African nation.

In South Africa the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressed peoples is African nationalism, and the social force which upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressor is Herrenvolkism. These antithetical forces shall find their final reconciliation only in the synthesis of Africanism, in which the contradictory aspects shall have vanished and only the unifying factors which betray no instability shall remain. Africanism is a social force that upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual. In this way Africanism is the only logical and practical solution of the social question in Africa.

The basic question confronting the African people is identical with that which has faced mankind from the beginning of time itself: the problem of man's relation to his fellow man. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellow man in fellowship: in harmony and in peace.

Man moves and has his being, in a social environment. In the absence of social life the social question would fall away. Man's relation to his fellowman is determined by his primary needs. The social question, whose structural foundations are to be found in economic determinism, arises within the framework of social

relations. Man is, therefore, a social being and not an animal. To live in harmony with his fellowman, man must recognize the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of his race and must eliminate the tendency on his part to uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellowman. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be developed and that respect for it can be fostered.

The historic tasks of the African liberation movement are clearly the product of Africa's history, of the forces and factors which have made it what it is. To attain complete freedom in Africa, the historic tasks of the movement are:

To forge, foster and consolidate the bonds of African brotherhood on a Pan African basis;

To implement effectively the fundamental principle that the dominion or sovereignty over and the dominium or ownership of the whole territory of the continent vest exclusively and indelibly in the indigenous peoples.

To create and maintain a United States of Africa that will serve and provide a concrete institutional form for the African nation.

To establish an Africanistic socialist democratic social order, recognising the primacy of the vital material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the individual.

A liberation movement must find concrete expression in organisational form and substance in order that it may achieve its historic tasks. The highest organisational form and structure in which the African liberation movement has found concrete expression in South Africa is the Pan Africanist Congress and the various facets of its historic role are:

To create an organisational machinery for the galvanising of the oppressed, exploited and degraded African masses into an irresistible social force bent upon the destruction of all factors and forces that have reduced the stature of man and retarded his growth; and also bent upon the creation of conditions favourable for the restoration of man's worth and dignity and for the development of the African personality.

To establish for the liberation movement a training ground for the production of a determined, dedicated and disciplined collective leadership that will serve, not only as the symbol of national unity on a Pan African basis, but also as the repository, guardian and custodian of the ideas, principles and methods of the movement, as well as of the policies and programmes of the organisation.

To provide an administrative machinery for the direction, guidance and control of the national liberation movement in its grand march towards the inevitable goal of complete freedom.

Africanism in Pan Africanistic in scope, purpose and direction. It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of Africa, and does not in any way serve the interests of either the Eastern or the Western powers. It is continental in scope, covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Madagascar to Morocco. It is a social force functioning through the media of African social conditions, and

operating to liberate Africa and to create a social order, original in conception, Africanistic in orientation, socialistic in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose. Pan Africanism became a concrete reality when African nationalists from all parts of the continent met at Accra. The All-Africa People's Conference, held in Accra in December 1958, laid a promising organisational foundation for African nationalism on a pan african basis.

In its dialectical march towards the final synthesis of Africanism, African nationalism is destined to create the conditions favourable for the development of the African personality.

The final triumph of the liberation movement under the direction of the P.A.C. is assured. The movement must triumph because in their march to freedom the African people have history on their side. The militant progressive forces of African nationalism are bound to crush the reactionary forces of white domination. The movement must triumph because the PAC alone has a message for the oppressed, that their salvation lies in manifest determination to unite as a nation and to struggle for the noble ends of freedom and self-determination. The movement must triumph because, having been purified in the crucible of oppression, the African people can demonstrate to the world genuine democracy in action, a democracy founded upon the ruins of the material and spiritual conflicts and contradictions of the existing social order, a democracy in which men shall at long last find his true self, and a democracy in which the human personality shall blossom to the full.

ADOPTED BY THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAC - 5th APRIL, 1959.

R E M E M B E R

A F R I C A N N A T I O N A L H E R O E S ' D A Y

31st July - every year.

THIS YEAR AFRICAN NATIONAL HEROES' DAY SHALL BE HELD
ON SUNDAY, THE 2nd OF AUGUST. REMEMBER 2 - 8 - '59.
THIS IS A DAY OF REDEDICATION BY ALL AFRICAN NATIONALISTS.

PRESS STATEMENT: 12/4/1959.

The National Working Committee of the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS decided on Sunday 12th April, 1959 to observe April 15th 'AFRIKA DAY'. This is in accordance with the resolution of the nine independent states which met in Accra last year.

AFRIKA DAY is a day not of rejoicing nor celebration, but of rededication to the cause of African freedom and the goal of a United States of Afrika.

If the words of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah are taken into account, it becomes crystal clear that the emergence of independent Ghana heralded the intensification of the struggle for the freedom of the Continent from white domination in whatever form or guise. The leaders of the continent have repeatedly stated that so long as any square inch of the continent remains oppressed, African freedom is incomplete.

We, therefore, call upon our members in particular, and the

African people in general, to hold branch meetings throughout country and there solemnly rededicate themselves to the cause Pan Africanism and the goal of a United States of Afrika.

We call on the African people wherever they may be on the day to observe at 9 p.m. a three-minute period of silence and rededication.

Signed: P.K. Leballo,
NATIONAL SECRETARY.
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

FIRST NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1. PRESIDENT: Mr. R.M. Sobukwe - Johannesburg.
2. NATIONAL SECRETARY: Mr. P.K. Leballo - Johannesburg.
3. TREASURER GENERAL: Mr. A.E. Ngcobo - Durban.
4. NATIONAL ORGANISER: Mr. E.A. Mfama - ~~Scutterheim~~.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

5. Mr. Z.L. Mothopeng - Johannesburg.
6. Mr. H.S. Ngcobo - Durban.
7. Mr. C.J. Fazzie - East London.
8. Mr. M.G. Maboza - Port Elizabeth.

SECRETARIAT.

PORTFOLIO.

9. Mr. P.H. Molotsi: Pan African Affairs - Johannesburg.
10. Mr. S.T. Ngendane: Foreign Affairs - Johannesburg.
11. Mr. Z.B. Molete: Publicity and Information - Winburg, O.P.
12. Mr. P.N. Raboroko: Education - Johannesburg.
13. Mr. N.N. Mahomo: Culture - Cape Town.
14. Mr. N.D. Nyawaza: Labour - Johannesburg.
15. Mr. H.M.D. Hlatwayo: Finance & Economic Development - Durban.

Elected at the National Africanist Inaugural Convention held at the Communal Hall, ORLANDO, Johannesburg from the 4th to the 6th of April, 1959.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS -

FROM CAIRO TO CAIRO, MADAGASCAR TO MOROCCO.

ooooOoooo

FORWARD TO THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

ooooOoooo

HERE AND THERE - NEWS IN BRIEF:

Encouraging news comes from the National Secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr. P.K. Leballo. He reports a growing number of recruits to the organisation. Applications for membership pour in daily from all the corners of our beloved country. Our target of 100,000 is thereby being steadily but surely realised. REMEMBER - WANTED 100,000 members, alive, by July 31st 1959. IZWE LETHU I AFRIKA.

The recent outbreaks of typhoid in Johannesburg, and water floods in the Natal South Coast, have carried away in their wake a number of lives. Our sympathies to the bereaved families of the African victims.

The Bantustan Bill, which aims at balkanising our country into numerous so-called Bantu Ethnic homes, has been read for the second time in the Union white parliament. SHAME!

We, who reject completely any idea aimed at balkanising our country, have received news that a prominent Johannesburg African has come forward with a plan whereby South Africa should be divided into two sections - along the 25th degree of longitude - the West, Alibostan, for the White people, and the East, Afrostan, for the Africans.

A so-called United Anti-Nationalist Government Front has recently been formed. The Front consists of the reactionary White United Party, the liberal Liberal Party, the defunct Labour Party, the fifty-member strong Congress of Democrats, the ideologically-bankrupt African National Congress, the merchant-class Indian Congress, the lilly-livered White Black Sashers, and some lost Afrikaner Sabra professors. Bishop Reeves is reported to be their leader! SHAME. WE SAY NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE ENEMY IN AFRIKA.

Kenya Africans have, through their leader Tom Mboya, rejected multi-racialism in favour of non-racialism. Speaking recently in America, Mr. Mboya said that if necessary Africans would have to resort to Positive Action in order to enforce their legitimate demands of governing their continent.

The government car used by Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, and who has recently become Member of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, is reported to have been overturned and completely burnt by an angry group of Africans who claim that he has misplaced their faith in him by accepting Membership of the overwhelmingly White Legislative Council. Meanwhile, the militant Zambia Congress, of the same country, led by Africanist Kaunda, has been banned by the government, and most of its members are in the so-called detention camps, because they would not sell their country - not for love of wealth or personal liberty.

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A CALL TO P.A.C. LEADERS!

P.A.C. Leaders we have now reached a crucial stage in the struggle of our people. The Emergency Laws have outlawed P.A.C. and sent most of our militants to prison. An all-out attempt was made by the police and the army and the white citizen forces to smash the P.A.C. Organisation, and destroy its machinery. Meanwhile our heroic Leaders are languishing in gaol, having been sentenced to long stretches of three, two and one and half years. It is all quiet on the African National Front. But it is the silence and inactivity before a gathering storm. It is the breathing space before P.A.C. continues its campaign for:-

- (1) The total abolition of passes;
- (2) A minimum wage of R. 3. 4. d per week; and
- (3) The Release of Sobukwe and other P.A.C. Leaders.

During this breathing-space the leaders have specific, vital, urgent, tasks and these tasks must be implemented and carried out at once. Delay will be deadly. It will be disastrous. We dare not betray Sobukwe!!!

The tasks before our Leaders are clear:-

- (1) The first task is to consolidate the underground organisation of the P.A.C. This means that each region, or branch, must resort to cell organisation. For example, a branch must divide up into small cells, each under a cell leader. A cell consists of a few members, making up a tiny unit by themselves.

Each and every cell in a branch or area must be in touch, through its Leaders, with a small branch Executive Committee, which is itself a cell unit. The Branch Executive must establish contact either with the Regional Executive Committee or with the Johannesburg National Centre as far as possible. The Cell must meet frequently under conditions of extreme secrecy. Iron discipline must be instilled among members. Discussions must be carried on, and tasks allotted. Methods must be found to spread ideas and propaganda by word of mouth or by short written Bulletins. But this must be done quietly, efficiently and unobtrusively. This is an immediate task and it is of paramount urgency. Do not shirk or delay it.

- (2) The second task is just vital. Once each branch has completed its cell organisation, it must at once prepare the people for continuing the campaign. Complete secrecy must be observed in the preparation of the people for mass disciplined action. The propaganda must centre round the Central issues, such as:-
 - (a) The fact that our leaders are in gaol;
 - (b) The fact that P.A.C. will never stop the campaign until the passes are abolished; and that only Mangaliso Sobukwe will call off the campaign.
 - (c) The fact that the P.A.C. went into Positive action in order to have all Pass Laws removed from the Statute Book.
 - (d) The fact that the wages of our African Workers are miserably low, and only a minimum wage of R. 3. 4. d per week will be acceptable.

The meagre, miserable concessions, on such things as liquor, which the Government contemplates, must be exposed, firstly as being totally inadequate and a bluff, and ~~secondly as proof of the power of the P.A.C.~~ Campaign against the Pass laws. The temporary suspension of the Passes, during the first days of the Campaign, must be held up as proof of mass power and the weakness and vulnerability of the Government. P.A.C. Leaders, these are vital, urgent, historic tasks! Forward to cell formations! Forward to preparation of the people! Forward to mass Action for the Abolition of passes!!!

- (3) The final decisive phase will be a call by P.A.C., for nation wide Mass Action, with P.A.C. membership constituting a militant spear-head or vanguard. The object will be a total abolition of the Pass Laws. All Cellular branches will receive bulletins - regular bulletins to assist them in the organisational propaganda and preparatory work! Forward to organisation and preparation now! The call will come from Central Headquarters! P.A.C. Leaders of all grades and strata, forward now to action! TO CONSOLIDATION AND PREPARATION, NOW!!!

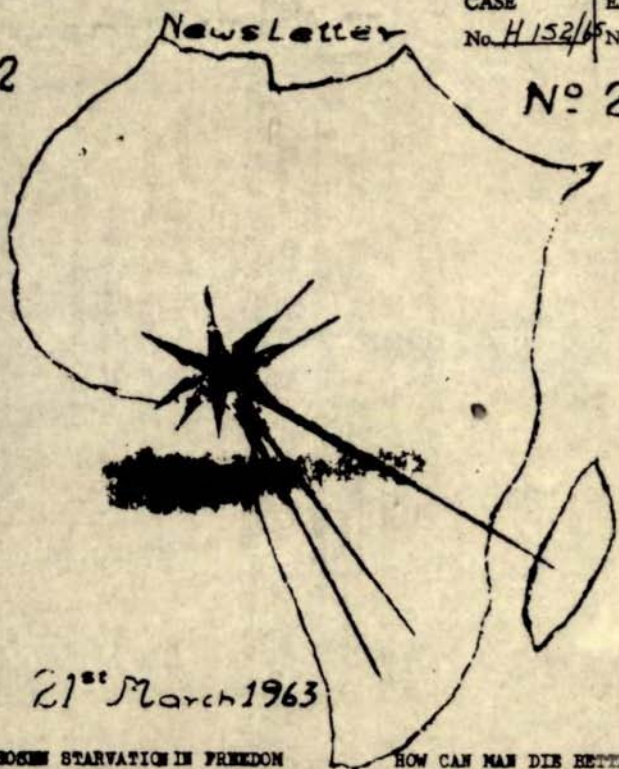
THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Newsletter

CASE No. H 152/65 EXH. No. E.

Vol 2

No 2 *2/16/63*



21st March 1963

WE HAVE CHOSEN STARVATION IN FREEDOM
SO OPULENCE IN BONDAGE - Sobukwe.

HOW CAN MAN DIE BETTER THAN
FACING HIS FEARFUL ODDS FOR
THE ASHES OF HIS FATHERS
AND THE TEMPLES OF HIS GODS
- P.K. LEBALLO.

THE RELEASE OF MANGALISO ROBERT SOBUKWE, PRESIDENT OF P.A.C.

The world is awaiting the release of Mr. Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress on May 3rd, 1963. His release has brought to surface a variety of guesses from different quarters of political thought.

Now, it shall perhaps remind many people of the past activities of this great fascinating African nationalist leader. Recounting in brief what he has himself enunciated in his efforts to guide world opinion on postulates of the injustices of white settler South Africa. Sobukwe has emphasized these points:-

- (a) It is absolutely impossible for white South Africa to apply their unjust laws justly.
- (b) That South African courts are dominated in fact staffed entirely from a white personnel, which is a part of the oppressing machinery.
- (c) That African has no share whatsoever in the making of the laws, that are ruthlessly applied to them
- (d) Realising these things, it is Sobukwe's conviction and that of the entire population that follows his party, that the LAWS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE MORALLY NOT BINDING TO ANY AFRICAN whatsoever that to actively oppose these iniquitous, barbaric fascist and tyrannical laws is the Africans' first duty to God. The leader of these popular sentiments is about to be released, there is, already, speculation.

The Pan Africanists do not indulge in gymnastics of wild speculation, but they feel it is their duty to remind the world that the thick silence and indifference to the sufferings of Africans in the Republic of South Africa constitute positive danger to world peace.

THE ACME OF WHITE CHICANERY.

As in the sentence on Sobukwe and his men were not a demonstration of Satanic savagery of the twentieth century, the white settlers government went further to clamp down and seal off ALL channels of political protests and political expressions by the Africans; the white settlers government has now declared war on the Africans by passing the Sabotage Act.Page 2/.....

Not on the heels of the Sabotage Act, the whole Defence Force was re-organised and geared to stand in readiness to butcher down defenceless Africans; the whole white population, child, mother and father armed to the teeth to destroy the Africans, in particular the members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The white community of South Africa has with a "saintly" hypocrisy blessed all the ungodly Acts to muzzle and dehumanise the Africans.

Sobukwe is due to complete his three years term of imprisonment, It is common knowledge that he was not morally bound to obey the white laws. Sobukwe went to prison ONLY to honour his pledge and that of his organisation namely (a) to leave Doc-passes at home and to surrender at the nearest Police Station. (b) to be absolutely non-violent. (c) Sobukwe went to prison to demonstrate his faith in his ideals. He has given the world a lesson unparalleled in history if one remembers the truth that all the stunts of Hitler's Germany are now being experimented and applied in all their ugliness and severity on the Africans. The Jewish role is now being played by Africans.

Whilst these acts of blatant savagery continue, we are intensely keen to watch every facet of world reaction; in like manner we shall underline the function of world opinion to the release of our African nationalist leader, Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, UBO, and all the Western countries are afresh placed in the Pan Africanist laboratory for further scrutiny. The reactions of the West and East to his release will give a pointer to our positive reaction.

We remind the world opinion that 6,000,000 Jews were done to death and world peace was hijacked thereby; the concentration camps, piles and piles of bones are the monuments that bear witness to this unparalleled civilised bhicanyery.

Must this be repeated in South Africa? We are certain this shall be repeated in South Africa, because firstly it is not the Jews who suffer; but instead, it is a population, a nation with a different colour. Secondly countries like Britain and America remain indifferent only to lengthen... 1/..

the period of exploitive investment in South Africa. Now, we warn, history has taught us a lesson as old as human suffering that HUMAN NATURE CAN TOLERATE SUFFERANCE, but at the same time HUMAN NATURE possesses an INSTINCTIVE sparks of active positive revolt, which once set in motion, increase in dynamism and ferocity until victory is won. We are convinced beyond all doubt that we have now reached this stage - and to remind world opinion this is 1963, the year of destiny. African nationalism is now poised to unleash invincible knock-out blow against white supremacist savagery of Verwoerdism in South Africa.

Speculation on the release of Sobukwe leads to an extension of injustice on him. The man was sentenced and no conditions were attached to his sentence after completion of 3 years sentence. If then on completion of this term he is sent to Robbin Island, where apparently of late Verwoerd government is depositing all African nationalists political prisoners and political opponents to suffer systematic extermination, the provocation shall not and cannot be taken lying down; world peace shall have been positively threatened.

After Sobukwe has honourably served ~~the~~ his sentence, Africans cannot and shall not allow his atrophy and die in Robbin Island, where we are all told there are now over 250 convicted African nationalists. It will perhaps interest world opinion to note that none of the plumage of the house-arrested multi-racialists is detained in Robbin Island.

THE CHARTERISTS' DIPLOMATIC STUNTS.

Before elaborating on this topic let us underline ugly scenes in the so called Republic of South Africa and pin-point some of the satanic schemes.

White South Africa has behind it the full force of the (1) army, air-force and navy; (2) police force; (3) skiet commandos; (4) air commandos (5) home guards; (6) the whole white population, men, women and children. All have now stiffened their chinks to provoke and murder the African people or shoot them at a sight.

Added to this total of 6 has been added the 7th group in the name of the A.N.C., which has decided at a secret meeting in Dar-es-Salaam....4/.

to assassinate the entire leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress.

These therefore are the enemies of Pan-Africanism; all these are positively apposed to a take-over by the Africans in 1963.

My department has underlined women and children above. Our comments are that these people are, in South Africa, units of defence. They are in truth, active soldiers. Now we warn, now we ask the whole world to take record of this anomaly. White women and children have not only been incited against the Africans, they have been instructed by the Minister of Defence to shoot any defenceless Africans.

If then, the seed and spark of revolt should have the better part of the Africans, NO BLAME WILL ATTACH to self-defence and vengeance against white women and children. The situation in South Africa, as at present constituted, is that our only temporary allies are, ironically, our potential enemies, "white infants." But, immediately these allies outlive fancy they enrol automatically, first to betray us and second to murder us, with their fathers, mothers and the A.N.C.

THE A.N.C. LEADERSHIP.

Save for the ageing Chief Albert John Luthuli, the whole leadership has quited the Republic.

WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR THIS EXODUS?

There are only THREE reasons that can honestly be advanced:

1. The fear of 1963 prophesied by the P.A.C. leaders.
2. The fact that African Youths have rejected the stand and composition of the A.N.C. and without the firm feet of virile youth, the A.N.C. realised its doom.
3. The A.N.C. hopes to linger abroad long enough to try to capitalise on the P.A.C. Campaign in 1963 and, unwittingly, during the crisis in South Africa, claim the Campaign as their own and proclaim a Provisional Government in exile.

The A.N.C. is convinced beyond doubt that their unholy alliance with apartheiders is permanent; that on the point of opposition to P.A.C. they are bed comrades; that therefore the savagery of the white settlers here is bound to murder P.A.C. leaders and condone A.N.C. leadership and preserve it for substitution.

5. The A.N.C.....

The A.N.C. always an opportunist, charterist, multi-racial organisation always hopes to play the 1960 stunt, where T. Makiwane who was then abroad hysterically declared, "we have declared war on the whites," (meaning the A.N.C. had declared the Positive Pass Campaign.

The truth is that the P.A.C. had launched the Positive Action against the Pass Laws, and not the A.N.C. The A.N.C., in confusion, stampeded Buthe into burning his dom-pass in the last effort to catch up with the P.A.C.

The Pan Africanist Congress took the initiative in 1960, it shall keep this last trump card till victory is won. Freedom is not given as a present, freedom is won in positive, consistent combat. My Department and the African population salute in advance, our leader Mangaliso R. Sobukwe; they await in service his arrival to be amongst them.

Lastly, if the A.N.C. claims that it has the majority support of the African people of South Africa, let the A.N.C. leaders with the P.A.C. leaders requisition a referendum supervised by the Independent African States and UNO.

Then the Party that shall arise victorious must of necessity DECLARE THE ALTERNATIVE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT in Southern Afrika.

We throw out this challenge to the A.N.C. and those who blindly, and slavishly hero-worship them.

A Declaration of a Provisional Government-in-Exile by the A.N.C. and its allies shall be meaningless and unacceptable to the African population here, unless at this stage they meet the requirements of a Referendum.

WE AWAIT IN SERVICE, THE ARRIVAL OF MANGALISO SOBUKWE.

A POLITICAL EXPOSURE.

Here under we publish a letter received by our offices from Francistown, which speaks for itself.

6. Francistown.....

Francistown,
Bechuanaland.
2.3.63.

Dear P.K.

Herewith information which must interest you.

I do not know if you people heard of Dr. Dadoo the Amakulu God of the charterists who visited Bechuanaland on 24,25 & 26 Febr. 1963.

I have now heard while in Francistown that this fugitive had come to make contact with some people from Johannesburg to put a plan in operation to murder the P.A.C. leadership. This must happen all over the globe. The Indians and white settlers communists are afraid of the P.A.C. leadership and want to eliminate them now. You have no time to waste. The A.N.C. sell-outs are fully supporting Dr. Dadoo. The communists in Johannesburg who are leaders in this plot are, JOE SLOVO, KATHRADA, PAUL JOSEPH, SISULU, LEON LEVY, MARKS SHOPE. In Durban there is also an Indian BILLY NAIR.

I got this from a charterist who was drunk and wanted to tell Mantsa to get this to you but I am afraid. You see I used to be a charterist but I have learnt here what they are and when I get back I will join with P.A.C. but will first make use of a scholarship.

Take heed you have no time to waste. Beware of JOE MATTHEWS. He may be in the plot.

(sgd) Fellow Son of the Soil.

WE COMMENT.

We wish to make it abundantly clear to the schemers and plotters of this murderous and abnoxious assassination plan and to those of their ilk; to their lackeys and running dogs, to their stooges and beetlickers:

- (a) Your schemes have been exposed earlier than you suspected.
- (w) The African masses have been alerted and will await any attempt by you to put these schemes into operation. When the moment arrives, they will strike with shocking precision.
- (c) The P.A.C. leaders are not in the least afraid. They continue to prepare for the final blow against white domination in 1963. How can they be afraid of you puppies and puny puppets of foreign powers when they have 7... challenged.....

challenged the whole might of the South African gestic army of Hitler's Germany?

We also observe that Mandela, as we said before, was sold out to the police by yourselves. He refused defence and spoke the language of Sobukwe. You sold him out because he could not accept, amongst others, the murderous plot against his own people. He had to be out of the way. It is significant that the would-be assassins of the African peoples' leaders are predominantly members of the foreign minority group, who have everything to lose by the freedom of the Africans. The two African members are committed and they can only withdraw at their own peril.

WE HAVE WARNED YOU.

P R E S S R E L E A S E .

The 21st March, 1963, marks the third anniversary of the Positive Action Campaign of the Pan Africanist Congress against the Pass Laws which resulted in Sharpeville/Langa massacre in March, 1960.

This Campaign was unique in the history of the Sub-Continent in that it clearly exposed the systematic dehumanisation perpetuated by the white minority settlers against the indigenous people.

In paying tribute to the Sons and Daughters of Africa who perished on that historic day, three years ago, the entire African population in South Africa pays homage and rededicates itself, calling upon the blessings of their forefathers to fortify them spiritually and harness their determination to overthrow once and for all the monster of white domination.

The year 1963 marks the release of the African Nationalist leader Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, who stands unchallenged as the only true embodiment of the aspirations and the finest ideals of the African people.

We the Youth of Africa live up to our promises. We did not fail the African people in 1960. We are not failing them in 1963.

It is a day of rededication to the cause of Africa's redemption. The Youth calls:

"JOIN ISSUE WITH US, TO END WHITE DOMINATION IN 1963 AND ON ITS RUINS, BUILD A CLEAN, PURE AND LASTING CIVILIZATION AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD— THE UNION OF AFRICAN STATES."

We are ready to die for our freedom, but we are not yet ready to kill.

Sobukwe. 1960.

We renounce every form of imperialism and colonialism, no matter which side of the Iron Curtain it comes from.and let me stress that I realise that it must not necessarily come from Europe. We have only one motto at this Congress, and for all time: "Africa for the Africans." Africa must fulfill its destiny in its own way. Africa is a continent in itself, and the Africans have their own special personality. Everyone should leave their hands off Africa, everyone. Africa belongs only to the Africans."

Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.

Down with white domination. We shall move mountains.

I.K. Leballo.

ISSUED BY:

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICITY &
INFORMATION.

P.N AFRICANIST CONGRESS. (S.A.)

22nd March, 1963.

PRESS RELEASE

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THE UNION OF AFRICAN STATES."

Issued by:
Department of Publicity &
Information.
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS.

A.K. Leballo

26/3/63



J. A. 6/65

Snyman has deemed it fit to submit to Parliament the interim report on the Paarl riot enquiry even before he has completed his findings. He has recommended drastic and immediate steps to combat Poqo which, he says is synonymous with the P.A.C.

Vorster, Minister of South African white parliament, has promised "urgent laws against plotters," and, "swift action and strong methods" have been called for by these men. The arrests, without justification, of the African Youth in Pretoria, Longa, Transkei and throughout the country by the gestapo police and the death and unbearable sentences at Queenstown, Paarl, Umata, Grahamstown and other centres, are the indications of the shape of things to come. The death and heavy sentences imposed on African Nationalist Youth at these centres by the white South African settler judges shall be met with multiplied vengeance against white South Africa.

The ~~are~~ wild promises of R50.00. for selling the African people to the gestapo police. We wish to warn those who are selling the African souls for R50.00 that they will do so at their own risk and peril, and that if the African people don't catch up with them now, the wrath of the gods of Africa will eliminate them on the day of reckoning. We have long memories.

The R50.00 reward is an admission of the inability of the gestapo police to arrest and harness the dynamic emergence of African Nationalism and the determination of the African people to end white domination in 1963.

When asked whether the situation had deteriorated, Vorster replied; "Yes, certainly. Quite fast." Ironically, these people, who, with unparalleled panic, contemplate retrospective legislation, elimination of preparatory examinations and the introduction of special courts, say, "There is no cause for alarm." "The situation is under control."

The Pan Africanist Congress, with shocking determination, stands by its pledge to free the African people in 1963 by Positive Action, which is now imminent, and to establish an Africanist, socialist, democratic state. The P.A.C. as the vanguard of the African struggle against white domination under the banner of African Nationalism, is now poised to unleash the invincible knock-out blow against white supremacist savagery of Verwoerdism in South Africa.

The allegation that the P.A.C. receives financial support from outside particularly from Ghana, is blatant nonsense. We share, with the rest of Africa, the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the Union of African States. Nkrumah is the pioneer and architect of this ideal.

The attempt by Vorster and his white minority Parliament to implicate Mr. Sobukwe in the P.A.C./POQO affair is fascist nonsense. Sobukwe is in gaol and is innocent of what is going on outside. I challenge Vorster to face me as I have assumed the leadership of the P.A.C.

We have said so in the past and we repeat it now, that the laws of S.A. are morally not binding on any African. White settler minority government can legislate against the P.A.C. We have had no share in the making of their laws.

We do not recognise the Snyman Commission and its findings. The white commission appointed by a white parliament, in turn elected by a white electorate in a black Country has no moral justification to judge and determine the rise and power of African Nationalism.

Your misleading statement that the P.A.C. has an office in Basutolan is another utter nonsense and malicious speculation.

The parliamentary debates, the press reports, the arrests and convictions of Africans, the hideous ministerial intimidation and utterances, the gestapo police methods can only serve to incense the African Youth and to bring disaster on our land.

There is still time. Let the white South African settler government take heed and abdicate and hand over the rule to the indigenous African majority NOW.

ISSUED BY:

P. K. L. PALLO
P. K. L. PALLO

NATIONAL SECRETARY & ACTING
PRESIDENT.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS.
UNDERGROUND NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
NO. 44, JOHANNESBURG.

23rd March, 1963.

*Box 2002
Maseru*

4/2/63

ATROCITIES OF APARTHEID MURDERERS.

The racist Boer descendants of Jan van Riebeeck, the drunk of Holland, have committed an unforgivable crime on the Africans of South Africa. There can be no compromise with their ill-thought barbaric policies. There can be no compromise with the apartheid polecats - Verwoerd and Vorster and their whole stinking apartheid hierarchy. They are murderers. They are Nazis. They have perverted Christianity itself to pursue the myth of white supremacy conceived in the ox-wagon mentality of their Boer ancestors, the invaders and rapers of our land.

The apartheiders have met non-violence by violence. In Sharpeville, Vanderbyl Park, Langa and in many other places in South Africa where the stinking apartheiders have been opposed, there are orphans and widows whose fathers or husbands were shot dead by the Boers - the so-called "bearers of Western Christ an civilisation."

The apartheiders have usurped the African throne. If there were to be free elections today, on the democratic principle of "one man one vote", Verwoerd and his apartheid henchmen would be ignominiously swept out of office. The apartheid fanatics know this. Like dictator Batista of Cuba, the apartheid lunatics have decided to turn the country of our forefathers into a military arsenal and hold to power by force of arms. Daily, they speak of war and of their "military strength". To defend the outdated and immoral ideology of apartheid, the wealth of our country is spent on arms and on paying spies who like Judas have thrown away their integrity and human dignity for 30 pieces of silver. Millions of Africans live in poverty while their country's wealth is being used to suppress and oppress by the ruling Afrikaner Broederbond minority settler regime.

We want to remind the world that the path of blood and violence in South Africa has been chosen by the Neo-Nazi government of Verwoerd, not by us.

As the sublime Mangaliso Sobukwe, our beloved President once put it, "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.. Our energies and forces are directed against a setup, 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."

In order to destroy this myth of race superiority the Pan Africanist Congress has drawn up an unfolding programme.

We repeat. The path of blood and violence has been chosen by our oppressors, Verwoerd's Broederbond minority racist government.

In 1963, when the Africans demonstrated their determination to remain Verwoerd's slaves no more, and made it clear that they preferred self-government with danger to the safety of Verwoerd's apartheid slavery, Africans were persecuted on a scale unprecedented in the history of South Africa. They were 90-dayed, murdered or given long terms of imprisonment, after being tied by partisan pro-apartheid white magistrates where even evidence was given by bribed "state witnesses".

In the prisons of "civilised Whites" shocking atrocities are perpetrated on the gallant sons of Africa by a self-styled "Western nation". When political prisoners complain of beatings, hunger, icy stinking blankets and totally unsatisfactory unhygienic conditions, the white defenders of apartheid arrogantly tell the patriotic sons of Africa to report to Mr. Sobukwe or Mr. Leballo. As a result many prisoners have died in Robben Island.

Verwoerd's "Christ an" government Condones Sodomy.

A P.A.C. prisoner Solomon Petle whose age is only 16 was viciously assaulted in prison because he refused the White priors orders to turn him into a "woman". However, he was finally overpowered and held downward while he was being criminally assaulted through his anus. As a result his rectum protruded outwards, and he could not walk well for three months.

Another P.A.C. prisoner, Mr. Yaqubela was made to stand upright in a deep hole which was then filled with soil up to his neck, with only the head appearing above ground. Then a white warder

urinated above his head and face.

Verwoerd's apartheid white warders often refuse to give medicines to sick African political prisoners, instead they often offer their urine as "medicine", saying that the "whiteman's urine is a medicine to a kniffr." These are some of the brutalities suffered by our brothers in the prisons of so-called "civilised white Western government." Verwoerd's government allows sodomy and the most diabolical of white racist savagery on our people, whose "crime" is that they have opposed apartheid. They have refused to be condemned to the status of "garden boys" and "kitchen girls" in the land of their forefathers.

These atrocities have been drawn to the attention of the European monopoly press in South Africa. The results? Complete indifference to human suffering. The White press would rather maliciously speak of "self-styled" P.A.C. leaders and do a dirtier job for apartheid. They stupidly expect the African people to be insulted their oppressors when they elected P.A.C. leaders! Lunacy! Imbecility! Aren't they satisfied with their "Tshombes"?

The apartheiders have realised that their tortures, murders and detentions of African politicians are to no avail. African Nationalism which has swept like a tornado in the "North" is surely going to reach its destined climax in the southern tip of Africa. They know that their army together with the whole cursed apartheid fascist dictatorship shall finally be swept into the dustbin of history where generations yet unborn will spit at it with disdain and contempt.

Verwoerd's oppressive Broederbond regime is now busy organising spies and agents to do the filthy work of "smelling out" the enemies of Nazi-conceived apartheid. Or of toting refugees back to South Africa because the Boer cowards think refugees "might undergo military training." Both inside and outside South Africa the racist government of Verwoerd has found renegades, prostitutes and money-mongers who are willing to do the satanic work of selling their brothers to the Dutch boys - the evil forces of darkness. Among these prostitutes are to be found David Maphumalo, Tonny Ngcobo, Luke Msimang etc.

All we want to tell these mongrels and their Verwoerd's police "brakies" is that we shall crush our oppressors together with their running dogs. There were spies, informers and so-called security police and armies in Algeria, Ghana, Kenya, Zambia, Zanzibar etc - But these countries are now enjoying the fruits of freedom and independence. South Africa is an African country. Like other African countries it shall be free. No amount of suffering shall discourage us from our just cause. No amount of malicious lies and intimidation by Verwoerd's spies, police and "allies" shall deter us.

The Pan Africanist Congress stands for the total annihilation of the oligarchic exploitation and oppression of the African people. P.A.C. members have been arrested, detained and killed, but we are not discouraged. Nothing that is worthwhile ever came into this world without loss of life, suffering and agony of body and soul.

The so-called "racial problem" or "native problem" in South Africa is the creation of the racist lunatics and fanatics of apartheid. 15,000,000 indigenous Africans cannot be a problem to a handful of 3 million minority settlers. In South Africa there is no problem. If there is any, the solution is that an African majority government rule our land which was taken from our forefathers by the guns and intrigues of the Boer invaders and aggressors.

The land we from our forefathers had in trust,

And to our children will transmit it or die;

This is our maxim, this is our piety;

And God and Nature say that it is just.

We do not fear Verwoerd's guns, his spies and informers. As far as we are concerned they are all a pack of mongrels who have misread history. We are confident of victory and of the ultimate triumph of our revolution. Why are we so sure?

Because we have signed a pact with human worth and dignity. We have signed a pact with beauty and life. We have signed a pact with the continent of Africa. We have signed a pact with freedom and independence. We have signed a pact with history.

Long live the glorious and just African Revolution! Long live the Pan Africanist Congress!

I Z W E L E T H U!
178 L O
S W A

PWC to
1. g. box 98 43
Latabri St.
14 Aug 1963.

Section of the Girl

I give Letter Thanks
for your letter without an
address and thank you
again for tipping me off
about the snake who
lives with me. I was
called to meet the Senyo
some senior members of
the S.B. around here and
he told me that Setlode
said he had no connection
with us and he has
come to stay here and
he is not going to
Lanierstown in fact he
disclaimed us. I am quite
suspicious about his
movements and what you

said about him has been ⁴⁴
confirmed by a number
of people.

As regards your letter
I have not seen any from
either of the addressed.

Novi Norah and her sister
have not been to Joburg and
there is nothing I can
report with regard to
your old clothes.

Please let me know
anything of importance
and I shall also try and
keep in touch all the
time.

I am hoping to come
over as soon as I have funds
to come.

Yours in the struggle

W. J. M. J. M. J. M.

W. J. M. J. M. J. M.

CASE

EXH.

No. H 152/63 No.

K.

[Handwritten signature]

B. B.

Ref. No. I/1
TEM/MKM

BAKGATLA TRIBAL ADMINISTRATION,
P. O. BOX 50,
MOCHUDI, B. P.,
24th JUNE, 1963.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Please assist Manoka Christopher Mmitla to pass to Ipeleng Village to meet Mr. Ntloedibe who is at Lobatsi.

Mr. Mmitla has met me in my office at Mochudi, and I shall be glad if you will render unto him all possible help that he may need because he is a Shanger.



[Handwritten signature]
PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE BAKGATLA

Collection Number: AD1901

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, Security trials Court
Records 1958-1978**

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