

PAC NEWS & VIEWS

SERVICE SACRIFICE SUFFERING



IZWE LETHU!
I-AFRIKA!

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KINGDOM OF LESOTHO

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1973

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The Editor Speaks:

'PAC News And Views' is a publication of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the voice of the struggling masses in South Africa, and it is published in the interest of African unity, progress and the ultimate overthrow of the racist minority government in our country.

The first edition is dedicated to the Azanian fallen heroes and the martyrs of the Azanian Revolution. Every drop of blood shed by the perverse ultra, fascist minority government in the name of its oppressive policies will ultimately nurture the tree of freedom whose seedling our heroes have jealously protected.

The struggles of the peoples of southern Africa in general, has reached its acme, and a decisive turn. With the victory of ZANU in Zimbabwe and the impending and inevitable victory of SWAPO against fascism in Namibia, our country, more than ever before, must urgently fulfill its obligation to the African people in particular and to humanity in general, and must once and for all rid itself of reactionary and oppressive minority rule. decisive steps must be taken and the liberation movement, the armed organisation of the masses must be the living embodiment of our people's noble aspirations. For us, this has in the past been hampered by insufficient national consciousness and organisation of our peoples' already matured revolutionary zeal. What is also needed is a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of the situation within the country and the concrete features peculiar to our epoch. Without this, without a real grasp of the feelings of the masses, no policy espoused by any movement can rightfully claim to have its roots in the people's aspirations. For us, the national liberation struggle in South Africa must be linked with every aspect of social, political and economic existence of our people. It must create new alliances and forms of new organisation. It must mobilise the masses and give birth to new ideas, aspirations and values and it must foster a new dignity and national purpose in line with the general trend in Africa and social humanity all over the world.

History has taught us in no uncertain ways that a group in power never voluntarily gives up its position, that force is the midwife in the birth of every new society, and indeed in our case as was said by our beloved leader, Mangaliso Sobukwe: "We want to build a new Africa, and only we can build it... 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 to break that unity." The people will not relent, let us fight and rebuild Azania, for the people's cause cannot be divided nor halted.

Long live the PAC!!!
Long live African!!!!
IZWE LETHU!!!

THE NATURE OF OUR STRUGGLE

(BY DEMOCRITUS)

The ideas behind the African National Liberation Struggle are of a two-fold nature.

First, there is the immediate struggle before us - for complete African National Freedom.

Second, implied in the struggle, as a fundamental ingredient thereof, is the kind of society we are striving, struggling and dying for.

The African people in South Africa are oppressed, discriminated against, and exploited, irrespective of whether they are young or old, rich or poor, educated or uneducated. There is colour oppression in South Africa. If you are black, if you are an African, you are kept down and oppressed by reason of that fact. In other words, we suffer National Oppression.

The White Ruling Group can, in general, be split up into three distinct groups. Firstly, there are the captains of industry, the financiers, the owners of the means of production, the commercial magnates, the tycoons. They hold the strings of effective power, and the state apparatus is designed to further and protect their fundamental class interests. They control, own and/or dominate the information media. Secondly, there is the white working class. The existence of this class is not a fiction. It is an objective reality. The white workers in essence own nothing virtually except their labour power. Thirdly, there is a group mid-way between the financial tycoons and the white workers. This is a sort of middle group consisting of small-scale business-men, professional men and women such as lawyers, teachers, doctors, professors, judges, architects, engineers and other technicians and so on and so forth. This latter group is well-placed and well-to-do on the whole. It is the group from which judges, commissioners, administrators, army-generals and legislators arise.

The distinctions between these white groups or sub-groups or categories, are vertical in nature. Thus any one or more individuals of the middle group can rise to the highest pinnacles of financial power within the general capitalist system. In theory,

persons from the ranks of the white workers, can rise to the highest ranks of the ruling capitalist set-up.

In the given South-African situation, the white workers find their basic life-interests tied up with those of the general white ruling group. In relation to the down-trodden African people, the colour bar is horizontal in nature and configuration. It is designed to keep blacks away from the citadels of power, and forever in subjugation. The relations of master and servant - of oppressor and oppressed - are inscribed in the very constitution of South Africa. The horizontal colour bar is regarded by the overwhelming majority of white workers as protective of their vital interest, and any attempt to upset the relations imposed by the horizontal colour - bar is set to be resisted even with armed rebellion, such the 1922 White Workers' "Uprising" which General J.C. Smuts, as he then was, put down with ruthless armed force.

The slogan, "Workers Unite" when applied to white and black workers' relationships becomes academic and irrelevant for all practical purposes. In fine the white and black workers are at present incapable of making common cause for the advancement of the African National-Liberation Struggle. This arises, among other facts, from the fact that the higher living standards of the white workers result, in part, from the subsidisation of their conditions of life from the cheap labour of the Black Majority in South Africa.

In the objective situation in South Africa, the Africans can move forward on the path of liberation, by dint of closing their ranks as a people, on the basis of African Nationalism - the dynamic unifying and revolutionary outlook of the oppressed African people.

Under the banner of African Nationalism only are the Africans capable of forging a powerful liberatory strategy and programme enabling them to end white domination and all its pernicious relations and ramifications, and to open the way for the building of a society in which decisive power will be in the hands of the masses of the people, and in which human beings will, one and all, enjoy the fruits of their own labour, and the culture and progress arising from the decisive control of the wealth of their land.

Under the banner of African Nationalism, by dint of organised pressure and united actions, the oppressed will unsettle or destabilise the relations of oppressor and oppressed, and intensify

the contradictions within the White Ruling Groups. Such pressures and planned actions will hasten the ripening of the Revolutionary Situation in South Africa. In terms of the contemporary situation the armed struggle will be intensified and developed to a quantitatively higher phase, also by the diversification of onslaught methods.

Thus a new phase, and a new era, of struggle will unfold before us, and the struggle will not be called off, until the shores of freedom have been reached.

Africa's cause must triumph !! Freedom in our life-time!!

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The African people of South Africa recognise themselves as part of one nation, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Malagasy to Morocco, and pledge themselves to strive and work ceaselessly to find organisational expression for this nation in a merger of free 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.

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

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA
 COMRADE JOHN NYAGI POKELA
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 12ND ANNIVERSARY
 DAB EN SALAAM, MARCH 21, 1982

On March 21, 1960 the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, which was then barely eleven months old, launched the first nation-wide "decisive positive action campaign against the pass laws." It is, therefore, due to this campaign launched by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania that progressive and justice-loving peoples the world over annually assemble on March 21 to pay tribute to those who made the supreme sacrifice at Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga and other centres, as well as to re-iterate their revolutionary solidarity with those struggling to realise the just cause for which they died.

On that eventful day, responding to the PAC call, the oppressed, exploited and discriminated against people of Azania defied en-masse the badge of slavery - the dom pass (so-called reference book) - by marching to the nearest police stations and courting arrest. This non-violent, but determined, defiance on a nation-wide scale so terrified the oppressors in apartheid South Africa that at Sharpeville the trigger-happy racist police and para-military forces opened fire on the unarmed and defenceless men, women and children, killing 69 and maiming and wounding another 187.

The March 21, 1960 Positive Action Campaign, led by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, is acknowledged by all as constituting the decisive turning point in the modern history of the struggle of our people to regain the usurped and colonised fatherland. The decisive campaign, it should be pointed out, compelled the racist-colonial authorities to suspend, albeit temporarily, the obnoxious pass laws. It was the first time that the racists resorted to this method.

Second, for the first time also, the racists declared a state of emergency, precisely because the nation-wide positive action campaign shook and threatened the very foundation of the fascist-colonialist structure. Moreover, also for the first time, the exploitative foreign capital felt threatened and fled the country.

However the qualitative significance of the March 21, 1960, campaign was that whilst it was true that 69 of our courageous but unarmed compatriots died at Sharpeville, the sterile non-violent method of struggle which dominated the South African resistance since for over half a century, also died at Sharpeville. It was said at the time that before Sharpeville the oppressed, exploited and discriminated against people of Azania were prepared to suffer for their freedom, but after Sharpeville they were prepared to suffer for their freedom, but after Sharpeville they were not only ready to die for it, but also to kill for it. Continued reactionary violence of the oppressor was to be answered not with the proverbial "other cheek" but with revolutionary violence of the masses. Thus it was the PAC-launched March 21, 1960 campaign which unequivocally cleared the political deck and decisively paved the way for a protracted armed struggle inside occupied Azania - and led, in 1961, to the formation of the military wing of the PAC.

The echoes of those who unarmed defied the most powerful bastion of fascist-colonialism on the African Continent were heard far and wide, in all the capitals of the world. This campaign, and Soweto Uprising 16 years later, were primarily responsible for rudely shaking the attention of the international community out of its long stincor of silence and calculated indifference.

While it is an obvious fact that what those at Sharpeville and other centres laid down their lives for has not yet been realised, the just struggle to to realise these sacred goals has, however, made
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substantial strides. Externally, the boundary of independent Africa has decisively and irreversibly moved to the Limpopo, to the very door-step of the last bastion of colonialism on the African Continent with the the victory of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of ZANU(PF). This objective fact radically changes the geo-political nature of the struggle.

Internally, the struggle has reached a new height and continues to escalate daily. The necessary and unavoidable prerequisites for any successful revolution, namely, the politicisation and mobilisation of the masses has widely been achieved and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has widely been achieved and the of Azania has played a vanguard role in this process. There exists documentary evidence that the PAC organised and played a leading role in the two mass-orientated campaigns, the March 21, 1960 positive action campaign which culminated in the Sharpeville massacre and the June 16, 1976 Soweto Uprising. Today our veteran Comrade ZEPHE MOTHOPENG, together with 16 other comrades, languish on Robben Island, with patriots, after being sentenced at the Bethal 18 Secret Trial for organising the Soweto uprising.

UNITY OF PURPOSE

Racist South Africa is a formidable enemy, but not an invincible enemy. The only major factor that can ultimately lead to the downfall of this enemy is the unity of the people. Unity, therefore, is the key to our success. Now, more than at any other time, unity of all those forces that have a contradiction with the enemy, is an urgent prerequisite. To work to divide the people or to promote sectarian interest is to work against the fundamental interests of the Azanian masses and their inalienable rights.

The Azanian masses were the pioneers on this Continent in raising

the banner of freedom and have accumulated a rich experience in struggle. They fully appreciate the meaning and necessity of unity. However, at home they are perplexed to hear that external forces, to promote their personal or vested interests, seek to divide the Patriotic forces by using nebulous and deceptive slogans as "authentic" or "genuine" liberation movements. Those who advocate such slogans are enemies of the Azanian people as they only help to delay the ultimate victory and the repossession of our fatherland.

The PAC, when it was founded, enjoyed the overwhelming support of the masses. That is why barely 11 months we shook the very foundations of the settler regime. We enjoyed the support because we represented their genuine aspirations and proved this during the 1976 Soweto uprising. The PAC, therefore, has been in the forefront of the struggle of our people. We must continue this vanguard role with greater determination and courage, conscious of the fact that final victory belongs to the Azanian people - although the path will be long and tortuous.

IZWE LETHU! I - AFRIKA!

In 1960 referendum, the National Party had promised whites that government of South Africa would remain securely in their hands.

The proposal now was clearly that the whites should share their power with coloureds and Asians. How long would it be, Mr. Merais asked, before blacks were also included?

Leader of The Herstigte Nasionale Party,

Jan Merais. ROM June 1, 1982.

A FEW WORDS OF TRIBUTE TO THE LATE
MANGALISO ROBERT SOBUKWE.

Death removed from this planet, one of the most illustrious sons of Africa. His death was tragic and untimely, but he died heroically, after a gruelling imprisonment on Robben Island, where the factors leading to his death must have taken root. He passed out of this World at a time when we needed him most; but his memory, his great deeds, and his memorable words, will fortify us and inspire us on the tough road of struggle, until final victory - until a new Africa, great among the peoples of the World, has been born.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe belonged to the Revolutionary Intelligentsia. He completely indentified himself with the masses of the people. He saw in the masses of the people a force and a power mightier than man's. He believed that the mobilisation of the broad masses of the people, and the harnessing of their energy and power to the tasks of liberation was a pre-requisite, a sine-qua-non, for the overthrow of white domination.

He believed that the white ruling group in South Africa would never relinquish power and privilege voluntarily, and that an effective rallying of the people on a correct basis, could decisively alter the balance of forces, and their correlation, in favour of the oppressed; and that in the last analysis the oppressed would be called upon to engage in armed struggle with all that it implied, namely suffering and sacrifice.

The key task, Sobukwe felt, on the road to national emancipation, was the attainment of African Unity on the basis of African Nationalism. The Africans, he thought, were the overwhelming majority, and were consequently the primary force for the achievement of complete freedom, and for the liberation of all oppressed groups on South Africa.

For all that, Sobukwe was not a Racist or Reactionist - not a chauvinist, with reactionary anti-human sentiments. He saw all human beings throughout the earth as belonging to one great family.

To him the colour of a man's skin, or his pigmentation was irrelevant and insignificant. He entertained no crude hatred of the whites who are all, like the Africans, Indians and Colour-*da* themselves, members of the human species. But what he detested with all his being was white domination and the Herrenvolkist ideology which buttressed it.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe regarded the basis for his organization, the Pan Africanist Congress, as being the vast millions of illiterate and semi-illiterate African masses. He saw in the working people, in alliance with the peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals, a motive force that would carry us forward, not only to the stage of complete national freedom and the liquidation of white domination, but also beyond to the era of the building of the new peoples society - a society in which the people would be in power, and in which the different peoples that inhabit our fair land would join hands in eliminating the relations of oppression and exploitation, and creating the conditions for real progress and happiness for all.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe saw the struggle as a continuous process - a sustained effort - to reach the desired goal. He was a dedicated freedom fighter. He led his movement heroically:

At the 1959 Annual Conference he called upon the Conference to give him a mandate to lead the masses into positive action.

On the 21st March 1960, he himself led his heroic band of youths from Mofolo North on the first lap of a March that was to shake the whole South Africa and reverberate and echo throughout the World.

In Ghana he was hailed as the "Defier of the Undefeatable." He fired the imagination of African Youth and evoked admiration throughout the African Continent. These were the first shots in a long sustained struggle that will be halted only by the shores of Freedom and of an Africa Reborn, Rejuvenated, Free, and Creative !!

REPRESENTATIVE'S DESK

Sons and daughter's of the soil, we have an immense task ahead of us. We must now consolidate our forces so as to hit hard at the racist regime of the boers.

The ranks of the enemy are now disintegrating. The Nationalist Party of the white racists is splitting into two parts, the Nationalist Party led by P.W. Botha and the Conservative Party led by Treurnicht. The enemy at the same time is rallying the Indians into their laager so as to fortify his forces against the progressive forces of liberation.

It is now imperative that the revolutionary forces should hit hard at the enemy. Under the banner of African Nationalism we are definitely certain of Victory. There is no force more powerful than a nation's will to be free. I, therefore appeal to all progressive forces to join in battle with the Agunika people's Liberation Army (APLA) to wage a relentless war of liberation against the bastion of white domination "Victory is certain".

Lastly, I implore all the progressive forces to work hard for the complete liquidation of white supremacy. Forwards Ever Backwards Never. To-morrow the United States of Africa.

Igwa Lethu

I-Africa

S.T. Mnganyo

Acting Representative.

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

SOBUKWE'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

A STATEMENT BY

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA ON THE OCCASION
OF THE 6th ANNIVERSARY OF THE STUDENTS'

UPRISING AGAINST THE INHUMAN APARTHEID EDUCATION.

On the calendar of the Peoples' Azania that must be, the 16th June will remain an ever memorable day in the struggle against naked boorish brutality on the African indigenous majority by the settler white minority to achieve its genocidal schemes against the African people.

June 16th, 1976 marks a day of great heroism and martyrdom when the youths of Azania took their destiny into their own hands and put up a historic stand against the forces of evil to establish themselves as the custodians and a new society that they envisage. Since then that stand and struggle and the carving of a new future by these youths has continued relentlessly and unchallenged. It will certainly continue till they reach the gates of a New Africa-- Africa re-born; Africa rejuvenated.

We look back with sorrow at so much young blood lost.

We look back with sad memories at such great talent split.

We look back with agony at such pain and injuries suffered.

But from these youths we have gained courage and fortitude; determination and conviction in the correctness of our stand and the certainty of our victory.

The history of our beloved country is the history of blood, the history of tears; the history of moans and groans; the history of suppression, depression and oppression. It is correct and it is the duty of the youth of the country to shape a future that will be bereft of these evils. They know and have realised that it is not a road of roses to achieve these goals. Those who remain owe it to those who have gone on behalf of all of us to reach that goal; to continue what has already been started. In short, to lead the way forward.

The road forward is bitter and thorny and it is in that light that we must meet the challenge.

In 1960 March, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania launched the Positive Action Campaign against the pass laws. This opened up a new road in our struggle in the form of positive action. This gave rise to a new identity of a people to rely on themselves in the struggle for their birth right. The Black Consciousness movement swept the country like an avalanche forcing regain and reassert the right of the African people to self-determination, self-reliance and self-assertion. The chorus was vehemently taken over by the youth. It is this struggle that must be continued with a determination greater than before.

Long live the African People and their Continent!

Long live the Azanian Youth!

Down with white Domination! Iswe Jethu.

16/6/82.

Who precisely is directing the ANC? Who is behind the organisation's strategy?

These are the questions that must be asked in any assessment of the ANC as it marks its 70th anniversary.

"I hate to have to admit it, but as far as the ANC is concerned, it is the SACP (South African Communist Party) that wags the tail.

"To me as a liberal who has for years fought apartheid, this is deeply worrying. Because any ANC-CP regime that came to power in South Africa would be more communist than anything else."

(Sunday Times, 10 June, 1982.

ATTRIBUTE TO A GREAT SON OF AF

A TRIBUTE TO A GREAT SON OF AFRICA-JONAS MOROENG.

We have learnt through Mhlangabazi ka Munda, with shock and disappointment, of the untimely demise of Jonas Moroeng, popularly known among both friends and foes as DUPE. It is in deed a shock that those who knew him and loved him and those who knew him and hated him will take a long time to recover from.

To say that to try and attempt to assess and evaluate Dupe the man, defies description is not to exaggerate. He was a man beyond and above average. He was a man of resilience and fortitude. He was a man of honour and determination. Above all he was a man of principles.

Moroeng was a man of less talk and more action. Once he was decided on what he considered the correct line, he followed it with unflinching tenacity and unflickering determination. Even those who differed with him could not help but admire the devotion with which he stuck to what he believed was correct. To know him was a pleasure; to be associated with him was a privilege.

His contribution to the cause of African Nationalism and Pan Africanism; his selfless devotion to fight for the rights and freedom of his people; his self-abandonment to the independence of his country cannot be overestimated. He was a man of quiet disposition and a pleasant face that sometimes misled those from whom he differed and disagreed on matters of principle simply because he still regarded them as brothers and sisters in the struggle for Africa's freedom - as comrades in a greater cause for the elimination of man's inhumanity to man.

His death should be a lesson to those of the Pan Africanist Congress who shun criticism and advice and guidance. It should be a lesson in that talent cannot be allowed to lay waste because of petty jealousies, self aggrandisement and selfish motives of personal gain at the expense of national emancipation, freedom and independence of the African people and the unity of the peoples of the continent of Africa.

Dupe was a youth with determination. In Krugersdorp in the days of the P.A.C. mass campaign he played a very significant role. He was persecuted, harassed and prosecuted. In the end he sought to translate Mangaliso's words into reality. He understood that after the campaign, in the words of Sobukwe, we were now no longer "only prepared to die for our freedom, but that we were now ready to kill for it". In the circumstances he left the country in 1962 and joined comrades who undertook military training. Here his prowess and ability to learn born of determination earned him respect and honour from his commanders. He later became a commander himself. On his return from training he immediately wanted to return home and put his training to use. The hierarchy of P.A.C. frustrated him and he went to wait in Kenya, where he died. HIS SPIRIT WILL LIVE FOREVER.

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.

PAC DISCIPLINARY CODE.

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe will go down in history as a hero - a
great Nation-Builder, a great Freedom Fighter, and a Great Revolutionary !!

He will inspire our future struggles with his courage, his total
dedication, and his vision of a future of power and prosperity for all
his people !!

Freedom Now and Tomorrow the New Africa !! Africa's Cause, must
Triumph !!!.

Izwe Lethu, I - Africa !!

"The Government would only negotiate a settlement for all South Africans once sufficient pressure was put on it from both inside and externally.

Dr. Motlana said change would only come after the Government had been pressurised into realising that it had no other options open to it. And it is not us to be blamed if that pressure from outside is violent.

Commenting on the Government's latest constitutional proposals, Dr. Motlana said 'those who had suffered with us over the years', should not join the 'unnolly alliance' between Whites, coloureds and Indians.

'I do not know if Whites realise the depth of pain and anger at this continued rejection and relegation to the background. Everytime we are told rudely and arrogantly that we don't belong, yet we are the only genuine sons and daughters of this soil.'

"We find it mind-boggling that groups of immigrants who came to this country a few hundred years ago, who stole our land, now seek to divest themselves of all the millions of natives who helped to create this country by simply calling them non-South Africans.

Dr. Motlana outlined plans for 'a democratic South Africa that Blacke envisaged.' There would be universal suffrage based on one person one vote, and racism would be made a crime. Individuals' rights would also be protected.

Dr. Athelo Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Yes.

"Read Daily Mail"
June 4, 1982.

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