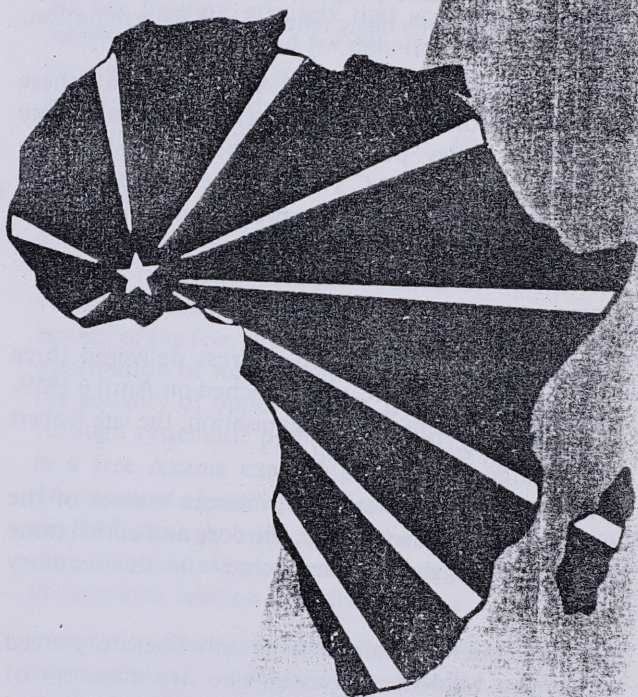


Political Foundations of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania



**30 YEARS OF PRINCIPLED STRUGGLE.
40 YEARS OF A DYNAMIC PROGRAMME.**

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INTRODUCTION: The year 1989 marks 30 years of the PAC's principled and non-collaborationist struggle against white domination in racist South Africa and also 40 years of a dynamic programme based on the 1949 programme of action's basic tenet of self-determination.

As the PAC and the people of Azania celebrate these two historic landmarks, it is pertinent to reiterate some of the basic policy positions of the organisation as adumbrated in the PAC's basic documents and to emphasize their relevance in the present circumstances in Azania.

A. STATE OF THE NATION.

In his state of the nation address delivered three months after the PAC was launched on April 6 1959, the then president of the organisation, the late Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe said:

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

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

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

"This means, among other things, that we must develop policies not merely aping this or that country, or merely fashioned to approximate to or to please certain powers or constellation of powers or peoples.

Our policies must flow from the logic of the African situation and from the fundamental long-term interests of the vast African millions."

B. ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

The PAC believes and strongly holds that the African people in Azania are oppressed as a nation. Our forefathers had been outmanoeuvred and outgunned on the battle field by imperialists and their representatives. The defeat on the battlefield curtailed the on-going programme of nation-building which, before the heroic Bambata war of resistance, was being championed by African strategists such as Shaka, Moshoeshe, Makana, Sekhukhuni, Mantatishe and others.

The programme continues to this day and is bound to continue until this goal is achieved.

It is for this reason that the PAC holds that the oppressed and exploited African majority, and not the Pretoria regime, are the only vehicle for genuine change in that society.

C. ON THE LAND QUESTION.

The land of the Azanian people was usurped by force of arms by imperialist invaders and its wealth continues to be massively exploited for the benefit of a minority clique. This land dispossession and exploitation is maintained by brute force. The PAC therefore maintains that what was taken by brute force and maintained by such force, will be returned to the rightful owners by force. The PAC holds that the inalienable right of the African people to their land, is non-negotiable and that their solemn task is to be repossess the land and all its riches using all means at their disposal.

D. ON THE RACE QUESTION.

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which all belong, and that is the human race.

In the vocabulary of the PAC, therefore, the word "race" as applied to man, has no plural form. In Africa, the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe, in order to facilitate and justify the inhuman exploitation of the indigenous people of the land. It is from this myth of race with its attendant claims of cultural superiority that the doctrine of white supremacy stems. The PAC stands for the 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 Africa as a majority, being regarded as an African.

Against multi-racialism, we have this objection, that the history of South Africa has fostered group prejudices and antagonisms, and if we have to maintain the same group exclusiveness, parading under the term of multi-racialism, we shall be transporting to the new Africa these very antagonisms and conflicts, further, multi-racialism is in fact a pandering to European bigotry and arrogance. It is a method of safeguarding white interests irrespective of population figures. In this sense it is a complete negation of democracy. To the PAC the term "multi-racialism" implies that there are such basic inseparable differences between the various national groups in Azania that the best course is to keep them permanently distinctive in a kind of democratic apartheid. That to the PAC is racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term truly connotes.

E. POLITICALLY.

Politically the PAC believes that true democracy can be established in Azania, only when white supremacy has been destroyed. And that the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and the centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. We believe that the white minority can maintain its continued domination only by perfecting the techniques of control in such a way as to enlist the active co-operation and goodwill of the oppressed. That is why we embrace the policy of non-collaboration as adumbrated in the nation-

building programme of 1949. But because the South African regime is backed by the forces of international capitalism and imperialism, it becomes necessary for us to develop an international outlook. Towards this goal, the PAC holds that all forms of struggle to free Azania, must be pursued, with armed struggle being the principal form of struggle. The PAC strongly believes that apartheid cannot be reformed, but that it must be eradicated.

We stand for a government of the Africans for the Africans by the Africans, with everybody who owes his or her loyalty only to Africa being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group exclusiveness which those who plead for minority rights would like to perpetuate. It is our view that if we have guaranteed individual liberties, we have given the highest guarantee necessary and possible.

F. ECONOMICALLY.

Economically the PAC stands for a planned economy and the most equitable distribution of wealth. We reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few. We accept as a policy the equitable distribution of wealth aiming, as far as possible, at the equality of opportunities. By cutting out waste through systematic planning, a central government in a free Azania can bring about the most rapid development of every part of the country. Therefore, the PAC strongly believes that the working class and their allies should play a crucial role in determining production's relation in a free Azania.

In order to realize this goal we also believe that the international community should impose comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime, but that this be regarded as complimentary to the decisive factor — the efforts of the Azanian masses internally.

G. SOCIALLY.

Socially the PAC aims at the full development of the human personality and a ruthless uprooting and outlawing of all forms or manifestations of the racial

myth which impede the full expression of an individual educationally, culturally, politically, economically and otherwise.

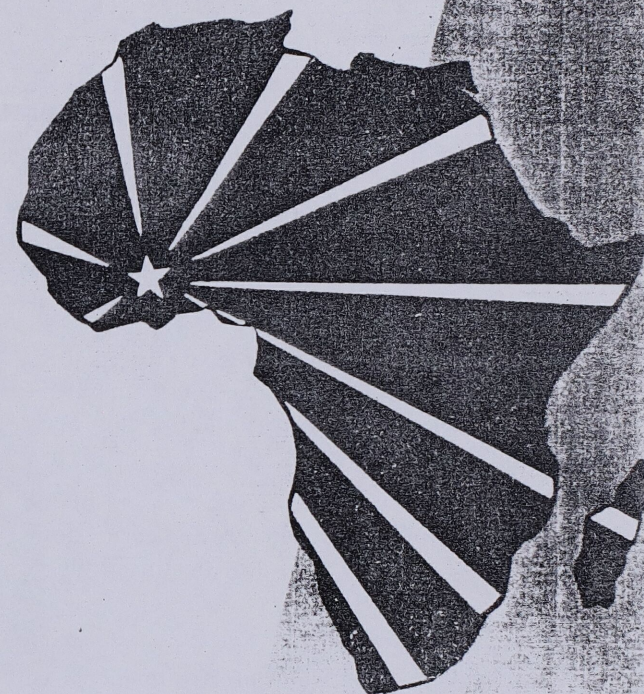
H. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

With regards to our relations with the international community, the PAC believes that we must pursue a policy of positive neutrality, allying ourselves to neither of the existing blocs. We go along with the declaration that Azania should be "independent in all things but neutral in none that affect the destiny of Africa". In other words we prefer non-alignment. Borrowing then the best from the east and the best from the west, we nonetheless retain and maintain our distinctive personality and refuse to be satraps of stooges or either power bloc.

Long live the Pan Africanist Congress
Long live the Azanian revolution
Long live the 1949 programme of action

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