

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania



2nd NATIONAL CONFERENCE

7-9 DECEMBER 1990

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

A G E N D A

SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE

FRIDAY THE 7th DECEMBER, 1990

1. OPEN SESSION:

Master of Ceremony - CDE B. DESAI and CDE E.D. MOSENEKE

- (a) Welcome and Speech by P.A.C. Acting President CDE C.M. MAKWETU.
- (b) Speech by External P.A.C. Spokesman CDE J. MKWANAZI, Administrative Secretary.
- (c) Speech by TOGOLAND REPRESENTATIVE.
- (d) Messages of Solidarity and Support.
- (e) Cultural Activity.

2. CLOSED SESSION:

- (a) Roll - Call.
- (b) Credential Committee's Report.
- (c) Presidential Report.
- (f) Constitutional Amendments.

SATURDAY THE 8th DECEMBER, 1990

3. CLOSED SESSION:

- (a) Secretary General's Report.
- (b) Financial Report.
- (c) P.A.C. on Negotiations.
- (d) Policy Documents.

SUNDAY THE 9th DECEMBER, 1990

4. CLOSED SESSION:

- (a) Report by Commissions.
- (b) Elections.
- (c) Resolutions Committee's Report.

Comrade Chair, delegates of PAC, comrades & friends:

City of London Anti-Apartheid Group brings its warmest greetings to the first conference of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania to be held inside occupied Azania for thirty ^{one} years. We would like to thank you for allowing us to attend this historic meeting.

We would also like to take this opportunity of expressing our condolences on the recent death of the late President Comrade Zephania Mothopeng.

We know what a loss his untimely death has been to the Azanian Liberation. We had the privilege of co-organising a major rally in London at which Uncle Zeph spoke and we were inspired by his determination and courage despite a life of torture and imprisonment.

We extend our condolences to his wife Urbania and his family.

We were formed in 1982 and ever since then our focus of activities has been outside the racist South African Embassy in Travalgar Square in London, ~~where~~ We expose Britain's racist collaboration with the white minority Pretoria regime and as a result ~~This is why~~ we have suffered constant harassment and arrests from the racist Metropolitan Police which has resulted in over 700 arrests of which we have won over 90% of all cases brought to court. We have taken our inspiration from the heroic ~~masses~~ struggle of the Azanian masses.

We held a Non-Stop Picket for 1408 days and nights outside the racist Embassy. We occupied and closed down the London offices of South African Airways on 21 separate occasions.

Our activities have included campaigns for the Maroka 3, Moses Mayekiso and the Alexander 5, the Sharpeville 6 and the Uppington 26.

We ran on the tracks whenever Zola Budd ran for apartheid in Britain. We invaded cricket pitches when Gatting led the rebel cricketers to the sanctions-busting tour of South Africa.

In 1985 we were expelled from the British Anti Apartheid Movement. Since then we have engaged in a battle with them to ~~recognise~~ recognise and give unconditional ^{and non-sectarian} support to all forces fighting apartheid in South Africa. We, as a British solidarity movement, do not see it as our role to determine the future government of a post-apartheid South Africa before the Azanian People themselves have elected their own representatives.

In recent years we have co-organised many events with the London office of the PAC and look forward to continuing this collaboration with the new Chief Representative Comrade Vuyani Mngaza.

We salute all the cadre of the PAC; the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, the Azanian Womens Organisation and in particular we salute the heroic fighters of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

PRESIDENTIAL OPENING ADDRESS - 2ND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PAC:

Comrade Master of Ceremonies;
Distinguished Delegates;
Members of the Diplomatic Corps;
Invited Guests;
Noble Sons and Daughters of Africa;
Comrades and Friends;

What more can I say except that the Hour has come. The moment for which we had waited and prepared for so long, has arrived. The one to open this Conference ZEPHANIA MOTHOPENG will not arrive. His untimely demise has deprived this gathering of a great and meaningful contribution in its deliberations.

I take this opportunity to welcome you all to this occasion which happens to be The Second National Conference of the P.A.C. of Azania since 1959. The intervening 31 years between that date and today is the well-known period during which the P.A.C. was banned.

During that period momentous events around the P.A.C. took place. There was the 1960 positive Action Campaign against THE PASS LAWS which changed the cause of history in our Country. There was ushered in the period of armed struggle. The P.A.C. became an internationally known Organisation recognised by the OAU, the United Nations and The Non-Aligned Movement, to mention but a few.

The detention without trial was introduced. Life sentences for alleged Political Offences were introduced. Hundreds of P.A.C. members were hanged and some gave the supreme sacrifice in combat. The international isolation campaign of the Regime was started. Amongst others, these responses of the regime to the P.A.C. Programme of Action characterised the South African Social formation for the next 30 years.

During the 1970's the P.A.C. was the most active banned organisation and the most notable Political Trial of the 1970's was the BETHAL 18 SECRET TRIAL where our Late President ZEPH MOTHOPENG was the first accused. Hundreds of students were killed during this time.

This present Conference is being held at a time when the events initiated by the P.A.C. 31 Years ago have reluctantly forced the White Minority Racist Regime to even contemplate changes in the abominable system of apartheid settler colonialism. *and even invited PAC to talks.*

However such changes to us are of no consequence because they are intended merely to reform apartheid when we say that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally destroyed. Hence P.A.C. continues to employ all forms of struggle for the liberation of our people as before.

The.....

The present task of the P.A.C. is to engage in all forms of struggle, The armed struggle as well as the democratic demand for a Constituent Assembly as well as the formation of a principled United Front with those who have a contradiction with the minority regime. Strategically, the struggle is waged on Three Levels:

- The International Diplomatic Offensive;
- The armed struggle; and
- The mass struggle;

The P.A.C. is extending a hand to all those who have a contradiction with the Regime and we propose the following principles as a basis for democratic discussion in the formation of a principled United Front. *James M. Smith 1967*

- (a) Apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be totally destroyed;
- (b) The East-West collaboration or interests be kept out of the Azanian struggle;
- (c) The Regime is not the vehicle for social change, but the oppressed, exploited and dispossed African masses lead by the African Working Class and Land Hungry Peasants.
- (d) All forms of struggle are to be encouraged with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle.
- (e) The demand for a Constituent Assembly to destroy White Domination.

The level of inter^{rac}ine violence taking place in our Country is completely unacceptable. The P.A.C. is on record as having strongly condemned this violence. We plead to the warring parties to enter into discussion to peacefully resolve their difference. This National Conference of the P.A.C. must produce a clear programme to unite the African People. Political intolerance must cease as it is unwise to ignore existing organisations or to attempt to eliminate them by use of force. In any event these organisations exist and cannot be wished away.

The slogan "Peace amongst the Africans - War against the Enemy" is very appropriate today. The P.A.C. will continue to wage ^{the} struggle against the White Minority Settler Regime, by inter-alia consolidating the Unity of the Oppressed, encouraging mass actions, seeking the continued isolation of Racist South Africa, through the imposition of sanctions. Our people are not deceived by the so-called willingness of the Regime to reform itself from Petty Apartheid to White Veto Domination with frills and trappings. The Regime must be relentlessly harassed.

Our exiled leaders and members are at home under strange conditions. The occupier of our Land have told them to leave their rightful home and Motherland by the 14th of December, 1990. This will not detract us as we are here to put our full attention to Conference Matters. We welcome them home unfortunately not to rule, but to join us in the continuous fight for the return of our Land.

Finally, I thank those who have come here to show solidarity with the P.A.C.

We trust that the deliberations of the NATIONAL CONFERENCE will be open, honest, clear and disciplined. We will not disappoint AFRICA. At the end of this CONFERENCE we will show the light and the masses will find the way.



PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA (PAC INTERNAL)

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YOUR REF

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MEDIA CONFERENCE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

P.A.C. NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Second National Congress of the P.A.C. took place from 7-9 December, 1990 at SHAREWORLD outside SOWETO. On the First Day 500 Delegates registered.

By the Second Day 793 Delegates from formally launched Branches and 400 Observers from Branches yet to be formally launched attended.

Official Delegates were from 250 Formally Launched Branches and 208 Branches yet to be formalised.

The New National Executive Council comprise of the following:-

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------|--|
| 1. PRESIDENT | - CLARENCE MLAMLI MAKWETU | <i>formally: on</i> |
| 2. 1st DEPUTY PRESIDENT | - JOHNSON MLAMBO | <i>Robb Island acting president</i> |
| 3. 2nd DEPUTY PRESIDENT | - ADV. DIKGANG MOSENEKE | <i>chairman external central committee, chair of PAC</i> |
| 4. SECRETARY-GENERAL | - BENNY ALEXANDER | <i>Preterius advocate</i> |
| 5. ASS. SECRETARY-GENERAL | - CARTER SELEKE | <i>Gen Sec. Azania, appointed to the post</i> |
| 6. NATIONAL ORGANISER | - MPOLOSE MANGQANGWANA | <i>Robb Island</i> |
| 7. SECRETARY FOR FINANCE | - MIKE MATSOBANE | <i>Robb Island</i> |
| 8. " " POLITICAL AFFAIRS. | - MAHLUBI MBANDAZAYO | |
| 9. SECRETARY FOR CULTURE | - FITZROY NGCUKANA | |
| 10. " " LEGAL AFF. | - WILLY SERITI | |
| 11. " " HEALTH | - DR. SELVA SAMAN | |
| 12. " " LABOUR | - VICTOR ZAMELA | |
| 13. " " EDUCATION | - JOE GWABENI | |
| 14. " " ECONOMIC AFFAIRS. | - THOMPSON GAZA | |
| 15. SECRETARY FOR WOMENS AFFAIRS. | - NOMONDE KAKAZA | |
| 16. SECRETARY FOR YOUTH AFFAIRS. | - THEMBA GODI | |
| 17. SECRETARY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS. | - DR. SOLLY SKOSANA | |
| 18. SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. | - PATRICIA DE LILLE | |
| 19. SECRETARY FOR PROJECTS | - MARK SHINNERS | <i>Robb Island</i> |
| 20. " " PUBLICITY | - BARNEY DESAI | |

Eight(8) members of the former National Executive Council were not re-elected.

The P.A.C. has been restructured from an 18 member NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE to a 40 member NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. This comprises the elected Secretariat, the Externally-Based Central Committee, Representatives from component structures(Affiliates) and 6 appointed persons. The two structures below these are the Central Committee Externally and the 10 member National

National Working Committee internally.

Another New Constitutional Structure is the Inter-Regional Council (I.R.C.) comprising the President, Deputy Presidents, Secretary General and Regional Leaders.

External Representatives to the National Conference, other than the Central Committee Leaders, included an Emissary from YUGOSLAVIA, TONGOLESE MINISTER, emissaries from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC of IRAN, EGYPT, ZANU P.F. Representatives as well as Representatives from various support groups, P.A.C. External Branch and Diplomatic Representatives.

The P.A.C. regards THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE as being highly successful, bearing in mind that it is only since MARCH, 1990 that we are operating in our own name. The level of debates were high and serious and it was hardly necessary to divide the house to vote as consensus on all major issues were easily achieved.

RESOLUTION ON UNITED FRONT

Realising and convinced of the importance of a United Front involving all forces who have a contradiction with the enemy, this congress resolves:

1. The United Front with other organisations of the oppressed should be formed, with the PAC guided by the following principles:
 - a. That it is only the African masses who are the vehicle for change and not the regime;
 - b. That apartheid cannot be reformed but must be totally eradicated;
 - c. That all forms of struggle, with the armed struggle as the principal one, must be encouraged.
2. To initiate a forum in which all organisations of the oppressed will consult with the purpose of finding areas of common interest and common strategies;
2. That the PAC will also participate if the initiative for such a forum comes from other organisations that have a contradiction with the regime;
3. That the PAC will not only lead its own members to the realisation of this goal, but will also influence other political tendencies among the oppressed and exploited to achieve the United Front.

RESOLUTION ON MR DE KLERKS INVITATION TO TALKS:

This CONGRESS of the P.A.C. after receiving feed-back from Internal and External Branches as well as having had consultations with Governments supporting our Party, resolves:-

- (1) That there is no principle, tactic or policy barring us from seeking a democratic solution to the Country's problems.
- (2) The P.A.C. will not negotiate with the DE KLERK Regime unless negotiations are preceded by an election for a Constituent Assembly on the Basis of One-Person-One-Vote on a common voters role in a unitary state.
- (3) The DE KLERK Regime has failed to create conducive conditions for negotiations as demanded by The United Nations and The International Community.
- (4) The P.A.C. has the mandate from the oppressed and dispossessed people to demand that the Constitution for a Free Azania only be drawn up by a Democratically Elected Constituent Assembly.
- (5) The P.A.C. is prepared to pre-negotiate only the modalities of creating the constituent assembly i.e. The Date, Age of Voters, Voters' Role, Supervision etc. Any such talks should take place in a neutral venue.
- (6) The P.A.C. remain committed to continue the struggle for Liberation on all fronts, including the Armed Struggle.
- (7) The P.A.C. remains committed to the PAN AFRICANIST POLICY on the return of land and all other resources to the toiling and dispossessed African masses.
- (8) The P.A.C. will inform MR F.W. DE KLERK of these decisions in writing.

RESOLUTION ON PROGRAMME OF ACTION

After noting that one of the important weapons in the struggle for our liberation is mass mobilisation, this congress instructs the NEC to:

1. Intensify the struggle for liberation on all fronts;
2. Appoint by January 31, 1991, a Campaigns Committee whose primary task will be to decide on and implement strategies for mass mobilisation on the political, economic, educational, and other arenas, with particular attention on campaigns for a Constituent Assembly and for the unconditional release of political prisoners and return of exiles.

RESOLUTION ON VIOLENCE

This congress, after debating the violence sweeping the African townships and noting the many factors that contribute to it, CALLS on every African in our country to oppose and expose all the elements in our society that promote the violence; CALLS on the NEC to engage other political groups in the process of curbing violence in our townships; and CALLS on the NEC to hold regular seminars, workshops and peace rallies for all Africans, whatever their political persuasion, to spread the message of ''Peace among the Africans, war against the enemy''.

RESOLUTION ON CULTURAL BOYCOTT

Considering the cultural boycott as an important form of struggle to isolate the racist minority regime and to ensure the early demise of apartheid;

Convinced that the cultural boycott must embrace all cultural activities, including academic, musical, sports, entertainment, arts, etc;

Perturbed that the regime and some sections of the national liberation movement are engaged in undermining the international cultural boycott;

Cognizant of the need to develop the cultural aspects of the oppressed and the dispossessed Azanian masses;

Aware of the important role played by non-racial and non-sectarian cultural associations;

RESOLVES that the cultural boycott must continue and be intensified;

CONDEMNS those engaged in undermining the international cultural boycott;

CALLS on the international community to maintain and intensify the cultural boycott;

SUPPORTS the principled positions pursued by non-racial, non-sectarian cultural and sports organisations;

URGES Azanian cultural and sports organisations to unite and intensify the boycott; and

INSTRUCTS the NEC to strengthen ties with these cultural and sports organisations and to participate in all attempts to unify sports bodies in this country.

RESOLUTIONS ON SANCTIONS

Convinced that economic, military and cultural sanctions are important weapons in the just struggle to isolate the illegal minority racist regime and the eradication of the apartheid system;

Further convinced that sanctions imposed thus far have and continue to have the desired effect;

This congress resolves:

1. That existing sanctions in the economic, military and cultural fields must remain and be strengthened;
2. Call for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions;
3. Condemns all efforts aimed at undermining sanctions; and
4. Undertakes to intensify the campaign for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

RESOLUTION ON THE EDUCATION CRISIS.

The crisis that has disturbed the entire education process, thus negatively affecting the African masses in general and the African students in particular, is not a spontaneous and goalless development. It is a direct result of the illegitimate regime's pre-meditated attempts to marginalise the African's role in his socio-economic and political milieu.

This congress therefore resolves that:

1. The PAC should produce a detailed, well-thought and clearly defined education policy that takes into account the African philosophy of life, which is the essence of the education of our nation. When formulating this policy, the PAC will seek the expertise and contributions of educationists, especially education planners;
2. A teachers forum harbouring, projecting and perpetuating the Africanist image and tendencies be started immediately. Such a forum must coordinate the activities of teachers; promote sound parent-teacher-student relationships; protect teachers against victimisation by the authorities; and must inculcate a sense of duty and responsibility in the minds of both the teachers and students;
3. The existing system of education is racist, illegitimate, discriminatory, and has been forced down the throats of the Africans and must therefore be eradicated in its entirety and be replaced by a non-racial, uniform system that is African in orientation'
4. The PAC demands as an interim measure that the present illegitimate regime:
 - a. provide African schools with meaningful material resources for the improvement of the education of our African students;
 - b. do away with the matric supplementary examinations and that the drop-out students be taken back to repeat the classes they failed;
 - c. stop the teacher-training institutions from condensing the curriculum because the condensed curriculum promotes high failure rates;
5. The PAC establishes a national parents education committee to address the current education crisis, working hand in hand with the teachers' forum, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation and other organisations interested in the education of the African.

RESOLUTION ON THE UPINGTON 14.

Noting that on May 26, 1989, the apartheid regime's court sentenced 14 Africans to death on the doctrine of "common purpose" after a three-year trial. This followed a similar sentence on the Sharpeville 6;

And further noting that they are the largest group of people ever to be sentenced to death in apartheid South Africa for an alleged single murder;

Congress therefore resolves:

1. To launch a campaign to free the Upington 14 and the Sharpeville 6;
2. To rally the international community on the issue of justice; and
3. To further campaign for the release of African patriots detained and jailed by the regime.

RESOLUTION ON PARTY UNITY

In recognition of the valuable work done by the late Cde John Nyathi Pokela and Cde Zeph Mothopeng to unify warring factions in the PAC; and

Concerned at factionalism, regionalism and tribalism rearing their ugly heads;

This congress instructs the NEC to:

1. Expose all members of the so-called Sobukwe Forum
2. Warn them against the continued use of the name of our founder president;
3. Identify and take disciplinary action against supporters of this clique who might still be within the PAC;
4. Discipline any member of the organisation who encourages or promotes factionalism, regionalism or tribalism.

Congress further instructs NEC to ensure:

- a. That all statements are issued by authorised officials;
- b. That regions should not issue statements relating to policy; and
- c. Regular workshops are held by all structures to educate members on policy.

RESOLUTION ON CDE KERRY BROWNING

While recognising that the trumped up charges against the then PAC Chief Representative in Australia, Cde Maxwell Nemadzhivanani, were dropped by the Australian courts; Recognising that several trumped up charges against Comrade Kerry Browning, PAC member and wife of Cde Nemadzhivanani have also been dropped;

Convinced that the dropping of the charges against the two comrades clearly indicates that they were baseless;

Gravely concerned that some charges against Cde Kerry Browning are still pending;

Concerned about the physical and mental agony suffered by the Nemadzhivanani family; and

Regretting the costs incurred by the PAC, which had to be diverted from waging the struggle against the illegal minority racist regime;

This congress:

Calls upon the relevant Australian authorities to immediately and unconditionally drop all the remaining charges against Cde Kerry Browning;

Urges the Australian Government to meet all legal costs in Cde Browning's favour;

Calls upon the authorities concerned to immediately and unconditionally return all PAC documents confiscated by the Australian police; and

Resolves:

That the PAC Legal Unit and Department of Foreign Affairs continue the dialogue with the Australian Government with the aim of speedily resolving the problem;

That the PAC National Executive Council review the issue after three (3) months and decide on further course of action if necessary.

RESOLUTION ON FUNDS

This congress, noting that (1) the PAC lacks funds; and
(2) it is the African masses who are
the vehicles for change and not
international donors,
Therefore resolves that every working Africanist donate at least
3,3 percent of his or her monthly salary to the PAC.