

# **IZWI LENKULULEKO**

**VOICE OF FREEDOM**

**VOL 1 No. 2**

**War against the enemy  
Peace amongst the Africans!!**



**PAM  
LAUNCHES**



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**The Pan Africanist Movement of Azania** was launched on the first weekend of December 1989.

Not since the formation of the Youth League under the likes of Lembede, Sobukwe, Mothopeng ... not since the formation of the PAC in 1959 ... has Azania witnessed the birth of such a powerful, militant and radical organisation.

The effects of PAM on the current sell-out strategies by which the imperialists are attempting to hoodwink the masses, remains to be seen.

The Press has been quick to speculate and link PAM to the PAC. Aside from Azanyu and PASO, there is no other organisation in Azania which by principles and objectives, can be said to be more closely aligned to the PAC which remains banned by the settler government.

Meanwhile, observers of the political scenario are shaking their heads ... "I told you so!" The PAC Consultative Conference held in Harare recently has shown that the vanguard liberation party remains as uncompromising as ever.

Continuing in attempts to divide the masses, the boer authorities allowed Prince Shange of the 'zulus', who claims to be 'PAC Natal member in exile', into the country to address the 'Zulu Nation' in Durban in November. Shange has been described as a 'political coakroach' and this is what he remains in our eyes.

He is not in any way associated with the Natal South Africanist Collective. Neither is the slimy A.B.Ngcobo who recently addressed an Inkatha rally 'on behalf of the PAC'. Our members have on many occasions written to the newspapers to clarify this issue but the press continues and enjoys to discredit our organisation despite having printed our letters which point out that these opportunists are not linked to the Pan-Africanist Organisations. Our late President, Mangaliso Sobukwe once said that the press did not make us and the press will never break us.

This we firmly believe and thus will have the press know that malicious slander will never hinder us in our revolutionary mission.

Culture is of great importance to us as we mobilise and unite the masses. Hence our readers are invited to send us poetry, songs and other material of interest, for publication.

**IZWE LETHU I-AFRIKA!**

## PAM LAUNCHES



**"The 1990s will be the decade of the Pan Africanist Movement ... the focus in politics will shift and PAM will be taking the centre stage."**

The launch of the Pan Africanist Movement at Ipelegeng Community Centre, Johannesburg, 1 - 3 December 1989, is a clear and startling vindication of the late Mangaliso Sobukwe's view when asked whether or not the Africanist movement will last. He said in January 1959: "Not only will it last, it will flourish!"

Nearly 2000 delegates from throughout Occupied Azania roared out the war cry: "One settler ... One bullet" and "Izwe Lethu ... I-Afrika" (the land is ours).

Observers witness a sea of green, black and gold - delegates adorned in T-shirts of Azanyu, PASO, AWO, Mafube, PAM and PAC. Others wore colourful African traditional dress and self-made garments bearing Africanist symbols of Africa with a star embracing the continent from Ghana, the open-palm salute of the PAC or fighting slogans - 'PAC/POQO Lives', 'One settler, one bullet' and others.

Banners in the national colours representing various organisations including the Mafube Arts Commune, Sizanani Sewing Commune, PAC and a host of trade unions, were prominently displayed.

Between deliberations, while queuing for meals, when

leading speakers to the stage ... hundreds of voices would break into song - songs echoing suffering, enslavement and aspirations; songs echoing the fighting spirit of the delegates - such that one could feel the gun in hand and certain victory.

Militant cries broke through the song and dance and at times would be heard in support of speakers: 'Viva Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - the peoples' true vanguard ... Viva, viva, viva', 'One Afrika - One Nation', 'Phansi amaNegotiated settlement ... phansi', 'War against the enemy ... peace amongst the Africans' and the PAC motto 'Serve, suffer, sacrifice.'

Delegates eagerly clambered on to chairs to watch stalwart revolutionary and patriot, PAC founder member and President Zephania Mothopeng address Congress at the opening, greeting him with songs in his honour and "Long live Zephania Mothopeng ... Long live!"

Messages of support were received from a host of revolutionary organisations and trade unions nationally and from 'every corner of the globe'. A large number of foreign embassies were represented as well as local and overseas press corps.



## ON NEGOTIATIONS

Negotiations or rather, talks about talks, hold no weight with PAM. This was not even an issue on which delegates were prepared to 'waste time' on in debate. Pan Africanists are unanimous in their view that negotiations will achieve nothing whatsoever for the oppressed majority.

PAM views negotiations as a result of the dynamics of international politics. The boer regime has long been faced with the task of bringing about change and has thus decided to negotiate while it is still on a firm footing - to the disadvantage of the exploited masses.

According to PAM, the man behind the move for a negotiated settlement is Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia who was also behind the 'Lusaka Manifesto' of 1969 which says it is better to talk than to destroy. This document in essence urges liberation movements to negotiate - even if it means compromise. It was rejected as out of hand by ZANU and PAC in 1969.

Furthermore, economic problems facing the Soviet Union brought about changes in its foreign policy with regard to support for liberation movements. Together with the United States of America, the Soviet Union decided that all liberation movements receiving her support had to be pressurised into accepting negotiations.

PAM has accepted that the De Klerk regime will gradually meet the demands of the MDM which will result in no substantial gain for the masses. Realising this, the oppressed will begin to see that negotiations will not have improved the quality of life in respect of basic needs. They will thus see that they have a home in PAM because what they win through negotiations will already have been won on the battlefield.

## ON RACE

PAM speaks in terms of African and Africanist. "Our belief is that people ought to be organised on the basis of the material conditions under which they live and not on the the pigmentation of their skin." PAM regards colour as irrelevant and does not talk in terms of black, white, coloured and so on.

With the manifestation of a truly liberatory and radical ideology in the formation of the PAC in 1959, anti-revolutionary, imperialist and liberal forces embarked on a slander campaign in futile attempts to prevent Pan Africanism firing the masses to action. Thus came about the idea that PAC will "Push whites into the sea."

Later on, in the seventies, Africanism came to be associated with the ideology of the black consciousness movement and was thus portrayed as racist. Nonetheless, it is difficult to find an Azanian of European descent whose material conditions are such that that individual will give a true commitment to the struggle being waged in Azania.

PAM President, Comrade Makwetu said at a press conference that PAM believed in a "non-racist, socialist Azania. We don't believe in multi-racialism as that is racism multiplied. There are no plural forms of race here. - We all fall under the one race."

He said that Pan Africanists have been dubbed all kinds of names, including racist, "simply because we put our emphasis on the return of the land to its rightful owners. But we are not racists at all. We deal with the realities of the situation."

"87% of the land mass is owned by 15% of the people. We don't subscribe to the view that the land should be owned by those who work it. If one accepts that then it means that after liberation, the settlers (whites) will still be in control of the resources as they work the vast mass of the country" (which they have taken from us).

On the question of the involvement of whites in the struggle, he said "we are prepared to accept help from those who subscribe to our principles and politics. It has never been and still is not our policy to drive whites into the sea, as some misguided people want the world to believe."

"But we must say that the tiny minority of white activists can never liberate us. The oppressed and exploited will lead and generate the movement towards final victory."

## ON A FREE AZANIA

In a declaration to the people of Azania, PAM outlined its vision of a free Azania as follows:

- \* a constitution that enshrines both individual and collective rights, with individual rights a priority
- \* state control of major sectors of the economy for the well-being of its citizens. Transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply will be under State control.
- \* constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom which will not infringe any of the human rights enshrined in the constitution.
- \* universal franchise for every citizen over 21.
- \* sexual discrimination shall be punishable by law in social, economic and political spheres.
- \* state provision of free education for all children under the age of 16.
- \* free provision of health and medical services by the State.
- \* independent trade unions to protect the interests of the working class.
- \* state provision of housing.

## ON SOCIALISM

**Socialism is one of the three pillars of Pan Africanism** the other two being **African Nationalism** and **Continental Unity**. While engaged in the struggle for liberation, the masses are inculcated with socialist principles. Democratic centralism is the cornerstone on which all Pan Africanist organisations conduct their activities.

Pan Africanists hold the view that the struggle must be led by the working class and the peasants. Unlike other organisations however, Pan Africanists do not believe that trade unions can adopt political programmes, being in essence reformist organisations, working within the capitalist framework and which do not seek to overthrow the system. However trade unions are schools of revolutionary consciousness and as such, educate for socialism.

Rejecting some Trotskyist notions of building socialism in an unfree society, Pan Africanists stress that it is only once the toiling masses have seized state political power, that the nation can begin the process of practically implementing socialism. As such, observers have recently noted that the Pan Africanists hold a true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary position. Others have described PAM as a 'Marxist-Leninist-Sobukweist Party'.

The establishment of a socialist state is also an objective of the PAC but comes only after two other objectives which are to rally the oppressed under the banner of African Nationalism and to unite to overthrow white minority settler domination.

Key Pan Africanists have rejected the assertion that PAC/PAM subscribes to African Socialism. "We as Africanists have always spoken of Scientific Socialism. One needs only look at the utterings of the Sobukwes and the Mothpings to know that as far back as the forties, even before the PAC was formed, Africanists subscribed to Scientific Socialism." the speaker goes further "Sobukwe in the 1940s stated clearly that we aim for the rapid extension of industrial development... we stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth. And in 1959 the honourable President said that a socialist government will promote the concept of a free and independent African personality.

"He also spoke about systematic economic planning. Today PAM has shown clearly its socialist stance, aiming for State control of all major sectors of the economy."

## "CABINET FORMED"

A journalist was heard to comment at a post-launching PAM press conference: "These people are serious, they mean to take over the government, they already have a cabinet."

PAM elected to its executive committee or 'cabinet' stalwart PAC leaders whose records show that they

know from experience their tasks of leading the Revolution. This is why they were elected by thousands of revolutionaries from throughout Occupied Azania to lead PAM in its revolutionary mission of mobilising and uniting the masses to overthrow white settler domination in Azania.

Clarence Makwetu was elected President. Publicity Secretary, Benny Ntoele is no newcomer on the field of revolution. He is an old-timer, known throughout Azania and who was at one stage incarcerated on Robben Island.

Well-known and acclaimed amongst the Azanian masses is Assistant General Secretary, Philemon Tefu, also an ex-Robben Islander. Tefu is well known amongst workers and youth for his sound theoretical understanding and wide knowledge which he has imparted to many.

General Secretary Bennet Alexander, perhaps the youngest of the leaders, is a prominent trade unionist and Pan Africanist. He was aide to President Mothopeng since his release from prison.

Instead of deputy president, the chair persons of each of PAM's regions, will complement the executive.

The balance of the 'cabinet' is comprised of secretaries for labour, political affairs, education, finance, health and welfare, sport and culture.

## PAC Consultative Conference

On the weekend of the 24th November, the first official consultation between the external mission of the PAC and a delegation from inside Occupied Azania took place in Harare, Zimbabwe. The meeting was formally opened by Comrade Didymus Mutusa, Secretary for External Affairs of ZANU (PF). He reaffirmed ZANU (PF) - PAC solidarity and expressed confidence that victory in Azania was in sight. He urged the people of Azania to unite and wage resolute struggles on all fronts. The formal opening was attended by Zimbabwean government officials and the Diplomatic Corps. Chairman Mlambo, in his keynote address, traced the pioneering role in the struggles of the Azanian people for national liberation and self-determination. He quoted the five basic principles on which the struggle was being waged. These are that the apartheid cannot be reformed and must be totally eradicated, the vehicle for change can never be the regime, but the masses themselves, that the regime must be isolated internationally, the introduction of the East-West conflict into the struggle must be resisted, all forms of struggle must be encouraged and the fighting capacity of the masses must be increased.





PAC remains uncompromising

These principles have received wide support locally and internationally.

Comrade Mlambo emphasised that there existed no basis for negotiating with the settler regime currently. The meeting discussed the roles of lawyers, trade unions, students, youth, women, journalists and researchers in the struggle.

The meeting consulted views on current affairs and their effects on the liberation struggle as well as tactics to be pursued.

#### The strategy of the government:

The meeting was informed that the government has a three-pronged plan to diffuse the liberation struggle:

#### PLAN A

This plan is to coopt as many puppets as possible to create a sort of fourth chamber in Parliament and to marginalise the liberation movements. From this point, grievances of the masses will be addressed and the masses will gain confidence in the puppets. This is what was tried in principle in Namibia through the DTA.

#### PLAN B

Should Plan A fail, Plan B will be embarked upon. It is to allow sections of the liberation movement with some credible names among them, to be co-opted through a 'deal' called negotiations. These must be mixed with puppets to ensure that they remain 'in line' and do not rock the boat too much.

#### PLAN C

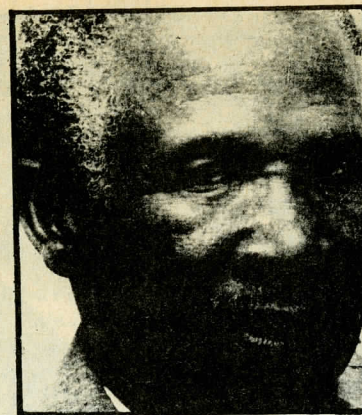
Should Plan B fail, then Plan C will be embarked upon. It is conceivable that the regime might be cornered through intensified struggle; to the point where they really believe that they are about to be toppled. In such an instance, they will convene a face-saving conference with liberatory forces to give to the fighters what they have already won on the battlefield. The regime believes that it is still far from this point and is not considering this option at all as of now.

The regime is currently experimenting with a mixture of Plan A and Plan B. The release of political prisoners must be seen in this context. The regime is allowing room for liberation movements to speak inside the country thereby creating an impression of reform. It is simultaneously repressing grass-root activists therefore attempting to keep the liberation movements off-balance.

The task facing Pan Africanists is not to try to outsmart the enemy in its own games but to embark on a programme of action with the toiling masses in terms of which the struggle is intensified on all fronts.

The participants agreed that it was necessary to intensify the struggle on all fronts. They were unanimous in their call for principled unity of all those having a contradiction with the minority racist regime. Sectarianism and divisiveness were deplored. The participants agreed to campaign vigorously to end sectarianism such as that practiced by the Kagiso Trust and other internationally funded institutions in South Africa.

In conclusion, the participants endorsed the PAC's position that, as of now, there existed no basis for negotiations with the settler regime.



## FOCUS: Clarence Makwetu

### Stirrings of Africanism gather momentum

by Quraish Patel

(Sunday Tribune 17:12:1989)

Clarence Mlamli Makwetu is a peasant who farms in Transkei. The 61-year-old former Robben Island prisoner is known to few white people and he is not among the "who's who" of recognised black leaders.

But he has been unanimously elected by 2 000 people from all over the country to lead an organisation whose significance is likely to affect the political life of the country.

The people who elected Mr Makwetu did not consider it important that he lives in a remote, dusty Transkeian village called Cofimvaba, near Queenstown.

It was enough for them that Mr Makwetu had walked with Robert Sobukwe during the height of the Pan Africanist Congress defiance against the pass laws in the early Sixties; that Mr Makwetu had been actively involved in organising PAC branches and that his involvement in the fight against apartheid began when he was a Youth League member of the ANC in 1953 and that to them he is their chosen leader.

As a farmer, he loves the land and as leader of the Pan Africanist Movement which shares the same political views of the banned PAC - Mr Makwetu will attempt to give prominence to the "return of the land to the people".

"The people" are previous generations of Africans driven off their land by Voortrekkers and British soldiers. "The people" had no knowledge of and were not part of the title-deed system devised by whites to indicate legal ownership of the land occupied mostly through force by foreigners.

According to the *Declaration of the Pan Africanist Movement to the people of Azania*, the "struggle by Africans" is against dispossession of land and oppression led by the African working class to ensure democracy and the redistribution of resources, particularly land. Among the guiding principles of the declaration are non-racialism, non-collaboration, the recognition of universal human rights, a planned economy in which "transport, electricity supply, mining and water supply shall be in the hands of the state".

Also in the declaration are the provision of housing as a state duty, free health care and facilities, free education and state-backed plans to reduce illiteracy, independent trade unions as watchdogs of workers' interests, religious freedom and equality of sexes; and the right of all persons over 21 to vote and to stand for elections.

Some of these principles are not unlike those of the ANC's or other anti-apartheid organisations. But between the Africanists and the Charterists (those who adhere to the ANC's Freedom Charter) lies a wide chasm.

The ANC's vision of a "mixed economy" conflicts sharply with the PAM's "planned economy". Benny Alexander, PAM's general secretary, said the vision of a future society was not based on a slavish imitation of Eastern European socialism.

"We have no intention of a bastard importation of any Eastern model of socialism. Ours will evolve in the unique circumstances of Southern Africa. We do not believe authoritarianism is inherent in a system of a planned economy. Socialism properly practised is the highest form of democracy."

The ANC and the MDM's recent listing of pre-conditions to negotiations has drawn a sharp response from PAM which wants to negotiate only for the transfer of power to the majority. It also wants negotiations between "progressive organisations" in an effort to end apartheid. It is not interested in talking about "concessions".

PAM and the MDM differ even on the meaning of "non-racialism". Mr Alexander said: "Non-racialism does not imply equality of the different race groups. We believe there is only one race — the human race. Africanists were the first to put non-racialism on the agenda when others were talking about multi-racialism."

PAM's idea of non-racialism means that "Africans" include white, Indian and coloured people who are committed to the guiding principles of Africanism. Africanists strenuously oppose claims that "whites will be driven into the sea" after the seizure of power. They say that's white propaganda aimed at driving away allies.

Enjoying dominant public support and media attention, the ANC and the MDM are believed to be central players in the battle for anti-apartheid supporters. That view may be short-sighted and superficial.

Unlike the ANC, Africanists have barely had the chance to initiate their ideas and develop support among the people. Soon after the breakaway from the ANC in 1959, the PAC launched an anti-pass laws campaign and managed, in a short time, to draw huge crowds into the streets. The banning of the organisation, the arrest and incarceration of leader Robert Sobukwe, and the bitter wrangles within the PAC abroad during the Sixties and Seventies have done little to stem the resurgence of militancy that has grown into PAM. Except for the question of violence, PAC and PAM have the same political views.

Dismissing the Africanists — as many seem to be doing — from the political power game is premature: they are organising branches throughout the country, they insist on paying their own way to meetings and conferences, they say they are not concerned about foreign funding, and they say they won't compromise their principles.

Africanists' tentacles reach deeply into student, community, union and women's organisations. They have hinted at "mass action" on an unprecedented scale.

They do not have a legend like Nelson Mandela, but they remember Sobukwe with great affection; Oliver Tambo towers over Mr Makwetu; the ANC's publicity machine is unrivalled; the ANC's international image is unquestionable; many will say the ANC is the premier "liberation organisation". All this is true.

So why do the stirrings of Africanism arouse such uneasiness?



## Address by the President of the PAC, Z.L.Mothopeng at the launch of the Pan Africanist Movement on 2 December 1989

**Thank you** for the warm welcome. I feel at home on this occasion because I am an African amongst Africans, an Azaniah amongst Azanians and an Africanist among Africanists.

I address you on behalf of the Party of our struggle, the Pan Africanist Congress and I address you as members of a movement, the Pan Africanist Movement destined to play an ever increasing role in the liberation struggle of Azania, nay, the whole of Afrika!

The PAC wishes you great success and achievement, not only in numerical growth but in the overall quality of your members and programmes. I convey my organisation's complete solidarity with you and pledge our support to you.

### Climate into which the Pan Africanist Movement is launched

PAM is not launched in a vacuum. It is launched into a given international, regional and local climate; politically, economically and socially. Failure to understand this climate will result in you misreading the issues confronting the Azanian people and consequential tactical blunders.

### International Climate

Internationally, the political climate is dominated by policies of Perestroika, Glasnost and rapprochement between East and West as a stark contrast to the post-Second World War situation of cold war and confrontation.

The cold war climate created a situation where struggle as conflict between opposing social orders were not only normative and understood, but expected.

The changed climate of rapprochement can easily fool you into believing that the struggle is now expected and possible to be resolved through rapprochement. It was the West that was pushing its self-interest to the extremes, but lately the East has joined the bandwagon thereby creating extremely difficult conditions for the poor countries to free themselves and a false perception that fighting forces are unreasonable and out of step with logical behavioural patterns.

The PAC basic documents are prophetic in that they foresaw this phenomenon in 1959 and adopted a policy of positive neutrality in super-power rivalry and we placed emphasis on self-reliance of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed masses. This policy we still uphold and I urge PAM to adopt the same.



**Mothopeng addresses PAM**



**'The liberation of Azania will usher in the liberation of the entire continent which in turn will usher in the liberation of mankind.'**

### Regional Climate

the Southern African situation is still dominated by the climate of destabilisation perpetrated by racist South Africa and sponsored bandits. These countries have put their resources and support at the disposal of the struggle in the region in general and the Azanian people in particular.

They have great constraints and neither have they tasted the full fruit of independence nor will they do so until Azania is free. They are under pressure to use all their little resources to meet grave internal needs and they have to marry that situation with their commitment to the freedom of the Azanians.

Our task is to take the assistance we can get from them but not to overburden them. We need to rely on the masses for support in every respect and place as little unnecessary strain as possible on their situation which is impoverished by design of Racist South African onslaught.

### Local contradictions and climate

Internally, a situation of contradictions has arisen tracing its roots to the rise of mercantilism in Europe in the 15th century. This led to a search for foreign markets; the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the wars of dispossession by colonialists. These colonialists have attained power and resources by the gun and maintain themselves by the gun.

The colonialists are lately posing themselves as 'saviours' of the Africans through so-called reforms. A section of the oppressed has fallen prey to the attempts to coopt them into the system. This led to bantustans and the tri-cameral parliament.

A section of the liberation movement is contemplating the best way of joining these schemes and is seeking ways of doing so without losing face. They are no longer part of the liberation struggle. The regime is assisted in their ways by foreign capitalists such as Japan, Germany, Britain and America.

This is the situation into which PAM is born internationally, regionally and locally. It is within this context that tactics and strategies must be worked out. It is within this context that your programme of action must arise.

### Attitudes towards unity

The Pan Africanist Movement and any serious liberatory movement must commit itself to unity and take practical steps in that regard. But the unity must be based on informed and conscious decisions and not propaganda ploys of convenience.

The formation of one big political organisation as a result of merger of organisations is not possible due to different political perceptions and ideologies.

Unity is subject to agreement on certain principles and objectives. This is difficult for organisations to achieve easily, although the masses have no contradiction amongst themselves.

They want the return of the land, unity of the Africans under African Nationalism and the establishment of a socialist democracy.

To this end PAM should seek to unite the masses, particularly the workers and the peasants in order to wage the struggle themselves, for they are their own liberators. In this context fraternal relations with like-minded organisations can be established internationally, continentally and regionally.

### Quality of leadership

Lastly I have a few words on organisational matters and I shall firstly touch on the question of leadership. Some of you have come here as ordinary people but will leave as leaders. You have come here unknown but will leave as national figures. You have come here as part of the masses but will leave as leaders of the nation.

The leadership demanded by the political climate into which PAM is born demands qualities of integrity; men and women of principles who stick tenaciously to what they believe, the objectives of the struggle and their mandates from the masses. Cowards and easily confused persons have no place in leadership under prevailing difficult conditions.

### Unity of Africanists

Unity of Africanists should be based on the members who should be organised into relevant structures. All structures are a coordinated force and must be respected. pitfalls to be avoided are factionalism, back-biting and internecine strife. Problems should be addressed democratically.

In conclusion, I must say that I am glad to have been part of history today. The liberation of Azania will usher in the liberation of the entire continent which in turn will usher in the liberation of mankind. No one knows when Africa's bow of redemption will come. and we shall be free from Cape Town to Cairo; from Morocco to Malagasie.

on that day we shall stand together, 400 million strong. And that process is starting today.

**IZWE LETHU!!**



# To the Youth of Azania



YOUTH AT AN AFRICANIST RALLY

**Youth of Azania,** You have a historic role to continue, and one that might be more daunting because of the unexpected changes in the international situation that is taking place before our very eyes.

At the time that I am writing this article, US Imperialism is invading Panama, which it has always regarded as its backyard; it is threatening similar intervention in Peru where Maoist guerillas, the Shining Path, is conducting a successful guerilla war; US Imperialism openly supports its surrogate, Corin Aquino in a country with one of the largest US bases in the world; it daily fuels and stokes Israel's murderous onslaught against the dispossessed Palestinians.

Whether through overt armed intervention, or by other political means, it daily intervenes in the affairs of the Tri-continent.

This has been the consistent history of US Imperialism since 1945 when it stepped into the shoes of the deposed colonial powers. But this situation today is compounded by the radical changes in the Soviet Union and the East European countries, countries that were formerly associated with the oppressed of the Tri-continent.

What is discernibly happening is that the USA, USSR, Western Europe and Eastern Europe are coming together as a community of white nations. The world is undergoing a new change: an open division between white (and racist) nations of the world and the Tri-continent of Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Gorbachev, for all his talk about glasnost and perestroika is openly talking a racist language. He is talking of Russia and East Europe belonging to a "common European home". Already he has proposed a 24-nation summit which the USA has agreed to.

And in this common European home, the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union will either still be under the baton of the Soviet Union or will be shed as polluters of the common European home. They certainly will not be accorded the right to self-determination given to the East European nations. Margaret Thatcher has always regarded Warsaw, Prague and Budapest as part of Europe (not Hong Kong mind you) and De Gaulle deined Europe from the Urals to the Atlantic.

This coming together of the white nations of the world into a "common European home" portends ill for us in Azania and Africa. Given the great technological strides made over the past decade by the imperialist countries, they have amassed economic and military superiority that bypasses the period when most of the tri-continent was dominated by colonialism.

There might be the ending of the Cold War among the white nations of the common European home, but there will not be any relenting in the oppression and exploitation of the tri-continent, now with the open blessing of the Soviet Union and the East European countries. This makes our struggle to free ourselves from imperialist domination more difficult and strenuous.

For us there can be no relenting in our struggle to regain our country as an African country and re-institute our culture, language and history in the centre stage of our country. Africa must be returned to the Africans in all aspects of our political, economic and social life.

And in this historical task, the fulfillment of centuries of struggle, the Youth of Azania has a key role to play, in a struggle that will take longer than we envisaged as our old enemies and oppressors come to gether in a "common European home".

The span of the years before you fits you for this task and responsibility. The Azanian National Youth Unity and the Pan Africanist Student Organisation cannot and must not fail in this historcal mission to liberate our country and continent from every vestige of the oppression of that "common European home" whose that "common European home" whose ill-effects we already see in the proposals for a so-called negotiated settlement where the master will still be master and we, the recipients of crumbs from the loaf that has bee taken from us.

**This message comes from an exiled Azanian patriot now based in the U.K.**

## United Nations - Special session

Racist South Africa was expected to top the agenda of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York in December.

Chairman Johnson Mlambo, Commander-in-chief of the armed forces, was expected to lead the PAC delegation.

Director of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Gora Ebrahim was reported as saying that the Chairman would inform the General Assembly that the cause of the problems in the region remains the universally condemned policies and practices of the apartheid regime.

"Only with its complete eradication can there be a just and lasting solution to the problem.

"(the chairman) Hhe will urge the General Assembly to

intensif sanctions against the apartheid regime and to support the legitimate struggle of the Azanian people in all its forms, including the armed struggle."

The special session was to focus on the 'elimination of apartheid' based on the Harare Declaration which was adopted by the OAU ad hoc Committee meeting held in August this year.

## Guyana invitation

After the meeting of the General Assembly, Comrade Mlambo is expected to visit Guyana as a guest of the government there.

In August this year, Comrade Pietersen, Chief of the PAC Mission to the United Nations, was invited to attend and address Guyana's annual congress there.

The people of Guyana support the oppressed masses of Azania in the struggle for freedom.

# Sobukwe on Race

All scientists agree that all men can trace their ancestry back to the first Homo Sapiens, that man is distinguished from other mammals and also from earlier types of man by the nature of his intelligence. The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is inferior to others.

The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which 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 physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation.

In Africa, the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe, in order to facilitate and justify their 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. Thus it is that an ex-engine driver can think of himself as fully qualified to be the head of the government of an African State, but refuse to believe that a highly educated black doctor, more familiar with Western culture than the white premier is, can even run a municipal council. I do not wish to belabor this point. Time is precious. Let me close discussion of this topic by declaring, on behalf of the Africanists, that with UNESCO, we hold that "every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind".

## IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa we recognise the existence of national groups which are the result of geographical origin within a certain area as well as a shared historical experience of these groups. The Europeans are a foreign minority group which has exclusive control of political, economic, social and military power. It is the dominant group. It is the exploiting group, responsible for the pernicious doctrine of white supremacy which has resulted in the humiliation and degradation of the indigenous African people. It is this group which has dispossessed the African people of their land and with arrogant conceit has set itself up as the "guardians", the "trustees" of the Africans. It is this group which conceives of the African people as a child nation, composed of Boys and Girls, ranging in age from 120 years to one day. It is this group which after 300 years, can still state, with brazen effrontery, that the Native, the Bantu, The Kaffir is still backward and savage etc. But they still want to remain "guardians", "trustees", and what have you, of the African people. In short, it is this group which has mismanaged affairs in South Africa just as their kith and kin are mismanaging affairs in Europe. It is from this group that the most rabid race baiters and agitators come. It is members of this group who, whenever they meet in their Parliament, say things which agitate the hearts of millions of peace loving Africans. This is the group which turns out thousands of experts on that new South African science - the Native mind.

Then there is the Indian foreign minority group. This group came to this country not as imperialists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. In the South African set up of today, this group is an oppressed

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