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1. Our Fundamental Principles2

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This issue enunciates the basic policies of the P.A.C., both in the domestic and international planes. On its emergence in 1959, PAC elaborated its policies, separating chaff from good grain ideologically, as it were, giving direction to the struggle, a purpose and a prospect of achievement. Since 1960, when we launched our Positive Action Campaign of March 21, 1960, the struggle underwent a qualitative change. The enemies of our struggle are not likely to abandon their past-time of trying to distort these policies; those under foreign influences that are inimical to our cause also play their part. The mischief makers trail behind hell bent on character assassinations. We shall not be bullied, branded or brow-beaten by anyone.

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OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The year is coming to an end amidst a series of victories in our battle against the evil forces of white domination which are characterised by the political oppression, economic exploitation and the social degradation of the African people in our beloved Azania.

We, however, find it necessary to reiterate our policies, both in the domestic and international scene because our call for unity in the liberation movement of our country has provoked some cunning and wiley enemies who fear the combined forces of decolonisation. These are enemies by intent. Another category, enemies by effect, is represented by those who fear that unity may have the effect of losing them control over a section of the liberation movement. These are found mainly amongst the "friends" and "sympathisers" of our revolution. Both categories have managed to have flunkeys within a section of the liberation of our country and fraternal organisations.

These enemies, by intent and effect, have a great arsenal of a wide range of diversionary weapons (regardless of their ineffectiveness), weapons that are a vain attempt to deflect us from the main course of struggle and its objectives. Chief amongst these is the ability to tell half-truths, distort facts and fabricate untruths about the P.A.C. When these untruths are exposed the propagators, like trapped hynas, recede for a time only to emerge bent on character assassinations. Whether by intent or by effect, they become enemies because their aim is to retard the progress of our revolution.

WHITE DOMINATION

On the domestic scene we are faced with a combination of forces represented by white domination. These forces derive their power mainly from western capitalism and international imperialism. These forces have burrowed deep and entrenched themselves in our country for a number of centuries thus, outwardly, they appear impregnable.

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

In our country the whiteman has evolved a master race ideology of Herrenvolkism, so that he may lord it over the African people. Whenever the spokesmen of white domination have sprouted a conscience, they have referred to this phenomenon as the "spread of white civilisation" or "the extension of Christian trusteeship". The undisguised truth is that white domination has grounded down the status of man and stunted the normal growth of the human personality on a scale unprecedented in history. White domination was established by the sword and is being maintained by the sword.

A closer examination reveals that the oppressor is highly vulnerable. He depends on the active cooperation of the oppressed; firstly, for his highly industrialised economy which depends on African labour and; secondly, by enlisting the assistance of part of the oppressed for administrative purposes. The latter includes a system of creating "dummy institutions" such as Advisory Boards, Legislative Councils in areas (Bantustans) reserved for Africans, Urban Bantu Councils, etc. We call these "dummy institutions" because, like a baby's dummy, they merely quieten those who participate in them while the fascists' oppressive laws go on untrammelled. These institutions merely discuss the implementation and execution of the laws handed down from the whiteman's Reichstag in Cape Town. Theirs is to do and not to reason why. Someone once likened these institutions to toy-telephones, you speak but nobody is listening.

BLACKMAN'S BURDEN

We have unequivocally stated that the days of European domination in 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 over three hundred centuries the African people have been criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded. They have in the past, as they do now, declared themselves for freedom. They reject white domination in every shape or form. They are unflinchingly determined to wrest the control of the country from alien hands. They are determined to exercise the most fundamental of human rights, the inalienable right of indigenous peoples to determine and shape their destiny. South Africa which is an integral part of the African continent, is the inalienable heritage of the African people and its effective control is their undoubted and unquestionable birthright.

"It is our contention," stated Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in 1959, President of the P.A.C., "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 conclusion that the rousing and consolidation of the masses is the primary task of liberation".

It is an undisputed fact that the African people in our country constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and that they are politically oppressed, economically exploited and socially degraded. Apologists of the status quo are fast in accusing the liberation movement of racism whenever it wants to consolidate the African masses. Where else can a movement of the people look if not amongst the oppressed people themselves.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, is the political expression, in organisational form, of the most exploited and enslaved section of the population, the pass-bearing workers and peasants who, with nothing to lose but their chains, have a greater stake in the most radical social change by the most radical means. The P.A.C. is their vanguard liberation movement.

The first organisational task of PAC was to galvanise the African people into an irresistible revolutionary force.

It clearly defined its political philosophy.

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 African.

We concretely stated in our foundation documents that we guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group exclusiveness which those who plead for minority rights would like to perpetuate. Guaranteed individual liberties are the highest guarantee necessary and possible.

WHITEMAN'S PREDICAMENT

The race factor has adversely permeated the social life of our country for more than three centuries, during which time, it has been used as an ideological mask to facilitate the super-exploitation of our people, as well as a political pretext for the ruthless application of the policies of divide and rule at the behest of the imperialists and their henchmen.

Amongst the whites in our country, a few have come to realise, as the struggle progresses, that white domination cannot last indefinitely. Their predicament is that they do not want to identify materially and socially, spiritually and culturally, with the African. Consequently, they want certain checks and balances, guarantees and special consideration from the liberation movement.

"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." Sobukwe has observed.

"Thus it is", he further stated, "as South African history so ably illustrates, that whenever Europeans cooperate 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".

Various schemes have been advanced by the white ruling class in our country to protect and entrench its interests. The present regime has evolved a system of apartheid or the separation of races. The parliamentary opposition, which is no different in its racist attitudes, advances a scheme of a federation of races with the whiteman at the helm. The Progressive Party, another (though small) parliamentary opposition advances a system of qualified franchise by educational and property qualifications. This also, it has been calculated, cannot bring about majority African rule for an indeterminable period in the distant future because the education and property ownership of the Africans will move on at the speed of a tortoise.

All these schemes are tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee to the Africans. Whilst the former two are undisguisedly racist the latter has a tinge of racism sugar-coated with merchant democracy.

The allegedly progressive whites within the ruling class have also advanced alternatives which are no different. Their tragedy is that they have been incapable of outgrowing the racist environment of their social origin. They opt for local and foreign political pressures, which would facilitate certain modifications in the state structure without altering its basic exploitative character.

Their political actions are dominated by the fear they have for revolution by the armed masses because in the crucible of such a revolution the people orientate themselves to achieving the most radical social changes. Hence they speak of armed confrontations between the oppressor and PAC's fighting wing as "POQO's anarchistic murders", or of "precisely the kind of terrorism which we have always sought to prevent". Clearly, there is a conflict in values between the African people and the so-called white 'left' in our country.

As a liberation movement we recognise the contradictions within the enemy camp but dare not allow a lethargy to seep into the ranks of the oppressed by pinning their hopes on an illusion created by rival factions within the enemy camp.

The so-called 'left' amongst the whites passed through one organisation in 1955, what they chose to call a "Freedom Charter", whose relevant clauses state:

"The country belongs to all who live in it, black and white;

"All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

"All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride".

(emphasis ours)

Inherent in this declaration is the danger of each racial group insisting on living exclusively apart from others, in effect, continuing with the policies of racial separation, the very policies we are today fighting against. There are umpteen European and Asian nationalities (the latter are an oppressed minority) who have their own languages and distinctive cultures, let alone the multiple tribes with their own languages, customs and traditions amongst the African people themselves. Are we called upon to build a nation or a Tower of Babel.

How can a country belong to "all who live in it" as this Charter asserts. According to them the country belongs to the foreign invader and the indigenous invaded, the dispossessor and the dispossessed, the alien robber and the robbed. What equality is there between the master and the slave, the exploiter and the exploited. This was meant to confuse issues to a point where the oppressed do not even know against whom they are fighting, the oppressor was to be left alone, only the oppressive laws were the target; non-violence ruled supreme, to ^{be} non-violent was even said to be a virtue.

The propounders of this Charter want to see to it that the African is deprived for all time of his inalienable right to control his country effectively; of seeing to it that whatever new social order is established in our 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, as opposed to non-racialism, as propounded by PAC.

"Against multi-racialism we have this objection", our beloved President Sobukwe has succinctly stated, "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 multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts. Further, multi-racialism is 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 insuperable differences between the various national groups here that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to us is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes".

The whiteman in our country is in a predicament which is not of our making or liking. He is the only one able to extricate himself from his unenviable position. Should he be able to escape the influences of the racist environment of his social origin, the P.A.C. is the only organisation that guarantees him a non-racialist democracy.

Whilst we reject white domination we are also opposed to "black consciousness". Azania News stated, the other day, that "while we make a distinction between black consciousness and national consciousness (which we espouse to arouse ardent patriotic fervour)- Ed), our own feeling is that black consciousness is a reaction to liberal (white) paternalism. We of course detest both, the former as ghetto and gutter ideology and the latter as an ideology of 'grinning friends' in the enemy camp in the South African context. Both are enemies by effect, no matter how well-intentioned they may be in their political setting".

ECONOMIC FACTOR

The dominant factor in human relations is economic relations. Man, overridden by his selfish interests, has not solved the question of how to live in peace, in harmony and in fellowship with his fellowman. Selfishness (no matter what bourgeois psychologists say) is not inherent in man, it is developed by his social environment. Change the society that engenders selfishness and you will change man himself.

Skin colour in South Africa appears to play a dominant role in human relations but, as Azania News aptly states, is essentially as irrelevant as the old shoe that drags in the trail of the honey-moon chariot, and is part of the ritual, though it plays no significant part in the consummation of the new marriage.

Economically, therefore, we stand for a planned economy. 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.

SOCIAL FACTOR

We have already stated that the basic question confronting the African people is identical to that which has faced man from the beginning of time itself: the problem of man's relations to his fellowman. It is the question of how man shall live with his fellowman in fellowship, in peace and in harmony.

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

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

PAN AFRICANISTS

We are, of course as our name implies, Pan African in outlook. In South Africa the social force that upholds the material, intellectual and spiritual interests of the oppressed peoples is African nationalism, and the social force that 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 contradictory 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.

Africanism is Pan Africanistic in scope, purpose and direction. It is continental in scope covering the entire continent, from Cape to Cairo and from Malagasy to Morocco. It is a social media functioning through the media of African social conditions, and operating to liberate Africa and to create a new social order, original in conception, Africanistic in orientation, socialistic in content, democratic in form and creative in purpose.

Our experience, indeed the experience of the whole of Africa, is that imperialism has fostered racial attitudes in order to divide and rule. Imperialism institutionalised racism throughout the whole of Africa, in general, and in our country, in particular. In the quest to solve our problems we define an African the way we do in order to arouse national consciousness amongst all her diverse peoples and to develop a distinct revolutionary culture. By

recognising the primacy of individual interests and thinking in terms of individuals not groups we will be unifying our people, whether they be green, yellow, blue or rainbow, in the philosophy of Africanism. This is the only way to make a clean break with imperialist fostered racial attitudes and establish lasting peace based on a non-racial democracy.

Pan Africanism postulates, as enshrined in our basic documents, our commitment to the establishment of a Union of African States, a unitary centrally-controlled organic whole. The days of small states have long passed. Even the weak independent states of Europe are forming economic and military federations.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The South African ruling minority is backed by the forces of international capitalism and imperialism. This made us to have an international outlook.

The lesson of history in human and international relations shows that oppressed peoples can only get moral support and sympathy from friendly peoples: they can never liberate them, if they do they will want, and rightly so, to dominate them. We are not fighting to change one master for another one. We will be our own liberators.

We have developed, and continue to develop, independent policies. We shall never ape this or that country or fashion our policies to approximate or to please certain powers or a constellation of powers or peoples.

Our policies flow from the logic of the African situation and from our fundamental long-term interests. We hold that we are "independent in everything and neutral in nothing that concerns the destiny of Africa".

In our struggle against the forces of white domination that are supported and backed by western capitalism and imperialism we recognise the mutual assistance revolutionary struggles throughout the world render to each other, because, wherever a national war of liberation is fought, it weakens capitalism and imperialism on a global scale.

We give full support to the struggle of the three Indo-chinese peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (against United States aggression) led by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia and, by the Lao Patriotic Front, respectively. The reunification of Vietnam is the ardent desire of the entire Vietnamese people and this has our fullest support. U.S. imperialism must stop this imperialist aggression of the Indo-chinese nations and peoples and stop talking of "peace" whilst escalating war.

We fully support the aspirations for reunification, without any outside interference, of the Korean people and once more condemn U.S. imperialism for maintaining a state of war against the DPRK and condemn U.S. imperialism for bolstering the puppet regime of Pak Jung Hi in the south. We demand the dissolution of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

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We reiterate that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the People's Republic of China. The liberation of Taiwan is an internal matter of China and her right to liberate this province by whatever means and whenever she chooses is indisputable. Once more U.S. imperialism is the bandit.

We give full support to the struggle of the Palestinian people against zionism and the struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli imperialist beachhead. We condemn the Jordanian regime for allowing itself to be used as a cats-paw in imperialism's design to make Arab-fight-Arab. We recognise the Confederation of Arab Republics as an anti-imperialist Arab nucleus for the struggle against the illegitimate child of imperialism the zionist state; and, we commend Egypt for blocking the military advance of imperialism through the north-eastern part of our beloved continent and give her unstinted support for this heroic role. Once more U.S. imperialism is the cat caught with the cheese of Arab oil on her whiskers.

The significant strides that have been made by the German Democratic Republic in the diplomatic field have our enthusiastic support.

We support the valiant defence by Cuba of her national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Needless to mention that we vehemently condemn U.S. imperialism for her machinations and intrigue against Cuba.

We fully support the revolutionary struggles of the Latin American peoples and countries for complete liberation and national sovereignty.

We give wholehearted support to the struggles of our African brothers in Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, so-called Spanish Sahara, Djibouti and the Comoro Islands, for national liberation. In the same breath we vehemently condemn the acts of aggression by the fascist colonial regimes against Guinea, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia in a vain attempt to stop their support for the national liberation movements. And, we fully support the struggle of the African-Americans, which struggle, we believe, is the catalyst that will awaken the American people to the grave injustices done by the ruling financial magnates.

This is the fundamental policy of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), which has been the guiding principle in our struggle. Many have laid down their lives for these noble ideals and many are incarcerated in the oppressors prisons but not even atom bombs can stop this march towards national liberation and an Africa rejuvenated, an Africa recreated, an Africa reborn.

In forthcoming issues we will treat our policies on a United Front and People's War. Forward to a new year of even greater victories.