

SPEECHES OF MANGALISO SOBUKWE

INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult to introduce Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe to readers. No one has done that adequately yet. We call him the man who refused to give up. The fact of the matter is that Mangaliso had a specific mission in life. It is not difficult to understand that mission. What is extremely difficult is to define it.

Sobukwe belonged to a generation of popular but lonely leaders of men, distinguishable by their devotion, dedication and determination. His ability as a leader did not merely lie in seeing what needed to be done, but primarily in setting his mind to doing it thoroughly, regardless of the consequences to himself. He was not afraid of isolation or suffering. At every stage in his life he persistently, fearlessly and outspokenly refused to be co-opted into the corrupt system of his day in any capacity, or to connive in any public or private reaction with those in authority, both in the government and in the liberation movement. He was not afraid to stand alone on principle.

At the age of 25 when he made the first speech, he pointed out that he knew he would be called an agitator for saying what he had to say, because, he said, those in authority do not want to see the even tenor of their lives disturbed, or to get their mistakes and motives exposed to the light of day. But, he said, he made no apology for that because "it is meet that we should speak the truth before we die". He warned his fellow-students that "if we are persecuted for our ideas, we should understand that it is darkest before dawn." In an interview 25 years later, he pointed out that though there may be difficulties, *"there is always a glimpse of light in the dark"*. That revolutionary optimism was the secret of his life.

The struggle of the African people of Azania against white invasion and domination and local and foreign exploitation has taken many forms in the past 322 years. It has always been determined by the conflicts and contradictions within the world economic system of the day. The peoples' resistance, however, has always been conducted with crude weapons, an inferior superstructure, and a politically divided movement. Sobukwe was more aware of this than most of us and he had answers. That is why he was being isolated from his people. This is not the time and place to discuss those issues. They are however the facts and factors that made Sobukwe what he was. Our purpose here is to let what little is available to us of the speeches and writings of Mangaliso Sobukwe speak for themselves in order to trace his political development over the years. The major document of his political career, his statement to the racist court that tried him for his part in the 1960 campaign of action against the pass laws, is still being traced.

The South African racist government silenced Sobukwe from 1960 onward when he organized and personally led the campaign that led to the Sharpeville/Langa massacres of March 21, 1960, where scores of defenceless men, women and children died from police bullets and hundreds were wounded. Much has been said and written about that epic campaign. SHARPEVILLE DAY is now observed throughout the world as a day of solidarity with the struggle of our people and has been named International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in the world. The theme, effects and aftermath of that campaign are dealt with elsewhere. Here we merely want to make casual reference to impressions of some journalists who saw and spoke to Sobukwe in the past two years. We simply emphasize here what he himself said in discussion and are confining ourselves to a few interviews. These need no elaborate introduction.

The first of these took place in 1972 and was reported in Drum, the South African liberal magazine published for African readers, and is dated November 22, 1972. The reporter, Mr. Stanley Motjuwadi, who had known Sobukwe earlier, said of him: "The Prof. (as Sobukwe is fondly called) is silenced and so we cannot quote him, but I can say that he was in high spirits as he talked away about old times, showing great interest in recent developments, and expressing curiosity about old friends he last saw 12 years ago."

Mr. Motjuwadi says the Prof. took him out to lunch (not to his home of course) and afterwards they visited a fund-raising bazaar, and moved from stall to stall where Sobukwe bought things he did not really need as he chatted away and exchanged quips with the person in charge of the stall. On the way back to his office, "it was like travelling on a slow train that stops at all sidings; we could hardly move three yards without somebody waving and having a little pow-wow with him. Typical was a taxi-man with a carload of fares who waved to Sobukwe, stopped his car, went up to him and exchanged a joke." Mr. Motjuwadi came away with the impression that the people of Kimberley loved Sobukwe, and he loved them too.

The next appraisal came from Mr. Patrick Lawrence of the Johannesburg Star, who tried to send his story to a British newspaper, but an agent of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) intercepted it and sent it back

to the special political police in Johannesburg who arrested Mr. Lawrence and took him to court. What impressed Mr. Lawrence most was Sobukwe's personal dignity. "There is a gentleness about him, not the gentleness of the meek, but that of a man who knows he does not have to shout. Within and beyond it are a passionate conviction and an iron will ... Though he is a man of great intellectual vigor, the bedrock of his strength is faith - belief in the slow but inexorable advance of African Nationalism - confidence in the future buttressed by a particular view of the past. His continued commitment to Pan Africanism, even after all these years of isolation and political quarantine, have been acknowledged by some of his staunchest political enemies," concluded Mr. Lawrence.

Mats Holmberg, correspondent of the Swedish daily newspaper Dagens Nyheter went to Kimberley to see Sobukwe. According to his report, Sobukwe acknowledged the 1960 error of setting a time limit for revolution and went on to say that the setback was merely a matter of delay and that liberation would be accomplished sooner or later. He showed how political situations could suddenly change and pointed to Angola and Mozambique where the prospects for independence had become brighter than anyone would have foreseen a year before.

On the situation in Azania, a few years before his death, Sobukwe told Holmberg that conditions for liberation had been greater in 1960 than they are today, but pointed out that the resistance had particularly grown with the emergence of young black movements which have shown capacity to forge ahead where "our generation was often forced to give up". The main point of Sobukwe's message was that it was not enough to fight for reforms. The situation demanded a total revolution. He urged Africans not to be fooled by the invitation from liberal whites to sit on their park benches, the indifferent raising of salaries here and there, or even the condescension on the part of the government or white trade unionists to allow some form of trade union organization for black workers. That is all done to preserve white supremacy as long as possible and not to create equality for the Africans or to recognize their human status. When Sobukwe was allowed to visit a sick child in Johannesburg in 1973, some white liberals contrived an "accidental" meeting along the street with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu. The latter subsequently spread rumours that Sobukwe approved of his collaborative activities. Sobukwe had an opportunity to clear the matter up. He told Mats Holmberg that it was quite difficult to convince some Africans of the futility of seeking short-term concessions, or to stop looking for help from radical, well-meaning whites, who must rather work politically among themselves and leave the Africans alone to solve their own problems, much as the Africans in Angola and Mozambique are doing. Sobukwe particularly repudiated black politicians who aim at partial concessions often in cooperation with white liberals or at the behest of the racist government.

Holmberg reported that Sobukwe condemned "banning orders" made against the opponents of the government. He pointed out that some people tried to avoid "banned persons" to avoid getting into trouble themselves. The sinister nature of these orders lies in the fact that no one could say who would be next affected, or when and why. There is neither social nor legal redress, but only the arbitrary decision of a political enemy. He was saddened by the effect of these "orders" upon those who were banished to remote areas, much as he was held on Robben Island for six years. Still, he concluded, there was always a gleam of light in the dark.

It was regrettable that he could not say more than this for his and for our sake. It is quite possible that the following articles will give us an inkling of Sobukwe's struggle for land and status for the African people, wherever they are. We include, in this volume, for historical reasons, three documents of our Party which, together with Sobukwe's inaugural address made up the basic foundation of our political policy, principles of struggle and programme of action. These are the 1959 Political Manifesto, the Party Constitution, and the Disciplinary Code. We have travelled a long way since 1959 and the situation and tasks have not remained static. Our current understanding of that development is recorded elsewhere and will continue to be so recorded in accordance with the demands of the particular times in which we live.

**ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE GRADUATING CLASS AT FORT HARE COLLEGE
DELIVERED AT THE "COMPLETERS' SOCIAL" BY MR. SOBUKWE, OCTOBER
21, 1949**

Prof. Dent, Ladies and Gentlemen, I intend to follow in my opening remarks the conventional pattern. And for that reason, I will give a very brief review of our doings within the College this year. We saw at the beginning of the year the implementation of the Students' Constitution, whereby six members of the S.R.C. (Students' Representative Council) were elected by secret ballot at a mass-meeting of the students and whereby also certain powers were delegated to the Council. Of that arrangement the worst I can say is that it seems to be working well. We witnessed also at the beginning of the year the promotion of Prof. Dent to the position of Principal of the S.A.N.C. (South African Native College). He was succeeding a man who was highly esteemed, Dr. Kerr. But I do not think we lament the change, for we are concerned not with personalities, but with policies, and there has been no change in this respect. Moreover, however much we may disagree with Prof. Dent on certain issues, we cannot say that he has ever refused students a chance to state their case. And I believe it is due to this fact that there has been no trouble in the College this year. After all, even the minor demonstration we had last term was not a reaction against the administration of the college. The stimulus came from outside.

But that does not mean that all is well in the College. I had occasion last year and also at the beginning of this year to comment on some features of our structure of which I do not approve. It has always been my feeling that if the intention of the trustees of this College is to make it an African College or University, as I have been informed it is, then the Department Of African Studies must be more highly and more rapidly developed. Fort Hare must become the centre of African Studies to which students in African Studies should come from all over Africa. We should also have a department of Economics and Sociology. A nation, to be a nation, needs specialists in these things.

Again I would like to know exactly what the College understands by "Trusteeship". I understand by "trusteeship" the preparation of the African ward for eventual management and leadership of the College. But nothing in the policy of the College points in this direction. After the College has been in existence for 30 years, the ratio of European to African is 4 to 1. And we are told that in ten years time we might become an independent University. Are we to understand that an African University predominantly guided by European thought and strongly influenced by European staff?

I said last year that Fort Hare must be to the African what Stellenbosch is to the Afrikaner. It must be the barometer of African thought. It is interesting to note that the theory of "Apartheid" which is today the dominating ideology of the State was worked out at Stellenbosch by Eiselen and his colleagues. That same Eiselen is Secretary for Native Affairs. But the important thing is that Stellenbosch is not only the expression of Afrikaner thought and feeling but is also the embodiment of their aspiration. So also must Fort Hare express and lead African thought. The College has remained mute on matters deeply affecting the Africans, because, we learn, it feared to annoy the Nationalists' Government. What the College fails to realize is that rightly or wrongly the Nationalists believe that the Fort Hare Staff is predominantly U. P. So that whether we remain mute or not the government will continue to be hostile towards us. So much for the College.

Sons and daughters of Africa, harbingers of the new world order, What can I say to you? As you see, for the first time since the practice was started, we do not have the nurses

with us this momentous night --Completers' Social. And the reason? The battle is on. To me the struggle at the Hospital is more than a question of discipline in inverted commas. It is a struggle between Africa and Europe, between a twentieth century desire for self-realization and a feudal conception of authority. I know, of course, that because I express these sentiments, I will be accused of indecency and will be branded an agitator. That was the reaction to my speech last year. People do not like to see the even tenor of their lives disturbed. They do not like to be made to feel guilty. They do not like to be told that what they have always believed was right is wrong. And above all, they resent encroachment on what they regard as their special province. But I make no apologies. It is meet that we speak the truth before we die.

I said last year that our whole life in South Africa is politics and that contention was severely criticized. But the truth of that statement has been proved in the course of this year. From the pulpit in the C. U. we have heard responsible preachers deplore the deterioration of race-relations in this country and suggest co-operation as a solution. Dr. Bruce Gardner and Rev. Mokitimi are but two of a large number. Professor Macmillan and a number of speakers in our Wednesday assembly, have condemned this "naughty spirit of Nationalism and non-cooperation" and have told us of the wonderful things that have been done for us, forgetting, of course, that what they say has been done for the Africans the Africans have achieved for themselves in spite of the South African Government. The point I am trying to make is that was politics, whether we loved it or not. So that we can no longer pretend that there is a proper place and a proper occasion for politics. During the war it was clearly demonstrated that in South Africa at least, politics does not stop this side of the grave. A number of African soldiers were buried in the same trench as European soldiers. A few days afterwards word came from the high command that the bodies of the Africans should be removed and buried in another trench. "Apartheid" must be maintained even on the road to eternity.

The trouble at the Hospital then, I say, should be viewed as part of a broad struggle and not as an isolated incident. I said last year that we should not fear victimization. I still say so today. We must fight for freedom -- for the right to call our souls our own. And we must pay the price.

The Nurses have paid the price. I am truly grieved that the careers of so many women should have been ruined in this fashion. But the price of freedom is blood, toil, and tears. This consolation I have, however, that Africa never forgets. And these martyrs of freedom, these young and budding women will be remembered and honoured when Africa comes into her own.

A word to those who are remaining behind. *You have seen by now what education means to us: the identification of ourselves with the masses. Education to us means service to Africa. In whatever branch of learning you are, you are there for Africa. You have a mission; we all have a mission. A nation to build we have, a God to glorify, a contribution clear to make towards the blessing of mankind. We must be the embodiment of our people's aspirations. And all we are required to do is to show the light and the masses will find the way. **Watch our movements keenly and if you see any signs of "broad-mindedness" or "reasonableness" in us, or if you hear us talk of practical experience as a modifier of man's views, denounce us as traitors to Africa.***

We will watch you too. We have been reminded time and again that fellows who, while at College, were radicals, and as soon as they got outside became spineless stooges and screeching megaphones of "white Herrenvolkism" or else became disgruntled and

disillusioned objects of pity. My contention is: those fellows never were radicals. They were anti White. And as Marcus Garvey says: "You cannot grow beyond your thoughts. If your thoughts are those of a slave, you will remain a slave. If your thoughts go skin-deep, your mental development will remain skin-deep." Moreover a doctrine of hate can never take people anywhere. It is too exacting. It warps the mind. That is why we preach the doctrine of love, love for Africa. We can never do enough for Africa, nor can we love her enough. The more we do for her, the more we wish to do. And I am sure that I am speaking for the whole of young Africa when I say that we are prepared to work with any man who is fighting for the liberation of Africa WITHIN OUR LIFE-TIME.

To the completers among whom I number myself, my exaltation is: REMEMBER AFRICA! I thought last year that the position was bad. I realize it is worse this year. This is a difficult period to analyse. It is a confused period. Such as only a Mqhayi, or Bereng, or Dickens could describe. We are witnessing today the disintegration of old empires, and the integration of new communities. We are seeing today the germination of the seeds of decay inherent in Capitalism; we discern the first shoots of the tree of Socialism. In married life we see a reversal to what the Missionaries condemned when they first got here --- polygamy. But this time it is not the African who is the culprit, and the third party is not a second wife, but a mistress. We are witnesses today of cold and calculated brutality and bestiality, the desperate attempts of a dying generation to stay in power. We see also a new spirit of determination, a quiet confidence, the determination of a people to be free whatever the cost. We are seeing within our own day the second rape of Africa; a determined effort by imperialist powers to dig their claws still deeper into the flesh of the squirming victim. But this time the imperialism we see is not the naked brutal mercantile imperialism of the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a more subtle one -- financial and economic imperialism under the guise of a tempting slogan, "the development of backward areas and peoples". At the same time we see the rise of uncompromising "Nationalism" in India, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, and Africa! The old order is changing ushering in a new order. The great revolution has started and Africa is the field of operation. Allow me at this juncture to quote a few lines from the Methodist Hymn- book:

Once to every man and Nation, comes the moment to decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood For the good or evil side...Then to side with truth is noble When we share her wretched crust, Ere her cause bring fame and profit And 'tis prosperous to be just. Then it is the brave man chooses while the coward stands aside, Til the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

The cowards are still standing aside and the brave have made their choice. We have made our choice. And we have chosen African Nationalism because of its deep human significance; because of its inevitability and necessity to world progress. World civilization will not be complete until the African has made his full contribution. And even as the dying so-called Roman civilization received new life from the barbarians, so also will the decaying so-called western civilization find a new and purer life from Africa.

I wish to make it clear again that we are anti-nobody. We are pro-Africa. We breathe, we dream, we live Africa; because Africa and humanity are inseparable. It is only by doing the same that the minorities in this land, the European, Coloured and Indian, can secure mental and spiritual freedom. *On the liberation of the African depends the liberation of the whole world. The future of the world lies with the oppressed and the Africans are the most oppressed people on earth.* Not only in the continent of Africa but also in America and the West Indies. We have been accused of blood-thirstiness because we preach "non-

collaboration". I wish to state here tonight that that is the only course open to us. History has taught us that a group in power has never voluntarily relinquished its position. It has always been forced to do so. And we do not expect miracles to happen in Africa. It is necessary for human progress that Africa be fully developed and only the African can do so.

We want to build a new Africa, and only we can build it. The opponents of African Nationalism, therefore, are hampering the progress and development not only of Africa, but of the whole world. Talks of co-operation are not new to us. Every time our people have shown signs of uniting against oppression, their "friends" have come along and broken that unity. In the very earliest days it was the Missionary (we owe the bitter feelings between Fingoes and Xhosas to the Christian ideals of the Reverend Shaw). Between 1900 and 1946 it has been the professional Liberal. Today it is again the Missionary who fulfills this role. After maintaining an unbroken and monastic silence for years while Smuts was starving the people out of the Reserves, the Missionaries suddenly discover, when the Africans unite, that the Africans have not had a fair deal. In the same stride, so to speak, they form a "Union wide Association of Heads of Native Institutions" for the purpose of regimenting the thoughts of students. A Missionary Hospital closes even though the people are dying in its neighbourhood, and there is a dearth of Nurses throughout the country. I am afraid these gentlemen are dealing with a new generation which cannot be bamboozled. "What you are thunders so loudly that what you say cannot be heard."

Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa, an Africa reborn, an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa re-created, young AFRICA. We are the first glimmers of a new dawn. And if we are persecuted for our views, we should remember, as the African saying goes, that it is darkest before dawn, and that the dying beast kicks most violently when it is giving up the ghost, so-to-speak. The fellows who clamped Nehru into jail are today his servants. And we have it from the Bible that those who crucified Christ will appear before him on the judgment day. We are what we are because the God of Africa made us so. We dare not compromise, nor dare we use moderate language in the course of freedom. As Zik puts it:

"Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell a man moderately to rescue his wife from the arms of a ravisher; tell a mother to extricate gradually her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but do not ask me to use moderation in a cause like the present."

These things shall be, says the Psalmist: Africa will be free. The wheel of progress revolves relentlessly. And all the nations of the world take their turn at the field-glass of human destiny. Africa will not retreat! Africa will not compromise! Africa will not relent! Africa will not equivocate! And she will be heard! REMEMBER AFRICA!

SPEECHES OF MANGALISO SOBUKWE

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mr. Speaker, Sir, Sons and Daughters of Africa! Mr. Speaker has already informed you that we had hoped that this inaugural Convention of the Africanists would be opened by Dr. Kamuzu Hastings Banda, failing 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 language of the colonialists, "detained" in some concentration camps because they dared to demand the right of self-determination for the indigenous African people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. The honorable task of opening this conference has, therefore, fallen on me, an Africanist, and I wish to thank the Central 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 Africa, both independent and dependent, our attitude to the entire nationalist movement in Africa, 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, in an era that is pregnant with untold possibilities for 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 had been regarded as sacrilege even to attempt to 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 grains of wheat in the field of agriculture; the amazing discoveries in 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.

AFRICA'S POSITION

The question then arises, where does Africa fit into this picture and where, particularly, do we African nationalists, we Africanists in South Africa, 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, Africa has become the happy hunting-ground of adventuristic capital. There is again a scramble for Africa and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to win the loyalty of the African states. Africa is being wooed with more ardor 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 Africa is in labor, suffering the pangs of a new birth and everybody is looking anxiously and expectantly towards Africa to see, as our people so aptly put it, *ukuthi iyozala nkomoni* (what creature will come forth). We are being wooed internationally at a time when in South Africa 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 organized "miseducation"; 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 for them, whether that means the break-up of their families or not; at a time when the distinctive badge of slavery and humiliation, the "*dompas*" is being 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 Africa, that Africa's loyalty is being competed for. And the question is, what is our answer?

Our answer, Mr. 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 Africa."

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. 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 the few. We accept as policy the equitable distribution of wealth, aiming, as far as I am concerned, at equality of income which to me 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 sat raps or stooges of either power bloc.

RELATIONS TO STATES IN AFRICA:

Our relation to the states in Africa may be stated precisely and briefly by quoting from George Padmore's book, *Pan Africanism or Communism*. Discussing the future of Africa, 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 Africa to Africans must affect Africans living in other parts."

We honour Ghana as the first independent state in modern Africa 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 Africa. We regard it as the sacred duty of every African state to strive ceaselessly and energetically for the creation of a

United States of Africa, 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 realize that for their own survival, they have to form military and economic federations, hence NATO and the European Market. Besides the sense of a common historical fate that we share with the other countries of Africa, it is imperative for purely practical reasons, that the whole of Africa 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 AFRICA:

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

For the lasting peace of Africa 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 Dr. 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 Africa. The future of Africa will be what Africans make it.

THE RACE QUESTION:

And now for the thorny question 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 not recognize the existence of separate races have to admit that there are borderline 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 all belong, and that 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 Africa, 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, can even run a municipal council. I do not wish to belabor 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 AFRICA:

In South Africa we recognize 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 state, with brazen effrontery, 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 millions 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 laborers. 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 Africans 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 organized only under the banner of African nationalism in an All-African Organization 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 emphasize 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 Africa. She cannot solve her problems in isolation from and with utter disregard of the rest of the continent.

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 Africa" these very antagonisms and con fliers. Further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of-safeguarding white interests 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 inseparable 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 Africans, with everybody who owes his only loyalty to Africa 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 Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, leaves of the same branch and branches of the same tree.

Then Sons and Daughters of Africa, I declare this inaugural convention of the Africanists open! IZWE LETHU!!

THE P .A.C. CASE

The Pan Africanist Congress has been launched, and since it is destined to play a most decisive role in the struggle for national liberation, I think it is in the interest not only of South Africa but of the world, that its policy and ultimate goal should be stated authoritatively and unambiguously. I intend to do so in this article.

Let me begin by saying that we are quite aware of the fact that we are faced with an overwhelming combination of forces internally, in the person of the white ruling minority, and externally in the person of the forces of western capitalism and international imperialism. The domestic forces of oppression have entrenched themselves over the last 300 years. Consequently, they enjoy a monopoly of economic, political, cultural and military power. Viewed from this angle alone, the position of the ruling minority appears impregnable. But there are weaknesses in this structure. First of all, the entire economic fabric rests on the indispensable pillars of cheap black labor. Secondly, the white minority can maintain its continued domination only by perfecting the techniques of control in such a way as to enlist the active co-operation and goodwill of the oppressed.

These techniques include the creation of bodies calculated to maintain and develop the relations of dominating and dominated, as well as to condition the minds of the dominated for the unquestioning acceptance of their role as collaborators in the perpetuation of their own domination.

That is why we embrace the policy of non-collaboration as adumbrated in the nation-building programme of 1949. But because the South African ruling minority is backed by the forces of international capitalism and imperialism, it becomes necessary for us to develop an international outlook.

However, the lesson of history in the last half-century shows that we can only get the moral support and sympathy of friendly peoples: they can never liberate us. This means, among other things, that we must develop policies not merely aping this or that country, or merely fashioned to approximate to or to please certain powers or constellations of powers or peoples.

Our policies must flow from the logic of the African situation and from the fundamental long-term interests of the vast African millions. That is why in international matters, we support Dr. Nkrumah's policy of positive neutrality, holding, with Dr. Azikiwe, that we are "independent" in everything and neutral in nothing that concerns the destiny of Africa."

It is our contention that the vast illiterate and semi-literate masses of the Africans are the cornerstone, the key and very life of the struggle for democracy. From this we draw the logical conclusion that the rousing and consolidation of the masses is the primary task of liberation. This leads to the conclusion that African Nationalism is the liberatory outlook to achieve this gigantic and historic task and that the philosophy of Africanism holds out the hope of a genuine democracy beyond the stormy sea of struggle.

We have made our stand clear on this point. Our contention is that the Africans are the only people who, because of their material position, can be interested in the complete overhaul of the present structure of society. We have admitted that there are Europeans who are intellectual converts to the African's cause, but because they benefit materially from the present set-up, they cannot completely identify themselves with that cause.

Thus it is, as South African history so ably illustrates, that whenever Europeans "co-operate" with African movements, they keep on demanding checks and counter-checks, guarantees and the like, with the result that they stultify and retard the movement of the Africans and the reason is, of course, that they are consciously or unconsciously protecting their sectional interests.

The only people who are interested in so-called "fronts" are those who do not believe in permanent cooperation; those who wish to advance a certain line at any given time. We do not wish to use anybody, nor do we intend to be used by anybody. We want to make the African people conscious of the fact that they have to win their own liberation, rely on themselves to carry on a relentless and determined struggle instead of relying on court cases and negotiations on their behalf by "sympathetic" whites.

Of the Indian minority we say that they are an oppressed national group. But among them has emerged a merchant class which has become tainted with the virus of national arrogance and cultural supremacy. The leadership of the Indian people, unfortunately, is drawn from this class which, like the "sympathetic" whites, is concerned with protecting its own sectional interests. The only Indians, who can, because of their material position, be interested in the complete overthrow of white domination and the establishment of a genuine Africanist democracy, are the poor "coolies" of the sugar plantations of Natal. But they have not yet produced the leadership of their own. What we wish of them is that they should reject this opportunist leadership and produce their own leadership. In short, we intend to go it alone. Should an issue arise which objectively requires that we take it up, we will, irrespective of who may also be interested in that issue.

Some quarters have already stated that the Africanists are not interested in mass demonstrations. That is true if the emphasis is placed on demonstrations. But it does not mean that we are not interested in mass action. We are a mass organization and we believe that every African should be involved in the struggle for national liberation.

Having said that, I should further point out that we believe in a disciplined, planned struggle. Unfortunately, we have noticed throughout the entire post-1949 period, the absence on the part of those who "lead" the African people, of any capacity to learn from past struggles.

There seems to be a tendency among them to shelve unpleasant decisions in favor of those that bring immediate emotional dividends. At best, they were ineffective and at the worst, they revealed opportunistic tendencies. We have said in the past and we say so now, that we are not prepared to have our people used for cannon fodder. When we embark on a campaign it will be the leaders who will be in jail.

Politically we stand for government of the Africans, for the Africans, by the Africans, with everybody who owes his loyalty only to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority, being regarded as an Africa We guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group exclusiveness-which those who plead for minority rights would like to perpetuate,

It is our view that if we have guaranteed individual liberties, we have given the highest guarantee necessary and possible.

I have said before and [still say so now, that I see no reason why, in a free democratic Africa, a predominantly black electorate should not return a white man to Parliament, for colour will count for nothing in a free Africa.

Economically, we stand for a planned economy and the most equitable distribution of wealth. I have said that to me at least, the slogan of "equal opportunities" is meaningless

if it does not take equality of income as the springboard from which all will take off. Our problem, as we see it, is to make a planned economy work within the framework of a political democracy. It has not done so in any of the countries that practice it today, but we do not believe that totalitarianism is inherent in a system of planned state economy.

Socially, we stand for the full and complete development of the human personality with the active creation of conditions that will encourage the rapid disintegration of group exclusiveness and the emergence of a United African nation, devoted to the tremendous task of developing the country and creating a distinctive African culture.

Lastly, of course, we who are Pan African in outlook, do not subscribe to the doctrine of South African exceptionalism and are committed to Pan Africanism and a Union of African States which we would like to see as a unitary, centrally controlled organic whole.

AFRICAN'S FUTURE AS SEEN BY SOBUKWE

Nobody disputes our contention that Africa will be free from foreign rule. What is disputed by many, particularly the ruling white minority, is that she will be free either "within our lifetime" or by 1963, or even by 1973 or 1984. However, the African nationalist organizations which met at the All African People's Conference in Accra put 1963 as the target date for African freedom. If however, by this date there still are some parts of Africa that are under foreign rule, then certainly, they said, by 1973 every part of Africa must be free. Even though [live in South Africa, I have no doubt that this prophecy will be fulfilled. But the question is: After freedom, then what? The ready answer of white ruling minorities is: chaos and a reversion to barbarism and savagery. The ready answer of all Pan Africanists -- and this includes all genuine nationalist organizations on the continent -- is, the creation of a United States of Africa and the advent of a new era of freedom, creative production and abundance.

To many Africans the United States of Africa symbolizes the fulfilment of an emotional urge for formal unity. What its nature and structure, its role and tasks, will be have not been determined. Before I give an outline of the United States of Africa we envisage, I will list some of the obstacles we are bound to come across. Let us assume that by 1973 every part of the Continent will be free from foreign domination. In some parts the change-over will have been comparatively peacefully achieved. In others there will have been bitter fighting which will leave in its wake a legacy of destruction and hate.

In such countries the first 10 or 15 years will be years of readjustment and feverish reconstruction. There will be plenty of work to do, and capital for that work will be forthcoming from both East and West - because there can be no greater guarantee against political and economic instability than final recognition of the supremacy of African interests in Africa. By then the older stage will have passed through the first two of the four stages defined by Dr. Nkrumah at the All African People's Conference as: The attainment of freedom and independence; The creation of unity and community between the free African States; The economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

These states will probably act as big brothers to the younger states. Of course we will have recalcitrants. I am certain that some of the leaders of the African States who are "great", either because the press has made them so, or because they are one-eyed dwarfs in a land of blind dwarfs, will advance a number of excuses to put off the complete unification of the continent. They will do this for fear of losing their "greatness."

Others, while playing lip-service to the concept of Pan Africanism, will probably demand autonomy for each state with the object of remaining in the public eye. Fortunately, all genuine African nationalist leaders on the Continent are Pan Africanists, and are not likely to allow personal ambition to hamper the cause for which they have labored and suffered so long in their countries throughout Africa.

On the structure of the United States of Africa, there appears to be no clear agreement yet among African nationalists. At the Accra Conference, Dr. Nkrumah stressed the necessity for such a communion of our own to give expression to the African personality: The Conference adopted the late George Padmore's outline of an initial federation of states on a regional basis, finally merging into a federal United States of Africa.

The P.A.C., though it has adopted the same outline, is not enamoured to federations because they entail compromise, sometimes on vital issues. Federations tend to kill effective unity, because inherent in them is the idea of "trial for a period" and the threat of ultimate secession by one state or another. So it is a unitary constitution that the P .A.C. envisages for the United States of Africa, with all power vested in a central government freely elected by the whole Continent on the basis of universal adult suffrage. In such a set-up, only continent-wide parties committed to a continental programme, and cutting across sectional ties and interests, whether of a tribal or religious nature, are possible.

A Socialist government will in turn promote the idea of African Unity and the concept of a free and independent African personality. The potential wealth of Africa in minerals, oil, hydro-electric power and so on is immense. By cutting out waste through systematic planning, a central government can bring about the most rapid development of every part of the state. By the end of the century the standard of living of the masses of the people will undoubtedly have risen dramatically under an African Socialist government. Subsistence farming will have disappeared, and a large internal market will absorb a very large percentage of the industrial and agricultural products of the Continent.

All nationalist governments on the Continent aim at wiping out racialism, imperialism and colonialism in all their manifestations. In a United States of Africa, there will be no "racial groups", and I am certain that with the freedom of movement from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Madagascar, the concentration of so-called minority groups will disappear.

THE STATE OF THE NATION

Speaker Sir, Sons and Daughters of Afrika: Just over three months ago, on the 6th April, we met in the Communal Hall in Orlando, Johannesburg, to launch the ship of freedom -- the Pan Africanist Congress. On that historic day, the African people declared total war against white domination, not only in South Africa but throughout the Continent. On that day there entered into the maelstrom of South African politics an organization committed to the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of an Africanist Socialist Democracy.

OPPRESSED VERSUS OPPRESSOR

It is just over three months that the Pan Africanist Congress has been born, but within that short space of time she has successfully pinpointed the basic assumptions in our struggle, namely that:

1. The illiterate and semi-literate masses of the African people are the key, the core and cornerstone of the struggle for democracy in this country.

2. African Nationalism is the only liberatory creed that can weld these masses who are members of heterogeneous tribes into a solid, disciplined and united fighting force; provide them with a loyalty higher than that of the tribe, and give formal expression to their desire to be a nation.

3. The struggle in South Africa is part of the greater struggle throughout the Continent for the restoration to the African people of the effective control of their land. The ultimate goal of our struggle therefore, is the formation of a United States of Africa.

These pronouncements have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the Sons and Daughters of the land, and awakened the imagination of the youth of our land while giving hope to the aged who for years have lived in the trough of despair. Indeed, the aged can now truly say: "*Lord now lettest Thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy will, for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.*"

The issues are clear-cut. The Pan Africanist Congress has done away with equivocation and clever talk. The decks are cleared, and in arena of South African politics there are today only two adversaries: the oppressor and the oppressed, the master and the slave. We are on the eve of a continental showdown between the forces of evil and the forces of righteousness; the champions of oppression and the champions of freedom. Realizing this, the oppressor is panic-stricken and is making feverish preparations for a last-ditch stand in defence of white supremacy. On the other hand, the forces of freedom are gathering strength from day to day, disciplining, nerving and steeling themselves for the imminent struggle.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS

Once again, as in 1949, the African people are waiting expectantly and eagerly the emergence of a bold and courageous programme from the P.A.C., an organization that has its roots among the masses, and whose leadership comes from their loins. Not only has P.A.C. succeeded in raising the eyes of our people above the dust of immediate conflict to

the genuine democracy that lies beyond the stormy sea of struggle, but it has also imparted a meaning and a purpose to their struggle. The African people, therefore, are awake! They are waiting; waiting eagerly and expectantly; waiting for the call; the call to battle - to battle for the reconquest of the Continent of Africa which for over 300 years has been the prostitute of the philanderers and rakes of western capitalism. "Mayibuye i Afrika," that is the cry ringing throughout the Continent. Africa for the Africans! Izwe Lethu - i Africa! Those are the words that spell the doom of white supremacy in Africa.

POSITION ON THE CONTINENT

Throughout the continent of Africa the struggle is being relentlessly waged against the historical anachronisms of imperialism, colonialism and white supremacy. Precious African blood is flowing in Algeria where the Sons and Daughters of Africa, under the courageous leadership of Ferhat Abbas of the government of Free Algeria, are paying the supreme sacrifice for the recovery of their destroyed shrines. Greater and greater efforts are being made by the independent countries in Africa to mould, shape and assert the African personality, and to lay the foundations for a United States of Africa. Just recently, the heads of the States of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia met in conference to discuss methods of furthering the cause of Pan Africanism.

In Tanganyika, Nyerere is fighting for the revision of the multi-racial constitution imposed on the African people by imperialist Britain, and is pressing for the practical application of the democratic principle of "one man, one vote". In Uganda, as our Bulletin stated, "British imperialism is locked in mortal combat with African nationalism." In Central Africa, tension is high and there is clear evidence that in the struggle between Kamuzu Banda and Roy Welensky, Banda will emerge triumphant. In fact, the signs are that not only Nyasaland but Northern Rhodesia as well, will secede from the unholy federation of Welensky and Lennox-Boyd.

SOUTH AFRICA

Throughout Africa, then, the forces of white supremacy are in retreat before the irresistible march of African nationalism. This is the era of African emancipation. Africa holds the stage today. For the first time, positive action is being taken by the world against the inhuman policies of South Africa's white, foreign minority governments. And the countries that have taken the lead in this world-wide boycott of South African goods are the countries of Africa and those governed by people of African descent. And in South Africa, what is the position? Well you all know, that there has been talk from certain quarters of "hitting the nationalists in the stomach". We would have used the word "belly," but responsible, moderate leaders, you see, do not use such ugly words! There was such talk then, and lists were prepared. But immediately one so-called "nationalist concern" made certain sectional trade union concessions, it was no longer a nationalist controlled firm, and its products were no longer nationalist products. The old, meaningless stunts are still being used by certain quarters. But there is the boycott of beer halls launched by the courageous women of Durban -- a movement originating from the masses and controlled by them. Nobody doubts its success. The evidence is there for all to see. If their "friends" do not interfere with the Durban women they will undoubtedly achieve their goal - of acquiring for the Africans of

Durban the status of human beings. There is also the potato boycott which, while commanding the active support of all Africans because of the atrocious evils perpetrated by white farmers against African convict laborers, has unfortunately been handled by the quarters aforementioned. The result has been that those quarters, which fear the militancy of the African people more than they loathe oppression, are hoping and praying that the boycott will fizzle out before they are compelled to call it off.

WHAT OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

We are met here today to commemorate our National Heroes' Day. We are today going down the corridor of time and renewing our acquaintance with the heroes of Africa's past -- those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great Sons and Daughters of Africa who died in order that we may be free in the land of our birth. We are met here, today, to rededicate our lives to the cause of Africa, to establish contact, beyond the grave, with the great African heroes and to assure them that their struggle was not in vain. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of our beloved land, to drink from the fountain of African achievement, to remember the men and women who begot us, to remind ourselves of where we come from and to restate our goals. We are here to draw inspiration from the heroes of Thaba Bosiu, Isandlwana, Sandile's Kop, Keiskama Hoek and numerous other battlefields where our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign invader. We are here to draw inspiration from the Sons and Daughters of Africa who gave their all to the cause and were physically broken in the struggle. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of Africa, to take a trowel in our right hand and a shield and sword in our left, to commence the tremendous task of rebuilding the walls of Africa!

We are gathered here today, to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy. We are here to say Africa must be free and will be free by 1963. We are here to serve an ultimatum on the forces of oppression. We are here to make an appeal to African intellectuals and businessmen, African urban and rural proletariat to join forces in a determined, ruthless and relentless war against white supremacy. We say to waverers and fence sitters, CHOOSE NOW, tomorrow may be too late. Choose now, because very soon we shall be saying with biblical simplicity, that he who is not with US is against us!

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS PROGRAMME:

The decks are cleared! The battle must be joined. Therefore, Sons and Daughters of the Soil, in the name of the National Working Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress, I announce the STATUS CAMPAIGN - a campaign which once launched, will not be called off until our goal is achieved. This is an unfolding and expending campaign, involving the political, economic and social status of the African. It is all-embracing multi-frontal, but is itself part of our unfolding and expanding, dynamic nation-building programme. Details of the campaign have already been circulated to all regions, with specific instructions that branches be encouraged to discuss the campaign freely and frankly. I shall, therefore, not outline the campaign here, but shall deal instead with the objectives of this campaign.

MENTAL REVOLUTION

We have stated in the past, in all our documents, that whatever campaign is launched by any liberatory movement worth the name, must at all times be related to the ultimate objectives and must assist in building the fighting capacity of the masses. Now for over three hundred years, the white foreign ruling minority has used its power to inculcate in the African the feeling of inferiority. This group has educated the African to accept the status quo of white supremacy and Black inferiority as 'normal'.

It is our task to exorcise this slave mentality, and to impart to the African masses that sense of self-reliance which will make them choose "to starve in freedom rather than have plenty in -bondage," the self-reliance that will make them prefer self-government to the good government preferred by the A.N.C.'s leader. It must be clearly understood that we are not begging the foreign minorities to treat our people courteously. We are calling on our people to assert their personality. We are reminding our people that they are men and women with children of their own and homes of their own, and that just as much as they resent being called "*kwedini*" or "*mfana*" or "*moshemane*" by us -- which is what "boy" means -- they must equally resent such terms of address by the foreigner. We are not hoping for a change of heart on the part of the Christian oppressor. We are reminding our people that acceptance of any indignity, any insult, any humiliation, is acceptance of inferiority. They must first think of themselves as men and women before they can demand to be treated as such. The campaign will free the mind of the African - and once the mind is free, the body will soon be free. Once white supremacy has become mentally untenable to our people, it will become physically untenable too - and will go.

I am absolutely certain that once the STATUS CAMPAIGN is launched, the masses will themselves come forward with suggestions for the extension of the area of assault -- and once that happens, the twilight of white supremacy and the dawn of African independence in this part of the continent will have set in.

SOFT CAMPAIGN

Certain quarters have accused us of being concerned more with our status, with being addressed as "Sirs" and "Ma'am" than with the economic plight of the African people. Our reply is that such accusations can come only from those who think of the African as an economic animal -- a thing to be fed -- and not as a human being. It is only those who have been herrenvolkenized by their herrenvolk environment, people who have no idea whatsoever of the African personality, who can expect us to be lick-spittles in order to get more crumbs from the oppressors' table.

Others, again, have said that we have chosen a soft campaign without any risks, because we fear to challenge apartheid totally. Let it be clear that we are not fighting just apartheid. We are fighting the whole concept of white supremacy. And we are fully aware of the nature and size of our task, And we will not shirk it. Right from the beginning of the campaign, the leaders will be in front. They will picket the concerns that are to be boycotted. And they will do so under our slogan of "no bail, no defence, no fine". And that slogan will not be changed until we land on the shores of freedom and independence.

CLARION CALL

We therefore call, first of all, on the members of PAC who are the hard core, the advance guard, that must lead the struggle, and on the African people in general. All of them, without exception must wait for the call. They will be kept informed of every step we take. And when the call comes, we expect them to respond like a disciplined people. There is plenty of suffering ahead. The oppressor will not take this lying down. But we are ready. We will not go back. Come what may. This campaign will be maintained, unfolded and expanded until Masiza's question is answered: "*Koda kube nini Nkosi zonk'izizwe zisinyasha phantsi kweenyawo?*" (*Until when, oh Lord, will all nations trample us under foot?*) -- until we can answer "No more."

We will go on, Sons and Daughters of Africa, until in every shanty, in every bunk in the compounds, in every hut in the deserted villages, in every valley and on every hilltop; the cry of African freedom and independence is heard. We will continue until we walk the streets of our land as free men and free women, our heads held high. We will go on until the day dawns when every person who is in Africa will be an African, and a man's colour will be as irrelevant as is the shape of his ears. We will go on, steadfastly, relentlessly, and determinedly until the cry of "Africa for the Africans, the Africans for humanity and humanity for God" becomes a reality; until government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans is a fait accompli. We will not look back; we will not deviate. And as the heat of oppression mounts, we shall become purer and purer, leaving all the dross of racialism and similar evils behind, to emerge as a people mentally and physically disciplined, appreciative of the fact that:

There is only one man in the world, and his name is all men. There is only one woman in all the world, And her name is All women! Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are standing on the threshold of an historic era. We are blazing a new trail and we invite you to be, with us, creators of history.

Join us in the march to freedom. March with us to independence. To independence now. Tomorrow the United States of Africa. IZWELETHU!

WE WILL WIN

To all Regions and Branches of the P.A.C.: Sons and Daughters of the Soil, Remember Africa! Very soon, now, we shall be launching our campaign. The step we are taking is historical, pregnant with untold possibilities. We must, therefore, appreciate our role. We must appreciate our responsibility. The African people have entrusted their whole future to us. And we have sworn that we are leading them, not to death, but to life abundant.

My instructions, therefore, are that our people must be taught NOW and CONTINUOUSLY, THAT IN THIS CAMPAIGN we are going to observe ABSOLUTE NON-VIOLENCE.

There are those in our own ranks who will be speaking irresponsibly of bloodshed and violence. They must be firmly told what our stand is.

Results of violence: Let us consider for a moment, what violence will achieve. I say quite POSITIVELY, without fear of contradiction, that the only people who will benefit from

violence are the government and the police. Immediately violence breaks out we will be taken up with it and give vent to our pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone at a Saracen or burning a particular building we are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare. But after a few days, when we have buried our dead and made moving graveside speeches and our emotions have settled again, the police will round up a few people and the rest will go back to the passes, having forgotten what our goal had been initially. Incidentally, in the process, we shall have alienated the masses who will feel that we have made cannon fodder of them, for no significant purpose except for spectacular newspaper headlines.

This is not a game. We are not gambling. We are taking our first step in the march to African independence and the United States of Africa. And we are not leading corpses to the new Africa. We are leading the vital, breathing and dynamic youth of our land. We are leading that youth, NOT TO DEATH, BUT TO LIFE ABUNDANT. Let us get that clear.

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

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

This is not a game. The white rulers are going to be extremely ruthless. But we must meet their hysterical brutality with calm, iron determination. We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic vile system of oppression. We represent progress. They represent decadence. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole Continent on our side. We have history on our side. WE WILL WIN! The Government will be ruthless. They will probably try to cut us off from one another, censor the press, use their propaganda machinery to malign the leaders, mislead the people and spread falsehoods about the Campaign. Let nobody depend on either the press or radio. I, myself, MANGALISO SOBUKWE, or one of the P.A.C. leaders, acting on my behalf, will call off the struggle, after our demands have been fully met.

***FORWARD THEN, TO INDEPENDENCE NOW,
TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA!***

THE 1959 PAN AFRICANIST MANIFESTO.

PREAMBLE

A. A Chain of Reaction

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, 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 a chain of reaction which culminated in the rape of Africa and the close of the last century.

B. Land Robbery and Political Subjugation

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 as a ruling class over the 250,000,000 indigenous peoples. Africans had been successfully robbed of Africa.

C. Established by the Sword

The advent of European imperialism and colonialism to Africa brought in its wake the phenomenon of white domination, whether visible or invisible, which is characterized 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 civilization" 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.

D. Expulsion of Imperialist Exploiters

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.

E. Decolonization and Independence

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 the next year the peoples of Togoland, Somaliland, the Cameroons and Nigeria will have achieved freedom. The French policy of 'association' is also being rejected in favor of decolonization and independence.

F. The Liquidation of the Forces of Oppression

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 favor of their own freedom. The liquidation of the forces of oppression is a process that not even nuclear power can halt.

G. Right to Shape Own Destiny

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 inhumanely 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 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 is their undoubted and unquestionable birthright.

H. No Longer With the Ranks of the Liberation Movement

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.

I. White Domination Without Frills and Trappings

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 the 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 mulatoo, wants a dirty job done, he always gets a blackman to do it." The so-called leaders after doing a 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!

J. One Race: The Human Race

The African people are very much proud of their race - the human race. They recognize 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 subgroups of man to be mainly acquitted in and through the individual factors in the acquisition of group characters. They do not, and will not tolerate or 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 Balkanize or Pakistanize 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 forms 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.

K. Monolithic Giant - Union of African States

The African people of South Africa recognize 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 organizational 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 Africa.

The African people will not tolerate the existence of the 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 everlasting in the synthesis of Africanism, in which the contrary aspects shall have vanished and only the unifying factors which portray 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 for the social question in Africa.

L. Social Relations

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 fellowman. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellowman in fellowship, in harmony and in peace.

Man moves and has his being in a social environment. In the absence of social life the economic 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 economic ANIMAL. To live in harmony with his fellowmen, man must recognize the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of his fellowmen, and must eliminate the tendency on his part to uphold his own interests at the expense of those of his fellowmen. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be developed and that respect for it can be fostered.

M. Our Historic Tasks

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 nationhood on a Pan-African basis.

To implement effectively the fundamental principle that the dominion or sovereignty over and the dominion or ownership in the whole territory of the continent rest exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous people.

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, recognizing the primacy of the vital material, intellectual, and spiritual interests of the individual.

A liberation movement must find concrete expression in organizational form and substance in order that it may achieve its historic tasks. The highest organizational 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 organizational machinery for the galvanizing 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 favorable 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 organization.

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.

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 organizational foundation for African nationalism on a Pan African basis.

N. Africanism - A Third Social Force

Africanism is Pan Africanist in scope, purpose and direction. It is a social force that constitutes the third social force in the world. It serves the material, intellectual spiritual interests of Africa, and does not in any way serve the spiritual 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, Africanist 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 organizational foundation for African nationalism on a Pan African basis.

O. Final Triumph

In its dialectical march towards the final synthesis of Africanism, African nationalism is destined to create the conditions favorable 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 P .A.C. 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 man 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 P .A.C. 5th APRIL, 1959

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS DISCIPLINARY CODE

1. NAME:

The name of the organization shall be the Pan Africanist Congress.

2. MOTTO:

3. AIMS:

(a) African Nationalism be the basis of our political philosophy for an African Socialist Democratic State.

(b) To maintain ourselves and the movement as vanguard in the struggle for African liberation, with courage and determination.

(c) To wage the struggle in this country for national independence under the banner of the Programme of Action of 1949 adopted in Bloemfontein.

(d) Africanism shall be the ideal for an Africanist Social Democracy.

(e) To secure and maintain the complete unity of the movement.

(f) To maintain complete purity of the P.A.C., the only organization of the African people struggling for their national liberation in South Africa.

(g) To work with other nationalist democratic movements in Africa, with a view to the overthrow of imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism and all forms of national and racial oppression of the African people.

4. DISCIPLINE:

(a) There shall be a Disciplinary Tribunal of Justice consisting of three or more members appointed by the National Executive Committee.

(b) Its decision shall be reported to the National Executive Committee for ratification or otherwise.

(c) Until appeal comes before the Annual National Conference, the decision of the National Executive Committee shall be effective and binding.

5. SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES:

(a) The Disciplinary Tribunal of Justice shall enforce all the provisions of this Code in their entirety.

(b) Sanctions and penalties shall include fines, ostracism, isolation, suspension and outright expulsion for a long or short period, or for good.

6. EXPRESSION OF IDEAS:

Statements relating to policy programme of principles and tactical line of the P .A.C. should not be lightly uttered.

All public utterances or statements must reflect the policy and programme of principles of the P.A.C.

Policy statements in the Press or Radio must be made by the National Executive Committee or the PRESIDENT, or the National Secretary.

Irresponsible statements made by anybody shall not be countenanced.

7. RESPONSIBILITY:

(a) Members must develop a high sense of responsibility and discipline with respect to all matters relating to the Pan Africanist Congress.

(b) They should refrain from tale-bearing, backbiting, gossiping, rumormongering and spreading lies and distortions of truth.

(c) Their utterances must reflect the ideas, philosophy, policy and programme of the P.A.C. The ideas of Africa for the Africans, Africans for Humanity and Humanity for God must be understood and appreciated.

8. SPREADING IDEAS:

(a) Members must spread the ideas of the P.A.C. through the Press, Radio and platforms fearlessly.

(b) It is the duty of members to circulate ideas contained in official dogger's bills, circular lecturesses, journals, written addresses, etc.

(c) It should be the duty of each and every member to strive to convert people to the idea of the P .A.C. and into the Movement itself.

(d) Members must spread the ideas of our cause in the streets, in house-to-house campaigns, in the trains, in the restaurants, at State functions, cinemas, on the sport fields, at railway platforms, in social gatherings, tea parties, dance parties, in church, in school and at orations by the graveside.

9. ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE:

(a) It shall be the duty of each member of the P .A.C. 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.

(b) Members must read books and newspapers, for it is an offence to the P.A.C. to be ignorant of current events.

(c) Members should make it their duty to read and to hold discussions. Lectures should be arranged to educate the rank and file and the less literate members.

(d) The more theoretically advanced members should conduct classes for the less advanced.

(e) A Library of pamphlets, newspapers, clippings, extracts from books, lecturesses, 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:

(a) Members of the P.A.C. should develop healthy and sound personal habits.

(b) Members should maintain an exemplary standard of cleanliness.

- (c) Members should deport themselves with honour, dignity and proper decorum in the sight of the movement and the nation.
- (d) They should be punctual for their appointments, especially for meetings, discussions or other duties relating to the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (e) They should be tireless in day-to-day work in the interest of the P.A.C. and the nation.
- (f) They should develop and demonstrate honesty, frankness and courtesy towards one another.
- (g) They should strive to be principled in their approach to the main problems of life and the world.
- (h) They should develop and show a true respect for African womanhood and demonstrate in practice the theory of sex equality with respect to men and women in the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (i) 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:

- (a) Pan Africanists should be armed with theory to such an extent that they can meet other movements or groups on a basis of equality, but must not promote the ideas of other Movements or Parties.
- (b) Members of the P.A.C. should be keen to study different ideologies, especially the philosophy of African nationalism in order to equip themselves fully.
- (c) Members should deport themselves with poise and calmness and dignity in the presence of other movements or groups, in debating chambers or elsewhere.
- (d) They should not display immaturity or pettiness, or apologeticness or ill-conceived inferiority.
- (e) Their poise should be natural, dynamic and human, but ruthless where necessary.
- (f) Vanquish the other man with arguments, and not with a knuckle duster.

12. MEETINGS:

- (a) There should be punctual attendance at meetings which should be made known in good time to all members concerned.
- (b) Meetings should be short, precise and to the point.
- (c) The Chairman of the meeting must be respected.
- (d) He must conduct the meeting in a proper procedure and with fairness to the members.
- (e) His rulings must be respected by all members of the P.A.C.
- (f) Clear decisions, with no equivocations, must be taken and these should be practicable, and within the scope of the Pan Africanist Congress.
- (g) Meetings of the P.A.C. must be business-like and serious-minded. The Chairman must know his job well, and must have studied methods of conducting meetings.

(h) 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:

(a) Decisions affecting the P .A.C. should be arrived at after the issue has been properly discussed by a quorum.

(b) In the course of a discussion, each and every member is free to air his views and to agree or disagree with all or any member of the movement, including the leader.

(c) 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. The weight of views should depend on relevance and substance, and not on who puts them forth.

(d) 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.

(e) 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.

(f) At that stage the leader exercises almost dictatorial powers which he wields with impunity, so long as he acts within the letter and spirit of the democratic decision and the Code.

14. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM:

(a) This means that the power of directing the Pan Africanist Congress is centralized in the National Executive Committee which acts through the President who wields unquestioned power as long as he acts within the grounds laid by the decisions of the organization which must have been democratically arrived at. It means a centralization of directive, and executive power takes place so as to ensure the most effective implementation of a decision. If P .A.C. wants to forge ahead, it must adopt and carry out this principle with firmness and thoroughness.

(b) The President shall have emergency powers, which he may delegate, to suspend the entire constitution of the Pan Africanist Congress so as to ensure that the movement emerges intact through a crisis. At that time, he directs the Movement by decree, and is answerable for his actions to the National Conference.

15. FACTIONALISM:

(a) Factionalism is the enemy of solidarity and unity of action.

(b) To destroy it at its roots, maximum self-criticism should be encouraged within the movement. A movement that adopts democratic centralism in its approach to its organizational problems will know how to deal with the virus of factionalism.

(c) Where the normal processes of free discussion fail to curb factional tendencies, then firm iron discipline should come into play, and factional...

16. OATH OF ALLEGIANCE:

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 shall never, under any circumstances, divulge any secrets, or plans of the organization, nor betray an Africanist; and that if I dare to divulge any secrets, or plans 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 interest or advertisement, I do so at my own risk and peril. I will irrevocably obey and act upon the orders, commands, instructions and directions of the National Executive Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress. I will always serve, suffer, and sacrifice anything for the cause for which the P.A.C. stands, and will at all times be ready to go on any mission that I may be called upon to perform. I will make it my duty to foster the cause for which the P.A.C. stands, in any organization that I may become a member of. I accept the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress.

17. PUBLICATION:

The organization shall publish its own literature whenever deemed desirable and directed.

18. OUR NATIONAL HEROES DAY:

(a) The A.M. Lembede Anniversary held on the 31st July annually should be treated and regarded as African Heroes' Day, which all members of the Pan Africanist Congress should observe and rededicate themselves to the cause of Pan Africanism and the goal of the United States of Africa.

(b) The Lembede Scholarship Fund should be firmly established so that the right youth of the country should be helped to obtain higher learning.

19. AMENDMENTS:

AMENDMENTS to this Code shall be made by a two-thirds majority of members present at an Annual National Conference, provided that notice has been given in accordance with provisions of the Constitution with regard to amendments.

ADOPTED AT INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAN AFRICAN 1ST CONGRESS HELD AT ORLANDO, JOHANNESBURG, ON THE 4th - 6th APRIL OF 1959.

*Signed: POTLAKO K. LEBALLO
(National Secretary)*

*MANGALISO R. SOBUKWE
(National President)*

PAC CONSTITUTION AMENDED AT THE GA-MATLALA CONGRESS 2000

1 NAME

1.1.1 The name of the Organization shall be PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA, (hereinafter referred to as the PAC).

1.2 COLOURS

1.2.1 The colours of the PAC shall be Green, Black, and Gold inserted against the background of black map of Africa containing a Gold star sending the light of freedom and total liberation throughout the continent of Africa.

2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

2.1 To unite and rally the African people into one national front of the basis of African nationalism.

2.2 To fight for the overthrow of all forms of domination, including neo-colonial domination, for economic empowerment of the African and for the implementation and maintenance of the right to self-determination of the African people, in a non-racial and unitary state.

2.3 To work and strive for the establishment and maintenance of an Africanist Socialist democracy recognizing the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the Africans.

2.4 To promote the educational, cultural and economic advancement of the African people.

2.5 To propagate and promote the concept and ideology of Pan Africanism by promoting unity among the peoples of Africa and African descent through the projection of the African personality.

3 MEMBERSHIP

3.1 Any South African who accepts the principles, programme and discipline of the PAC shall be eligible for membership, provided that:

3.2 He/she is not a member of any political organization.

3.3 In case where is doubt whether a particular applicant for membership is so eligible, such an applicant shall be forwarded by the Branch Executive to the NEC with the reasons for doubt, before the applicant is accepted or rejected. Once the NEC is satisfied that such an applicant is eligible for membership, the NEC shall issue

such applicant, upon payment of the prescribed enrolment fee, a membership card after which the applicant shall be regarded as a member of the PAC.

3.4 All members shall be supplied with membership cards

4 COMPONENT STRUCTURES

4.1 Component structures are PAC organs dealing with certain segments of the population. They are guided and bound by the PAC constitution, policies and programmes.

4.2 The component structures shall have one representative in the National Working Committee of the PAC, except PAWO, which shall have two representatives.

4.3 For the purpose of this constitution and for as long as the Annual National Conference has not terminated such a membership, the following structures shall be deemed to be component structures of the PAC.

- 4.3.1 Pan Africanist Women's Organization (PAWO)
- 4.3.2 Pan African Students Organization (PASO)
- 4.3.3 Pan Africanist Youth organization (PAYCO)
- 4.3.4 Pan Africanist Student Movement (PASMA)
- 4.3.5 APLA Military Veterans Association (APLAMVA)
- 4.3.6 Pan Africanist Labour Forum (PALF)

4.4 The Chairpersons of the component structures shall head the departments of Women, Students, and Youth Affairs in the PAC.

5 THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND THE SPECIAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

5.1 The national conference shall be the supreme organ of the organization and shall lay down policies and programme of the PAC and its decision shall be binding on all members, components and organs of the PAC.

5.2 The Annual National Conference shall be held every 12 months and the annual and the Annual National Conferences held in the year of elections of the NEC shall become the National Congress. The National Congress shall be held every third year from the last one.

5.3 The functions, duties and powers of the National Congress shall be supervisory, deliberative and determinative.

5.4 Branches that are in full compliance with their fees be entitled to be represented at the National Congress by one delegate for every 20 members.

5.5 A special National Conference may be convened by the NEC if, in the opinion of the NEC, an emergency which warrants such a conference, has arisen or,

5.6 Upon receipt of a requisition signed by one third of the number of the branches represented at the previous National Congress, a special National Conference shall be called by the NEC in connection with the subject matter of the requisition within four weeks of such requisition by the Secretary General; provided that such a requisition is lodge with the Secretary General within a period of thirty (30) days after the last day of the previous congress.

5.7 At least eight weeks before the date of the holding of an Annual Conference, the NEC shall give a notice of a date and place of such conference and shall circulate the agenda to all component structures and organs of the PAC.

5.8 If any province, region, branch, component structure or organ of the PAC wants to secure the inclusion of any specified item in the agenda of the Annual National Conference, a notice setting out such item on the agenda must be forwarded to the Secretary General at least six weeks before the date of the Annual National Conference. Upon receipt of such notice for inclusion of any item in the agenda, the NEC shall cause an amended agenda to be circulated to provinces, regions, branches and component structures of the PAC.

5.9 Only provinces, regions, branches component structures and organs of the PAC and not individual members may send motions or proposed agenda items for determination at the Annual National Conference or Special National Conference.

5.10 The Annual National Conference shall consider and may adopt, amongst other, the following:

5.10.1 The Annual Presidential Address

5.10.2 Presidential Report

5.10.3 The Annual Report of the Secretary General and;

5.10.4 The combined Annual Reports of the respective Secretaries of the NEC. Audited Financial Statements and Accounts presented by the NEC.

5.10.5 Report of the National Organiser

5.10.6 Minutes of the previous conference/congress.

5.10.7 Reports from Component Structures.

5.11 The National Congress shall elect the President, Deputy President, and members of the NEC tri-annually.

6 COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

6.1 The National Congress shall be constituted as follows:

6.1.1 Delegates from branches are elected subject to the provisions of Section 5.4 here above.

6.1.2 All members of the NEC and all members of NWC shall have full delegate status.

6.1.3 Congress delegation shall be presented for accreditation by the Provincial Executive Committees twenty-one days before Congress/Conference to the office of the Secretary General.

6.2 No person shall be a delegate to National Congress/Annual Conference for more than one branch, region, component structures or organ of the PAC.

6.3 No person who is not in good standing in regard to enrolment or subscription fees shall be eligible as a voting delegate to the National Congress.

7 THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (NEC)

7.1 The NEC shall, subject to the supervisory powers of the National Congress, be the highest executive, administrative and disciplinary authority within the PAC.

7.2 The NEC shall be constituted as follows:

7.2.1 The President

7.2.2 The Deputy President

7.2.3 The Secretary General

7.2.4 The Assistant Secretary General

7.2.5 The Secretary for Finance

7.2.6 The National Organiser

7.2.7 The Secretary for Publicity and Information

7.2.8 The Secretary for Foreign Affairs

7.2.9 The Secretary for Political and Pan African Affairs

7.2.10 The Secretary for Legal and Constitutional Affairs

7.2.11 The Secretary for Labour

7.2.12 The Secretary for Education and Human Resources

7.2.13 The Secretary for Culture Sports and Recreation, Science And Technology

7.2.14 The Secretary for Health

7.2.15 The Secretary for Economic Affairs and Development Planning, Trade, Commerce and Industry

7.2.16 The Secretary for Projects And Development, Minerals And Energy

7.2.17 The Secretary for Youth Affairs, Chairman of PAYCO

7.2.18 The Secretary for Environmental Affairs And Tourism

7.2.19 The Secretary for Religious Affairs

7.2.20 The Secretary for Social Welfare

7.2.21 The Secretary for Local Government Housing and Civil Affairs

7.2.22 The Secretary for Transport

7.2.23 The Secretary for Land and Agricultural Affairs

7.2.24 The Secretary for Post and Telecommunication

7.2.25 Two Members nominated by each component structure that shall become the members of the NEC, provided that at least one of the nominees of each component structure is a woman.

7.2.26 Provincial Chairpersons shall be ex officio members of the NEC

7.2.27 A number of National Executive Members equal to the portfolios set out in paragraph 7.2.1 to 7.2.24 shall be elected at the National Congress by majority vote.

7.3 The allocation of specific portfolio or departments; referred to in 7.2.7 to 7.2.24 to members of the NEC shall be done by the Presidency.

7.4 The President, after due consultation with the Deputy President, may from time to time, and notwithstanding the provision of 7.3 here above, allocate to any member of the NEC any portfolio or department; and may co-opt not more than five persons into the NEC on the basis of the expertise that they possess.

7.5 The NEC shall hold the office for the period of three years.

7.6 No elected member of the NEC shall hold office in any Province, Region or Branch Component Structure.

7.7 The NEC shall meet in a plenary session at least once every three months.

7.8 The NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON. There shall be a National Chairperson elected at the National Congress whose duties shall be ceremonial, and any other official duty or delegate to him/her by the presidency and/or the NEC.

8 DUTIES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

8.1 The duties of the NEC shall among other be:

8.1.1 To act as the supreme of the PAC between congresses/conference.

8.1.2 To carry out the aims, objectives of the PAC and to implement policies and programmes of the party as well as implementing the resolutions and directives of National congress/conference.

8.1.3 To organize, supervise and co-ordinate all the activities of the party; and to this end, it shall coordinate the activities of the provinces, region and branches.

8.1.4 To ensure that the political education workshops on Pan Africanism as well as on the vision, mission and the aims and objective of the organization are conducted by all the structures of the organization.

8.1.5 To conduct a strategic workshop for its members within three months after the beginning of each new term of office to ensure unanimity to its members on Pan Africanism as well as on the vision, mission and aims and objectives of the organization.

8.1.6 To take final decisions on all disciplinary decisions/recommendations and to act as the organ of appeal.

8.1.7 To act as the custodian of all assets of the party and to present to congress an inventory of party assets.

9 THE NATIONAL WORKING COMMITTEE (NWC)

9.1 The National Working Committee shall be the main sub-organ of the NEC and shall consist of the President, Deputy President, and Heads or Secretaries of the following departments or portfolios: Secretary General, Assistant Secretary General, National Organiser, Finance Secretary, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Publicity and Information, Political and Pan African Affairs, Foreign Affairs and two nominees of PAWO and one of PASO and PAYCO, PASMA, APLA Military Veterans & PALF provided that at least one of the nominees of each component structure is a woman.

9.2 The NWC shall, subject to the supervision of the NEC, execute the decisions and resolutions of the National Congress and the NEC.

9.3 The NWC shall control and shall supervise the administrative machinery of the organization on a National, Provincial, Regional and Branch level and shall take such administrative measure as it deems necessary to enforce the decisions and programmes of the organization.

9.4 The NWC shall hold office for the same as that of the NEC.

9.5 The NWC shall meet in a plenary sessions at least once every month provided that is an emergency relevant to aims and objects, policies and programmes of the organization should arise, the NWC shall meet as often as such emergency situations reasonably require, to safeguard the existence, aims, objectives and basic programmes of the organization.

9.6 The NWC shall take and execute all emergency administrative decisions and report such decisions to the NEC provided such decision do not impinge on policy.

10 THE DIRECTORATE

10.1 The member of the NEC charged with any post or department provided in paragraph 7.2.7 to 7.2.24 shall also be the political head and shall make recommendations to the NEC to the appointment of the organization in his/her secretariat or department.

10.2 The directorate shall consist of at least 5 members of the organization, one of whom shall be the director of the directorate.

10.3 Members of the directorate shall be appointed by the NWC within 30 days of receipt of such recommended from the NEC members charged with the relevant portfolio or secretariat

10.4 The NWC shall upon good cause have power to recommend disciplinary steps against any members of the directorate to the NEC.

11 PROVINCIAL STRUCTURES

11.1 For Administrative, organizational and other purposes there shall be a provincial structure in each of the state provinces, i.e. Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Northern Province" North West, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu Natal and Western Cape.

11.2 The boundaries of the provinces shall be those of the state provinces as mentioned in 11.1 except in cases where the NEC feels that the administration of a province shall be better served by a further demarcation. In this case the NEC shall have the power to implement the decision subject to ratification by congress/annual conference. This decision shall be preceded by discussion with the province affected.

12 COMPOSITION OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

12.1 The provincial congress shall consist of delegates from branches within the province as prescribed in section 5.4 above and members of the REC as full delegates.

12.2 Provincial congress shall be held at such a time and place as may be decided upon by the previous provincial congress and in a absence of such a decision, by the PEC, or as directed by the NEC.

12.3 The provincial congress elect a PEC composed of the following members:

12.3.1 A Chairperson and Vice Chairperson

12.3.2 A Secretary and Assistant Secretary

12.3.3 A Treasurer

12.3.4 A Provincial Organiser and,

12.3.5 Ten Additional Members

12.4 Regional Chairpersons shall become members of the PEC

13 DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

13.1 To establish, organize and co-ordinate the activities of the regions within the province.

13.2 To carry out the aims, objectives, policies and programmes of the organization as well as instructions and directives or resolution of the NEC, NWC and the National Conference.

13.3 To implement the decision of the Provincial Congress, provided that such decision are not in conflict with any programmes, directive or resolutions of the NEC, NWC and/or the National Congress.

13.4 To submit annual financial statements, accounts and annual reports to the Provincial Congress and the PEC.

13.5 To help manage, control and guide the implementation and projects of the organization in the Province.

13.6 To make recommendations and suggestions to the NEC on matters affecting the welfare of the organization in the province.

13.7 To undertake all such activities as may further the policies and programmes of the organization in the province.

13.8 To keep the register of branches and branch members under its jurisdiction and to collect membership fees branches and pay such fees to the national account monthly.

13.9 To report on outstanding membership fees on monthly bases to the national treasury.

13.10 The PEC shall hold the office for a period of three years.

14 THE PROVINCIAL FUNDS

14.1 The provinces shall be entitled to raise money in their immediate vicinity and through such funds, finance programme as approved by the NEC. Funds so raised shall be for the exclusive use for projects related to the province concerned. All funds received by the province shall be deposited in a centralized banking account determined by the NEC.

14.2 The PEC shall at the end of the financial year cause the provincial treasure to prepare and submit audited financial statements and accounts to the provincial Conference/Congress. The PEC shall manner and means of revenue and expenditure for the Province.

14.3 The Annual Provincial Conference each province shall adopt a budget for the forthcoming financial year which budget shall be submitted to the PEC for approval. In terms of 13.8 and 13.9 the PEC shall pay the membership fees to the national treasury and given a monthly report of such a flow of money to the national office.

15 REGIONAL STRUCTURE

15.1 For organization, administrative and other purpose there shall be region in each of the nine provinces, i.e. Mpumalanga, Gauteng, Northern Province, North West, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu Natal, and Western Cape.

15.2 The number and geographic demarcation of region in each province shall be determine by the NWC upon the recommendation of the National Organiser, who shall be obliged to consult with the effect branches and region before such recommendation are made to the NWC.

15.3 Minimum number of five branches shall form a region.

16 COMPOSITION OF THE REGIONAL CONGRESS

16.1 The regional Congress shall consist of delegate from each branch within the region and in such number as prescribed by in Section 5.4 above.

16.2 The Regional Congress shall be held at a time a place as may be decided upon by previous Regional Congress and in the absence of such a decision by the regional executive committee.

16.3 The regional Congress shall elect a REC composed of the following members:

- 16.3.1 The Chairperson and the Chairperson
- 16.3.2 The Secretary and the Vice Secretary
- 16.3.3 The Secretary and the Assistant Secretary
- 16.3.4 The Treasurer
- 16.3.5 The Regional Organiser and
- 16.3.6 Three additional members.

16.4 A regional conference shall be held annually and the last of such congress shall be held a month before the National Congress,

17 DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (REC)

17.1 To establish, organize and co-ordinate the activities of the branches within the region,

17.2 To carry out the aim, objectives, policies and programmes of the organization as well as instructions and directives or resolutions of the PEC, NEC, NWC and National Congress,

17.3 Implementary the decision of the Regional Congress provide such decision are not in the conflict with any programmers, directives or resolution of the PEC, NEC or the National Congress,

17.4 To submit audited annual financial statement, accounts and annual reports to the Regional Congress and the PEC,

17.5 To help manage, control and guide the implementation and project of the organization in the regional and in particular in educational, cultural and sporting activities I the religion,

17.6 To make recommendation and suggestion to the PEC on the matters affecting the welfare of the organization in the region,

17.7 To undertake all such activities as may further policies and programmes of the organization in the region,

17.8 To keep a register of all activities of all branches and branch members and pay all membership fees from branches into the regional account on the monthly basis,

17.9 The REC shall hold office for the period of three years,

18 THE REGIONAL FUNDS

18.1 The regions entitled to raise in their in their immediate vicinity funds; funds so raised shall be exclusive use for projects related to the region concerned,

18.2 All funds received by the Region shall be deposited in a centralized banking account determined by the PEC, The REC shall at the end of the financial year cause the Regional Treasurer to prepare and submit written financial statements and accounts to the Regional Congress, The REC shall determine the manner and the means of revenue and expenditure for the Region,

18.3 At its annual Regional Congress each Region shall adopt a budget for the forthcoming financial year, which budget shall be submitted to the PEC.

19 BRANCHES

19.1 Each branch shall be governed by a Branch Executive Committee (BEC) which shall consist of:

19.1.1 A Chairman and a Vice Chairman

19.1.2 A Secretary and Assistant Secretary

19.1.3 Treasurer

- 19.1.4 Branch Organiser and,
- 19.1.5 Three other members

19.2 The BEC shall be elected at the Branch Annual Meeting,

19.3 Every organization in the branch shall be entitled to attend a Branch Annual Meeting; however voting on any deliberations of the meeting shall be limited to branch members who have paid up all fees payable by a member.

19.4 The annual meeting of a branch shall be at such time and place as may be decided upon by the previous annual branch meeting, and in the absence of such a decision, by the BEC, provided that such a branch annual meeting shall be held on a date earlier than the Annual National Conference and the Annual Regional Congress as well as the Annual Provincial Congress.

19.5 There shall be a branch meeting at least once every month.

19.6 At least 20 members shall constitute a branch

20 DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

20.1 To carry on organizational and educational work amongst the masses in order to acquaint them with the aims and objects, policies and programmes of the organization.

20.2 To keep close contact with the masses and provide continual leadership and guidance to the oppressed people in the area.

20.3 To foster the spirit of initiative among the people by taking leading part in organizing them to solve problem in the area.

20.4 To recruit new members and to collect membership and subscription fees as well as paying on a monthly basis these memberships fees into the regional account or as directed by national treasury and send such records to the national office.

20.5 To keep a branch register and to forward from time to time a list of members to the REC.

20.6 To report any act of misconduct and other dishonour and dispute to the REC.

20.7 To discipline member of the branch as provided in the Disciplinary Code.

21 BRANCH FUNDS

21.1 The branch shall be entitled to raise funds in its immediate vicinity, through such fund raising methods and programmes as approved by the NEC. Funds so raised shall be for exclusive use for projects related to the branch concerned.

21.2 All funds received by the branch shall be deposited in a centralized banking account, which shall be determined by the NEC.

21.3 No BEC, REC PEC shall engage in any national or international fund raising except under the directive of the NEC or NWC as part of fund raising campaign the NEC or NWC.

21.4 At every branch annual meeting, the branch treasure shall submit for approval a budget for the forthcoming year, and an audit financial statement covering the receding year which shall have endorsed as correct by the REC.

22 THE DISCIPLINARY CODE OF THE PAC

22.1 There shall be a disciplinary code, which binds all organs, member and component structure of the PAC. This code also repeals all previous disciplinary codes.

22.2 There shall be a branch, Regional, Provincial and National Disciplinary Committee.

22.3 All hearing before disciplinary Committee (DC) shall comply with the Constitution, the disciplinary Code and level of procedural and substantive justice.

22.4 Disciplinary proceedings shall ordinary be heard at the level where the alleged dispute or misconduct took place, that is, either at the National, Provincial, Regional or Branch level and shall be conducted by the relevant organ.

22.5 Until an appeal has been finalised, the decision of an appropriate level of authority shall be effective and binding.

23 DISCIPLINARY STRUCTURE

23.1 NATIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE (NDC)

23.1.1 The National Disciplinary Committee shall consist of a Chairperson, a Deputy Chairperson, and three other members.

23.1.2 All members of the of the NDC shall be appointed by the NEC

23.1.3 The Chairperson shall be the ex-Officio of the NEC.

23.1.4 Members of the NDC shall hold office for a period of three years.

23.1.5 The NDC shall hear and adjudicate upon all matters, disputes, acts of misconduct which relate to or involve:

23.1.5.1 Any member of the NEC

23.1.5.2 Any PAC member of Parliament/Legislature or Council

23.1.5.3 Any matter between two or more provinces, or between two regions in different provinces.

23.1.5.4 Any matter between any component structure and other organ(s) or component structure(s) of the PAC.

23.2 *PROVINCIAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE (PDC)*

23.2.1 The Provincial Disciplinary Committee shall consist of five members all of whom shall be appointed by the PEC.

23.2.2 Members of the PDC shall hold office for a period of three years.

23.2.3 The PDC shall adjudicate upon all such disputes, or misconduct relation to one or more of the PEC members, or one or more of the Regions of its Province.

23.3 *THE REGIONAL DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE (ROC)*

23.3.1 The regional disciplinary committee shall consist of five members, all of whom are appointed by the REC.

23.3.2 The Chairperson of the ROC shall be an ex-officio member of the REC.

23.3.3 The ROC shall hold office for a period of two years.

23.3.4 The ROC shall adjudicate upon such disputes or misconduct relating to one or more of the REC members, or one or more of the branches of its region.

23.4 *THE BRANCH DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEE (BDC)*

23.4.1 The Branch Disciplinary Committee shall consist of five members, all of whom are appointed by the REC.

23.4.2 The Chairperson of the BDC shall be an ex-officio member of the BEC.

23.4.3 Members of the BDC shall hold office for a period of one year.

23.4.4 The BDC shall adjudicate upon all such disputes or misconduct relating to one or more of the BEC members or one or more of the members of its branch.

24 *DISCIPLINARY RULES AND PROCEDURES*

24.1 When a matter has been referred to the Disciplinary Committee, the latter shall forthwith inform the members in writing of the allegations against him/her and convene a hearing within 14 days after having so informed the member.

24.2 The member shall be entitled to respond in writing to the allegations prior to the hearing.

24.3 A member has a right to be represented as his/her own expense at a disciplinary hearing.

24.4 At the hearing, the member shall be entitled to test the credibility of the evidence against him/her and to adduce evidence in support of his/her argument.

24.5 A disciplinary committee may make additional rules and regulations to govern the conduct of disciplinary hearings which must be ratified by the appropriate authority that is BEC, REC, PEC or NEC, provided that rules of natural justice shall be adhered to.

25 SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES

25.1 Sanctions and penalties shall include, reprimand or warning, suspension and expulsion.

25.2 Where in the opinion of the BEC, REC, PEC or NEC the security interests and image of the PAC is seriously threatened by the actions of a members or that the activities of members seriously endanger the running and integrity of the organization, and an appropriate level of authority is satisfied that delay will further the very threat it seeks to avoid, it may without a hearing for the suspension, suspend the member or remove him/her from a particular position or function of responsibility pending the outcome of the disciplinary hearing.

25.3 A disciplinary committee's decision shall reported to the appropriate level of authority, that is, the BEC, REC, PEC or NEC for ratification or otherwise.

25.4 The disciplinary committee shall inform the member in writing of the outcome of a hearing within 21 days after its decision has been rectified or otherwise by the appropriate level of authority. It shall also advise a member of his/her right of appeal.

26 APPEALS

26.1 A member aggrieved by a final decision of a branch disciplinary committee may within 14 days from the date of such a decision lodge an appeal in writing to the RDC, PDC and finally to the NDC. This procedure shall apply with the necessary changes to members who are aggrieved either by a decision of the ROC, PDC or NDC. The 14 days period shall apply with the necessary changes in appeals at all levels.

26.2 Appeals shall be handled expeditiously by the appropriate disciplinary committee and/or level of authority.

26.3 In limited cases which the NEC regard as of national significant to the organization, a person aggrieved by the final decision of the NEC shall have a right of

appeal to the National Congress/Annual Conference. Such appeal shall be in writing and not later than a month from the date on which the decision appealed against was known.

27 MEETINGS

27.1 All meetings referred to in this constitution a quorum shall be at least 50% of the members entitled to attend the meeting or of members on good standing of the relevant Branch, Region Component Structure, or Organ of the organization.

27.2 Members who fail to attend three consecutive meetings without valid reasons shall be regarded as having resigned their positions.

28 FINANCE

28.1 The basic funding of the PAC shall be derived from membership subscription. Additional Funding shall be derived from raising activities such as levies, donations, bequests, sales of PAC artefacts and literature as well as proceeds of functions such as parties, dances, football matches etc. and such sources as will be determined by the NEC or the National Conference from time to time.

28.2 It shall be the competency of the NEC to finance projects and to request members to make contributions to such projects should funds be inadequate.

28.3 Funds contributed by members for any specific purpose shall not be alienated for any other purpose save by the resolution of the NEC or the National Conference/Congress.

28.4 The NEC shall establish, manage and administer a Special Reserve Fund, and at the end of the Financial Year may vote a sum to be determined for this purpose. There shall be an investment fund source from a percentage of all party income. The investment fund shall be used to fund the investment portfolio.

28.5 The NEC shall at the end of the year prepare estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the ensuing year, such estimates shall be submitted to the Annual National Conference for consideration.

28.6 The financial year of the PAC shall begin on the 1st day of March to the end of the last day of February of the following year.

28.7 All revenue of the NEC, regions and branches shall be deposited in a banking account, which shall be specified by the NEC from time to time. The following accounts shall also be kept by the party:

28.7.1.1 PAC Main Account

- 28.7.1.2 Election Account
- 28.7.1.3 Development Account
- 28.7.1.4 Investment Trust Fund
- 28.7.1.5 Special Reserved Account

28.8 The NEC shall determine procedure, regulations and rules, which shall apply the revenue and expenditure of the organization at Provincial, Regional, Branch and Component Structures and any other organ of the organization.

28.9 Subscription fees shall be distributed among all the organs of the PAC in such a manner as will be determined by the Annual National Conference. In such distribution, regard shall be had of the contribution to the National Reserved Fund by each such organ.

28.10 The national treasure shall control all funds in the National Reserved Fund of the party and shall report all the activities of the fund monthly to the NWC and to the NEC whenever it meets, and present an audited statement of the previous financial year, approved by the NEC, to congress.

28.11 All disbursements shall be made through the medium of cheques duly authorized by the NWC, except when a fixed capital payment which may be made through electronic transfers.

28.12 Misappropriation and mismanagement of party funds be regarded as a serious breach of discipline and appropriate punishment shall be meted out, and/or legal action taken.

29 DEBTS

29.1 No office bearer or official of the party shall have the right to bind the party or party HQ in a hire purchase contract, or enter into a contact on behalf of the party with any company or individual except where such a mandate is given pressly, in writing by the NEC Provinces and Regions as well as component structures shall under no circumstances enter into any debt contact or agreement with any company or individual on behalf of the PAC.

29.2 The party shall repudiate all unauthorized agreement made on behalf of the party and over and above that, take disciplinary action against such individuals. The onus of proof shall be on the service provider to check whether the transaction is authorized by the party.

30 DELEGATES

30.1 The party shall be entitled to send delegates to represent it to all or any local; interest of the party and their nations is the subject of discussion. In cases where

individuals are delegated to represent the party, such individuals may be compensated, provided that the forum does not pay delegates an allowance/per diem/salary. The party shall reserve the right to levy a percentage of such an allowance/per diem/salary for the upkeep of party HQ. The party reserves the right to withdraw and replace appointed delegates if in the opinion of the NEC such a replacement/withdrawal serves party interests. Alternatively if a delegate is found guilty of an offence by the DC, such a delegate shall be replaced. Appointed delegates are expected to report to the NEC whenever it sits. All members of parliament, members of provincial legislatures, local councillors who have assumed such positions as delegates of the party shall be expected to pay a percentage of allowances to the party as shall be determined by the NEC from time to time. Failure to pay shall constitute an offence in terms of this constitution. Such a member shall be brought before the party disciplinary committee.

31 REMOVAL OF OFFICE BEARERS

31.1 An individual member of NEC, PEC, REC or BEC may be removed from office in between Congress if she/he is found guilty of contravening the disciplinary code.

32 COLOURS

32.1 The official colours of the organization shall be green, black and gold.

33 HEADQUARTERS

33.1 The Headquarters of the PAC shall be at a place to be determined by the NEC from time to time.

34 AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

34.1 This constitution or any part thereof may be amended or rescinded, altered or added thereto by a two-thirds majority present and voting at the National Congress.

34.2 Proposals regarding any amendment of the National Constitution must be sent to the Secretary General's Office at least two months before the Conference/Congress at which they are to be discussed, and circulated, in writing, to the branches at least one month before such conference/congress.

ADOPTED AT THE 6TH NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT GAMATLALA, ON 7-9 APRIL 2000.

SIGNED: DR MMUTLANYANE STANLEY MOGOBA (PRESIDENT)