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AZANIA OR
SOUTH AFRICA?
PAC'S ANSWER

Many friends of our revolution want to know why we refer to "South Africa" as Azania. We here publish a condensed form of an article by M.D.P. Bolofo which is part of a series that was published by PAC some time back.

Azania was the name given to Africa by the ancients for many thousands of years before the Europeans made an appearance in Africa. The Romans who established an empire in North Africa after they destroyed the Phoenician colony known as Carthage in 146 B.C., renamed this colony, Africa. The Romans had no name for the continent of Africa. Africa was former Carthage which was one of the former provinces of their empire. Subsequent conquerors renamed Carthage Ifriqiya. Note that Ifriqiya was the present day Tunisia.

The word Azania is derived from "Zanj" which was used by these ancients when they referred to Blackmen. The ancients renamed the East coast Zanj-

(Continued on Page 8)

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"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."

-- The P.A.C. Manifesto. 1959.
(Last Paragraph)

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AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS' BETRAYAL
OF A NATION

by V.L.M.

The militancy of Azanians in their determined struggle to crush the power-house of fascist oppression in Southern Africa dates from the earliest days of white colonialist landings on the Cape Coast. The Xhosa Wars, the Zulu Wars, the Wars with Moshoeshoe and with Sekhukhuni bear testimony to this.

This revolutionary fervour suddenly lapsed between 1912, on the formation of the African National Congress (Bantu Congress then), and 1959, on the inauguration of the Pan Africanist Congress. What transpired and gave birth to pacifism and anti-revolutionary activity during these intervening years?

An onjective analysis is a revelation of how ANC leadership, disregarding the class composition of our society, quailed the African people. Indeed, a shocking study on the betrayal of a nation.

BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS

"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", so states the preamble to the Manifesto of the Pan Africanist Congress. European settlement of Africa was a direct consequence of the search for new markets and the quest for raw materials by rising western capitalism. From the mid-sixteenth century to the turn of this century the African people resisted this penetration of their country by force of arms.

However, at the turn of this century, some African "intellectuals" who had acquired education in Britain and thus had been exposed to British liberalism, came back to South Africa and founded the African National Congress. These leaders glorified so-called liberals as Sir William Wilberforce of the freedom of the slaves notoriety, completely oblivious of the fact that the industrialisation of Europe needed wage-labour and markets. Humanitarian considerations did not motivate the movement for the freedom of the slaves. This leadership worked and collaborated with white liberals, the class enemy, in its endeavour to get itself accepted as "civilised" in the circles of the class enemy.

For half-a-century, the African people led by this ANC leadership, expended their energy uselessly and futilely. Actuated by insatiable love for glorified positions, this leadership led the African people into abandoning the basic principles of their revolutionary motivation -- European Imperialism and rising western capitalism. For half-a-century Azanians were asked to plead, to appeal to the whiteman's sensibility, carrying alms to the establishment, hoping to get some constitutional crumbs that may fall off the oppressor's parliamentary table. This period was characterised by deputation after deputation to the oppressive government pleading for this or that.

This was the "civilised" thing to do, they felt. If the struggle were to be carried out otherwise it would have been too uncouth, too barbaric, unimaginable to "intellectual" minds that were jockeying neck-to-neck in attempts to prove that they had assimilated the whiteman's culture. The struggle became an academic exercise.

This leadership had even conditioned some of the African people into believing that in order to lead one either had to be a Doctor or a Chief. Hence the Dr. Dube's, the Dr. Xuma's, the Dr.

Dr. Moroka's and Chief Luthuli's in its leadership during this period -- a leadership that "played the game" according to the white oppressor's rules of constitutionality, legality and "civilised conduct". Never ever demanding as of right.

During this period ANC members took part in white created institutions for the blackman's oppression. These leaders collaborated with the enemy in the "Native Representative Council". Africans were encouraged to elect four white members to represent them in a parliament of 150 whites. No direct representation. This honour fell to the white "communists" in South Africa. These pseudo-communists represented the accumulated feelings, desires and aspirations of 15 million Azanians. Brian Bunting, Sam Khan and British "liberal" Margaret Ballinger are some of the nauseating names that immediately come to mind.

Even when militant youth leaguers of ANC charted a Program of Action in 1949 the ANC president then, Dr. Moroka, refused to be associated with its avowed aims. When the Defiance Campaign was eventually embarked upon in 1952, flowing from the 1949 program, Dr. Moroka used the fact that he had contributed funds to a scholarship of the Afrikaner Potchefstroom University - /Fund : a cess-pool of white supremacist education exclusively for whites - in a plea for mitigation when charged for his participation in the campaign.

This is the duplicity that has typified ANC leadership throughout its existence. The present leadership, born and nurtured during that era, still has its political orientation firmly embedded in the past. These testy old men in their tottering ivory towers have never divorced themselves from this sorry past.

REBIRTH OF A NATION

1959 witnessed a new era, the rebirth of a nation. This rebirth was precipitated by the "Africanist Movement" -- a movement of nationalists who were members of ANC but never part of it. This national renaissance manifested itself by bringing forth the Pan Africanist Congress after an intense interior revolution within the ANC.

PAC gave concrete expression to the Azanian peoples desire to be masters of their own destiny. It gave the struggle an infolding program of action derived from a new positive organic principle. The African liberation struggle was also given a prospect of achievement. An alternative government was now in demand -- a government of Africans for Africans and by Africans. An African being anyone "who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority". Pleas gave way to demands, appeals to clenched fists and later pangas and bullets.

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, PAC President implored the people to cast off the mental shackles that the ANC had chained around the peoples' minds. Potlako K. Leballo, PAC National Secretary enjoined the people to do battle with the white supremacists and imperialists. "Cast your eyes beyond the dust of revolution and see the glittering gates of an independent Azania" was his call to battle.

THE BATTLE IS JOINED

The objectives were well defined and the pace for revolution was set on March 21st, 1960 when Sobukwe blew his clarion call for battle. An irresistible force of revolutionary movement rallied to Sobukwe's call. 83 Azanians were killed at Sharpeville and Langa on that day. But there was to be no let-up. And so the battle was joined.

After total eclipse ANC called an All-In African Conference at the behest of white liberal elements. PAC withdrew from this conference after it became apparent that ANC still wanted to pursue the same old policies under a new guise. ANC leadership wanted a constitutional conference to be called by the fascist government -- a conference that would be attended by representatives of all sections of the community. It is political naivety of the highest order to expect the oppressor to call a conference where he would hand power over to the oppressed.

PAC, after banning and the arrest of some of its leaders, went underground. Chills went down the spines of white people on hearing of killings of whites in the Cape Province towards the end of 1960. PAC militants, known as POQO, had found modern usage for rude indigenous weapons such as pangas and axes, eliminating traitors from within and enemies from without.

PAC activists engaged in a program of armed struggle from then onwards. There have been historic confrontations with enemy forces in places as far apart as Paarl, Qamata, Queenstown, Cato Manor, Bashee River, Krugersdorp, etc., confrontations that compelled the government to appoint a Commission of Enquiry -- the Snyman Commission -- to find out the potential of PAC. In an interim report in 1963 the Commission reported that PAC was poised to start a nation-wide uprising. This led to the arrest of 10,000 Azanians, people who were known before the banning of PAC to have been its members.

As the seed of revolution germinated and was steadily growing into a firm plant counter-revolution grew apace. ANC had now promoted the foreign class enemy elements who had been associates throughout its life into being Directors. They were paying the piper so they had to call the tune. These elements resuscitated the ANC in order to blunt the revolution. Bram Fischer, by his own admission at his trial, stated that in ANC they engaged in "selective violence" (placing explosives in government toilets and stairs of government buildings) because they wanted to shock the government into its senses. What is otherwise bound to happen is revolution and the results of revolution are "horrific and permanent", he further stated. This is an executive member of ANC expressing a morbid fear for revolution. This, however, does not surprise the PAC because Fischer has to protect his class interests.

SUPPER WITH THE ENEMY

Whilst sitting pretty in a luxurious house situated at a "whites only" residential area in Johannesburg, Walter Sisulu, ANC leader, was arrested with others one night during 1964. Amongst them was a white avowed "communist", Gerald Ludi. Ludi was later introduced at Sisulu's trial as "Agent Q108" of the South African security police. He had been an ANC member for a number of years, it transpired during the trial, and had been to Moscow as an ANC delegate for top level arrangements. He had then come back to South Africa as a clerk responsible for all incoming and outgoing correspondence.

These are facts that cannot be glossed over.

I detest boring our intellectual readership with ANC history since its inception because it reads like a James Bond novel with spies pitching up at trials when ANC leaders are arrested, spies who had been executive members of ANC. We do admit, however, that such setbacks happen in every revolution. In all honesty and sincerity to the cause, the onus is on the liberation movement

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itself to create a machinery that will detect and out weed such elements. A liberation movement that looks to the class-enemy for leadership and guidance can never overcome this hazard.

ANC AND IMPERIALISTS: STRANGE BED-FELLOWS

The top person in the hierarchy of ANC shuttles between Europe and the United States spending very little time on the African continent. In fact he has a house in London. He can teach the pigs in George Orwell's "Animal Farm" a few new tricks on the betrayal of a cause.

This Bourgeois capitalist roader so tries to emulate his oppressor and capitalist friends to the extent that he has become more European than Europeans. He addresses this or that meeting of American industrialists and then dashes to the Scandinavian countries, under one pretext or the other, before eventually retiring to his villa in Britain. Contrast this with the fact that P.K. Leballo, PAC Acting President, has only been to the United States once, during 1962 for the U.N. Trusteeship Committee meeting, then it becomes evident which leadership is African orientated and has the African revolution at heart.

PAC, over the past few years since its inception, has been busy building up a strong net-work of the underground in Azania. In the process 92 activists have been hanged by the settler regime for eliminating enemy forces throughout the country whilst only four ANC activists have suffered this fate in South Africa.

Three months ago newspaper headlines were dominated by PAC's daring campaign through Mozambique (See Africanist News and Views No. 4, August 1968). A trial, at the moment, is in progress of 26 alleged members of PAC in the South African Supreme Court, charges against 74 others are pending whilst their in custody. These trials, the settler papers report, are the "guerilla trials" ever to be/largest undertaken in that country.

The casualties on the oppressor's side have been heavy. But, in PAC tradition, we release no communiques. We loath type-writer warfare because, as we have learnt from the fate of the ANC, half the work of the South African security police is compiled from information amassed from such communiques.

What a betrayal of a noble cause.

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Cape Town, Tuesday: Twenty-six Africans, said to be members of the Pan Africanist Congress, faced death today when they were charged in the supreme court here with plotting to commit sabotage and murder.....

Other charges were: That the plotters intended to murder the white inhabitants of the town, seize control of the power station and cut off the electricity supply, and tamper with the medical supplies at a hospital at King Williams town near East London.

The state said the accused were members of the Victoria West Branch of the banned militant organisation Poqo.....

---Nationalist,
Dar es Salaam,
September 5, 1968.

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THE HEROES

OF AFRICA

by Mangaliso Sobukwe

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| In the P.A.C. political
| Calender, July 31, is the
| African Heroes' Day. On that
| day, in 1959, the PAC President
| delivered the following oration.
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"We are gathered here to commemorate our National Heroes Day. We are, today, going down the corridors of time to renew our acquaintance with the heroes of Africa's past--those men and woman who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great sons and daughters of Africa who died 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 re-state our goals.

"We are here to draw inspiration from the heroes of Thaba Bosiu; Isandlwana; Sandile's Kop; Keiskama Hoek; Blood River 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 hands, and a shield and sword in our left hands, 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 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, relentless and total war against white supremacy.

"We say to waverers and fence-sitters, choose now, for 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'

"The decks are cleared; the battle must be joined. The issues are clear-cut. In the 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. Realising this, the oppressor is panic stricken and is making feverish preparations for a last ditch-stand in defence of his white supremacy. On the otherhand, the forces of freedom are gathering strength from day to day, disciplining, nerving and steeling themselves for the imminent struggle.

"The oppressor will not take this lying down. We are aware of the nature and size of our task. There is plenty of suffering ahead. But we are ready. We will not go back; We will not look back; We will not deviate; Come what may! Join us in the march to freedom! To independence now! Tomorrow the United States of Africa!! IZWE LETHU!!".

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HEART-TRANSPLANTS OR LEGALISED BUTCHERY

It has been known to us for a number of years that South African medical science has made an appreciable number of firsts because of its endless reservoir of human guinea-pigs -- the African people.

A few years ago South African researchers (white, of course) announced that Africans have a very low incidence of coronary thrombosis, relative to Europeans, because of the low fat content of their foodstuffs. This led to a few suitable /Africans arrested, under some of the multiple racial laws, for medical research. One halve of the group was fed on fatty foods whilst the other halve was made to keep its fat in-take to the barest minimum. /bein

This hypothesis was was later used by Verwoerdian politicians as a point for not raising the salaries of Africans. The argument used was that should Africans start eating butter and cheese with their breakfast the incidence of heart-diseases amongst them would be raised. In effect, they meant, starvation wages were meant for the continued good health of the Africans.

These disease free African hearts have now inspired one of the worst surgical gambles since Rasputin. Borrowing from the argument of one of the world's outstanding physicians, the reknown Russian surgeon of dog-to-dog head-graft fame, until the question of the incompatibility of cells is solved heart-transplants are a gamble with human life.

From the latest eye-witness reports on Blaaiberg, one of the thus far surviving recipients of transplanted hearts in South Africa, this question has yet not been solved in that country. Blaaiberg is a perpetual invalid. He can neither walk an appreciable distance nor do the slightest exercise for fear that his heart will come off its moorings.

But that is neither here nor there.

What is there is that Mrs. Haupt, the coloured so-called "donor's" wife, wants her husbands heart back. Recent reports are that she categorically and very vehemently states that she was steam-rollered into what she did not approve of. She now wants to bury the heart of her husband with his body as soon as Blaaiberg dies. She contacted the hospital authorities as soon

(Continued overleaf)

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The Motherland will feel for a long time the bitter humiliation it experienced at that critical period as a result of the imperialists making light of its struggle, a derogation that was beyond human endurance. To revolt against imperialism is the natural right of all colonised peoples.

THE CHARTER (1962)

---President Gamal A. Nasser

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as she heard that there was a likelihood of another heart-transplant on Blaaiberg a couple of months ago.

How sad it is to live on a stolen heart.

What is here is that another transplant was carried out at Groote Schuur Hospital, South Africa, early in September again from an African donor without consent. The methods employed this time are even cruder in their disregard for the "donors" kith and kin. The hospital authority's claim that the woman was unknown and that there was no time for consultations is, to say the least, not satisfactory. This claim has now been proved, after some sharp editorial comment from some South African papers, to have been false. The Xhosa girl's ("donor's") parents want certain things explained. Why the deception that the body was intact when they took it from the mortuary? Why all this heart stealing anyway of coloured folks' hearts?

The people of Azania neither wish to stand in the way of science and progress. They, however, do object to legalised butchery in Nazi South Africa which appears to have the tacit approval of western scientists.

oooOooo

Overheard In A South African Hospital

Patient (White) : When I leave hospital I will write a book which, I swear from the bottom of my heart, will be of deep interest to our kith and kin in generations to come.

Doctor (White) : You make me feel very uneasy. We cannot be having much time in this country then because we have just put a blackman's heart into you.

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(Cont. from front cover.

ebar, meaning, black coast or blackman's coast. Today this name is applied to the island of Zanzibar. From the word Zanj developed Azanja which was modified into Azania. It is common practice amongst many languages, Latin included, to replace the "j" by an "i". For instance "jus" is pronounced as "ius". In Azanian languages it is common practice to use the prefix "A", e.g. Anyanja, meaning the Nyanja people. Azania is a slight modification of Azanja. Some ancients referred to the black men as the Zinj. There is indeed a slight modification between Zinj and Zanj.

The empires of Ghana and the ancient kingdom of Mali and Songhai belonged to the continent of Azania and not Africa, a Roman colony. The ancients were right to name the Indian Ocean of today, the Sea of Azania, because there was a time when blackmen (Azanians) were explorers. In Australia today there are blacks, in the mountains of Malaya there are the Semangs with marked Azanian characteristics physically, in Indonesia the Andaman Islanders and the Sarais. This was the period of a thriving civilization.

The first nailing of the coffin of Azania was done, when the Chinese, who for a long time, led the world in naval technology withdrew their giant ships from the Sea of Azania and Europeans entered the Sea of Azania for the first time. The funeral was officiated by European powers at the Berlin Conference. We now want to recapture our past and rewrite our history.