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THE AFRICANIST

ANNIVERSARY ISSUE.

LEST WE FORGET!

21st March 1965 is the 5th Anniversary of the Pan-Africanist Congress
Positive Action Campaign against the Pass-Laws.



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CONTENTS:

Page I..... The Editor Speaks.

Page 4 The National Martyrs are immortal
by P.K. & Z.B.

Page 5 Lest we Forget by R.Mshengu

Page 7.How Long Shall Mangaliso Sobukwe Continue
to rot on Robben Island? by Sizwe Sakhe

Page 9. The Struggle Remains National
by Africanus

Page II. The Congo - A Stone-Wall Case by Izwe Lethu

THE AFRICANIST . MARCH. 1965.

The Editor speaks

The Fifth Anniversary - P.A.C. Final
Positive Action Campaign.

The world to day can look back to some thirty years of widespread and virtually continuous political revolution and the Pan Africanist Congress, the only reliable vanguard of the revolution in the Southern tip of Africa, has contributed spiritually, socially, politically and materially to the bank of change during the last six years:

More governments have come into being, passed through drastic changes or ceased to exist than in any comparable period in history. These revolutionary transformations have taken many forms. Some have been violent, while others have been remarkably peaceful. We have a wealth of information from all of them, as a result our determination to achieve rapid and immediate majority rule has been sharpened.

In the political balance sheet of the last six years, despite all reverses, there is much that pleases and much that augurs well for the future and for the Pan Africanist Congress. Therefore let us rededicate ourselves.

This is the 21st Day of March, 1965, Six years of the militant revolutionary existence of the Pan Africanist Congress, and five years after the launching of "FINAL POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST THE PASS-LAWS". Five years of illegal imprisonment of the P.A.C. President Mangaliso Sobukwe. These years can be graduated into three years of imprisonment and two years part of the detention 'this side of eternity'.

Sobukwe is our leader, irrevocably he is the alternative permanent leader of the government in the Republic of South Afrika. We are in no doubt he is the only political leader in this country who enjoys the unqualified enthusiastic support of the majority of all sections of the population, indigenous and foreign included. His indeterminate illegal detention is a gross insult to enthusiastic democratic support.

The destiny of our people is in our hands. As architects of our future and our unfolding programme of positive action, it is incumbent upon us (P.A.C.) and the African people to set in motion and precipitate the release of Mangaliso Sobukwe, in terms of our demands and in the light and spirit of the unanimous decision of the United Nations Organisation viz that the Pretoria government 'must release all political prisoners.' We must accelerate with vengeance.

Africans and the Pan Africanist Congress are charged with higher responsibilities of positive action. From the African people and P.A.C. we demand, higher values : bravery, dedication, willingness of a hardy mature.

We embarked on the unkind road of no return. Fortunately we knew it and anticipated it. The living Africans are the last flickering hope of posterity. Let us rededicate ourselves. Let us all in our various yet effective ways demand the release of the leader who must form the alternative government. We cannot fail, we dare not fail and we shall not fail. Sobukwe must Be Released : all political prisoners must be released. UNO must bring pressure to bear on the Pretoria minority government.

On the 21st March, 1960, the Africans rallied to the call of the Pan Africanist Congress and its leader. They uncompromisingly aligned themselves with testing action. The African people know the role of political agitation. We must join hands with the masses in our demand for the unconditional release of Sobukwe. Let us jointly sign a pact with them and with destiny. All Africans must be taught to unite in this noble demand. SOBUKWE MUST BE RELEASED; all political prisoners must be released by the Pretoria government of Verwoerd.

On the 21st March, 1960, "FINAL POSITIVE ACTION AGAINST THE PASS-LAWS" brought positive, profitable results. The granite white minority government suspended the passes even though only for two weeks. Since then, thousands of dedicated Africans carry no passes and never in their lives shall they be burdened with the extra weight of a dom-pass. Let us all therefore, add up to the sum total of our noble successes - SOBUKWE MUST BE RELEASED; all political prisoners must be released; UNO must honour its decisions.

On the 21st March, 1960, all Africans in the Republic of South Africa answered to the clarion call of the Pan Africanist Congress strictly on the injunctions of the President. They were instructed to move along a path of peaceful political demonstrations. But alas! the fascist government of Verwoerd rejected out of hand this noble and peaceful gesture, innocent Africans were massacred - the Sharpeville - Langa - Vander Bijl Park tragedies are household graphic events. After Sharpeville "Die Burger" a Cape daily of the Afrikaner Party proclaimed that "S.A. has become a pole-cat amongst the councils of the world" and we are convinced, only those obsessed by greed for wealth can continue to tolerate piggishly the stink and stench from apartheid. Further, one Under Secretary of State in the U.S.A. put it that apartheid is politically indefensible, spiritually grotesque and morally abominable.

The Verwoerd Pretoria government and the United Nations' Organisation must be forced to choose and face the hard test between PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT by releasing SOBUKWE and all political prisoners or must open the door wide to the path that leads to a hideous, catastrophic racial tragedy.

A RELEASE SOBUKWE CAMPAIGN must be launched forthwith with effect from the 6th April, 1965. This is the date on which the Pan Africanist Congress was formed. The CAMPAIGN must unfold systematically and consistently adhering to the following other dates: The 3rd May, 1965 a date on which SOBUKWE was detained 'this side of eternity'; the 1st June, 1965, the date marking reviews on his further detention; the 30th June, 1965, the last date on which Broeders shall have either decide to re-impose the illegal detention or shall have jointly with the United Nations released Sobukwe.

If Sobukwe is not released before or on the 30th June, 1965, then when the United Nations General Assembly sits in September the Acting President with other members of the Presidential Council of the P.A.C. shall present a Final Release Sobukwe Demand both to the Verwoerd government and to the United Nations General Assembly.

If after that SOBUKWE is not released then, it shall be clear and we shall be satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the Pretoria government, UNO, and the western Powers are not interested in a peaceful release of SOBUKWE. SOBUKWE cannot and must not be allowed to rot, atrophy spiritually, mentally and physically when it is known he is now in prison because he wanted to end man's inhumanity to man. Remember resistance to tyranny is the first obedience to God. Izwe Lethu.

White minority South Afrika and UNO shall then surely invite tougher methods of demand. The consequences as we have repeatedly stated shall lie squarely on the shoulders of those who vacillate and reject by subterfuge gestures of peaceful settlements. SOBUKWE MUST BE RELEASED; all political prisoners must be released.

Africans must unite. We must speak with one positive militant voice on the RELEASE OF SOBUKWE and other political prisoners. Anyone who dissents is a traitor, any political organisation that dissents is acting treacherously.

The Results of Verwoerd - Vorster Violence.

Reactionary violence unleashed by Verwoerd - Vorster storm-troopers in the murder of no less than 43 members of the Pan Africanist Congress between 1963 and 1964. Those members murdered are :

PAARL : : : - 1. Fezile Felix Jaxa 2. Lennox Madikane
3. Mxolisi Damane 4. Jonathan Sogwa-
gwa
5. Johannes Notyawe 6. Fonelo Matikanca
7. Thembekile Titus Nyovu

BASHEE : : 1. Patsolo Xhego 2. Mtolatala Xhego
3. Tembeni Swelindawo 4. Bawukazi Magqikani
5. Light Magqikane 6. Maliza Vulindlela
7. Bekapantsi Vulindlela 8. Bennett Mpetu
9. Sadunge Vulindlela 10. Weduwedu Nokuhla
11. Nqaba Memani 12. Sihelegu Vulindlela
13. Siwana Mlahleki 14. Manini Mzanywa
15. Lusi Mthembekwane 16. Mkwenkwe Gaqa
17. Poli Mili 18. Bonase Vulindlela
19. Mbaco Xhego 20. Nto Mkani
21. Ntsokolo Mhlabeni 22. Tuse Mzanywa
23. Tswape Nonyukela.

KRUGERSDORP : : 1. Richard Motsamai 2. Josiah Mocumi
3. Thomas Molatlhegi 4. Petros Motshobe

QUEENSTOWN. . 1. Mtutu Apleni 2. Nothimba Mbozwane
3. Bonakele Ngcongolo

COFIMVABA.... 1. Katsekile Philaphi 2. Shwayi Mhlaba
3. L. Ngalo 4. S. Mbizo.

UMTATA 1. Galeni and five others.

We bow our heads to salute these African martyrs. Their sacrifices can never be in vain. Their blood shall fertilise and enrich the already seasoned soil of revolutionary Afrika.

These and many other atrocities give rise to a sense of poignant bitterness; these are the booming results of systematic christian and western apartheid.

These and many other barbarous excesses of the white lead men of conscience to write thus :

"So day by day the rift grows deeper, the situation becomes more and more irremediable, anger grows in the hearts of the non-whites only to be matched by the stubborn determination of the whites not to yield an inch....

"Every warning that can be given has been given over and over again. There is nothing new to be said. The situation seems beyond human control, beyond human hope. By all the rules of human behaviour, by every lesson drawn from history, a situation so full of bitterness can end only in tragedy."

"The FRIEND" Tuesday, January, 1965, Extract
from Presidential speech by Archbishop Dennis E Hurley.

Then Mr. Mennen Williams was reported in "SUNDAY EXPRESS" January, 17 1965, as saying the United States of America was 'in a momentary eclipse of popularity' in Africa. Further he expressed concern about the 'lingering potential for violence in Southern Africa.'

Lastly we quote, 'In truth the odds are high that South Africa will become increasingly a police state, that the whites will withdraw deeper into the laager, and that violence will beget violence. How soon the final crunch comes will depend on external factors in which the United States will be inextricably involved.'

"THE RAND DAILY MAIL" February, 27 1965.
Allister Sparks reviews Quiggs article.

How long will white minority 'christian' S.A. remain indifferent?
How long will UNO vacillate and connive at blatant atrocities?
How long will the West continue to defend apartheid - apartheid that 'creed of despair and a flight from the fearfulness of the real problem?..

WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF SOBUKWE.

We demand the release of all political prisoners.

AFRIKA MUST UNITE.

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

Izwe Lethu !!!

THE NATIONAL MARTYRS ARE IMMORTAL.

By P.K. & Z.B.

Sunday, the 21st March, 1965, marks the 5th anniversary of the first step of Positive Action in the unfolding programme of the African Revolution under the vanguard of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Afrika; for the total overthrow of political domination, economic exploitation and military suppression of the African indigenous majority by a white, foreign, settler, racist, minority Verwoerdian clique, backed by the American and British imperialists and their satellites, as the ring leaders in South Afrika.

To the Pan Africanist Congress, as the spearhead of the African revolution in South Africa, it is a Day of Re-dedication; of solemn and resolute determination to ever steer ahead the ship of independence and freedom through the stormy seas of struggle.

WE REMEMBER :

- (a) President Mangaliso Sobukwe, who, on that Monday in 1960, five years ago, led over half a million African people to defy the undefiable, the hated badge of slavery - 'the dom pass'. We remember him languishing on Robben Island, 'that Island of Shame' for this noble act and in pursuance of our historic mission to liberate our people and our fatherland from the shackles of foreign exploitation and domination.
- (b) The martyrs who heroically sacrificed and with their own blood, watered the tree of national emancipation and independence.
- (c) Those who, along this trodden path, have since that day served, suffered and sacrificed. The 41 martyrs who have sacrificed their lives; the 3,000 who suffer in the concentration camps and South African gaols; the millions who serve the struggle for the creation of a new South African society - The Republic of Azania.

YOU ARE CALLED UPON TO :

- (a) organise mass rallies in your area of Party activity and echo the voice of freedom for the struggling masses of our beloved Fatherland.
- (b) amass massive and resolute support for the struggle in our beloved Fatherland through pamphlets, platforms, slogans freedom songs and all manner of publicity, information and propaganda throughout all peace loving and progressive mankind.
- (c) in the words of Anton Lembede, 'to labour for the birth of a New Africa, free and independent among the nations of the world.'

WE MUST NOT FAIL ! WE DARE NOT FAIL ! WE CANNOT FAIL !

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION !!
Izwe Lethu !

LEST WE FORGET

By R. Mshengu.

"Man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given him to live but once, he must live as to feel no torturing regrets without purpose, not to be smeared with the shame of a cowardly existence and trivial past to live that dying he might say :

All my life and all my strength were given to the finest cause in the world-the liberation of mankind."

The year 1965 marks the fifth anniversary of Positive Action Campaign of the P.A.C. which resulted in some of the noblest sons and daughters of the continent of Afrika losing their lives but not their honour, shed their blood but not their principles, at Sharpeville, Langa and Vander Bijl Park.

It was on the 21st March, 1960 when the P.A.C. launched its 'Final Positive action Campaign against the Passes, the reverberations of which are still strongly felt throughout the world forums.

It was on that historic day that it became patently clear that White baaskap is maintained in the Republic of South Afrika../6

by force of arms and it was on that day when history and time proclaimed a redirection in our unfolding programme. The positive action against the pass laws was non-violent but alas the African blood thirsty, racist, Gestapo Police of the minority white Settler scum seized the opportunity to test their dexterity and finesse on human targets. The African people will never forget such unbridled treachery and uncouth barbarism. Many women were widowed many children orphaned and the leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress inter alia the President Mangaliso Sobukwe and the National Secretary Potlako Leballo. But despite such premeditated, fiendish, dastardly actions by the white settlers the African Nationalists are unflinching in their stand and ultimate objective i.e. the creation of an Africanist socialist democratic state of Azania.

But surprisingly enough when the bullets bore their fruits and the dead martyrs' hearts ^{were} cold, the pulse of humanity once more began to beat. Africans throughout the continent raised their voices and appealed to humanity and the (self-styled) civilised world to intervene positively and effect a transformation of the status quo - As usual the civilised world employed and is employing all devices and uncivilised methods and strategies to hold in check the surging forces of African Nationalism. Of course, we are not surprised at such dilly-dallying and chicanery by the imperialists for that is the christian reward they can offer us.

Since the 21st March, 1960 the African people have been rallying around the P.A.C. and alternately the christian world has been rallying around the white baaskapists in South Africa. But we, of the Pan Africanist Congress say in pure undiluted terms that murder though it has no tongue will yet speak that justice should be done and inevitably justice will prevail over might. "Lucky are the sons of men when such heroes are born upon the earth; above their cradles sing the morning stars and around their humble homes, hushed and expectant awaits the early breeze that shall drive away the fog and mist before the rising sun" Sobukwe remains in Robben Island awaiting his fellow cadets to drive away the fog and mist before the rising sun - the rising sun that will set him the first President of Azania.

We of the Pan Africanist Congress are in the winter of politics. We are swimming in the ocean of the liberatory struggle sure to reach the shore with measured strokes signifying victory. There we will strip our sleeves and show our scars and say "these wounds, we sustained during the revolution". Whatever happens we should not be blamed, for the history of South Afrika is a history that has been written with our blood : But 'The moving finger writes, and having written moves on.' The struggle continues.

In conclusion may I quote the great words said by one Pan Africanist who was sentenced to death by a judge and two accessors in 1963...."To you that have made yourselves my murderers, I will not say much; only, in fact, that you ^{are} killing me because, rather than examine your consciences, you wish to get rid of your accuser. That is not a way of escape which is possible or honourable. You have done me no harm, though I realise that you did not mean to do me any good, and for that I may gently blame you....The hour of departure has arrived, and we must go our ways - I to die and you to live. But victory is for the Africans. That is all."

Izwe Lethu !!

HOW LONG SHALL MAGALISO SOBUKWE CONTINUE
TO ROT ON ROBBER ISLAND ??

By Sizwe Sakhe.

On 21st March, 1965, Mangaliso Sobukwe shall have completed exactly five years ever since he parted with his family and left his house to be locked up in jail. It was on the 21st March, that fateful Monday, in 1960, that the Pan Africanist Congress launched its Positive Action Campaign against the notorious Pass Laws. A campaign that forced the S.A. settler government to suspend the operation of Pass Laws and to declare a state of Emergency for the 1st time in the history of S.A. It was this Positive Action campaign that resulted in massacre of hundreds of unarmed peaceful Africans at Sharpeville Langa and Vander Bijl Park by Verwoerd's trigger happy gestapo police.

It was on the 21st March, 1960 that Mangaliso Sobukwe came out leading thousands upon thousands of Africans throughout S.A. in defiance of the pass laws, and it was on the 21st March that marked the end of the right to lead a normal free life for Mangaliso Sobukwe.

For the part Sobukwe played in this campaign he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. It was at his trial that he stunned a shivering world by declaring that "the African people have no moral obligation to obey laws that have been made without their consent or consultation." In those graphic words Sobukwe put across the challenge of the Pan Africanist Congress, that the white settler government in S.A. has no right to legislate for the African people. According to the 1959 Pan Africanist manifesto "the dominion or sovereignty over, and the dominion or ownership in the whole territory of the continent of Africa rests exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous peoples."

By his unyielding courage and determination Sobukwe earned himself the admiration of the entire African nation. He became the personification of the ultimate victory of the African people in their struggle for freedom. He is the idol of the African Nationalist youth throughout the continent.

Throughout all the years that he served in jail his name became a household word. His image is too forceful to be destroyed by whatever means. By his clarity of thought and scientific analyses of the situation that obtains in this country, in Afrika as a whole and in the world in general, he has given a sense of direction and purpose to the African liberation struggle.

Recognising the fact that Mangaliso Sobukwe has become the rallying point in South African politics, and realising that the determination of his party, the Pan Africanist Congress, which has challenged the entire set up in South Afrika and boldly put forward an alternative social order - a non-racial Africanist socialist democratic order, the white settlers reacted with characteristic barbaric savagery. Verwoerd's settler government enacted a law, a law that applies and was intended for one man, Mangaliso Sobukwe, to keep him in indefinite imprisonment on that Island of Shame - Robben Island. When Vorster was asked to account for this savagery on the part of the white settler government he said Sobukwe cannot be released because, "throughout the three years that he has been in jail his heart has not changed. He has a magnetic personality and a sense of divine mission." The South African white settler government has by this dastardly and callous act tried to break the spirit of Mangaliso Sobukwe...../8

They have tried to destroy him spiritually and physically. But they have failed. Sobukwe remains solid, courageous and determined as ever. Commenting on this unmitigated barbarity that is directed at him Sobukwe said, "if you believe in freedom you must suffer for it." These are the words that spell the failure of the white settler's^{own} destroying Sobukwe. They spell the ultimate downfall and defeat of white supremacy in this country.

The question that is uppermost in the minds of the African people and in those of the Africanist youth in particular, is 'how long shall Sobukwe continue to rot spiritually and physically in jail.' The South African settler Minister of Justice, Vorster, has given his answer - "till this side of eternity". That is the answer that white South Afrika gives to this question. We say this is the answer given by White South Afrika because the entire white section of the South African population gave a wholehearted support to the Verwoerd government to pass this callous, brutal Act. The question now is what is our answer? The time has passed for the passing of resolutions and making of declarations demanding the release of Sobukwe. There is no longer any time for the holding of rallies protesting about the continued detention of Mangaliso Sobukwe. Ours' is to embark upon action NOW to realise our demands. Ours' is to face up squarely at white supremacy.

As we stated in 1963 that, "we shall underline the reaction of world opinion to the release of our African Nationalist leader, Mangaliso Sobukwe. The UNO and all western countries are placed in the Pan Africanist laboratory for scrutiny. The reactions of west and the east to his release will give a pointer to our positive reaction." We are satisfied the scrutiny is over. We have obtained whatever facts we wished to obtain. The world has failed to force the South African settler government to release Sobukwe. Through ~~mainly~~ U.S.A and Britain, the main trading partners of South Africa, the world has failed to bring the South African government to its senses. Resolutions expelling South Afrika from international bodies have been passed. Resolutions for economic sanctions against South Afrika have been passed. Committees to investigate the logistics of applying sanctions against S.A. have been appointed and they have submitted their findings. To our surprise the Western Press comes up now with "it will be too expensive to effect sanctions against S.A." What course is then open for us? We have warned the world that "human nature tolerates suffering, but at the same time human nature possesses instinctive sparks of active positive revolt."

Our positive reaction is that we have reached the end of endurance. We can wait no more. We are forced to embark upon the only course that is open to us. A course that has long been open to us but we have been reluctant to embark upon because of respect for nobler motives in spite of the barbaric acts, which the very thought of them agitates the heart, when children, women and men were mowed down at Sharpeville and Langa. Mangaliso Sobukwe explained our stand clearly in 1960 when he said, "the African people are ready to die for freedom but are not yet prepared to kill for it." We believed that man can be made to understand reason without having to resort to force.

Now we are forced to embark, not on our own volition, upon a course that may bring disaster to our country and involve the whole world in a catastrophe that may mean the end of world peace. But we have no choice. Better judgment has failed to prevail. We cannot sit down and fold arms. Sobukwe must be released. We are determined to wrench our freedom from the foreign white settlers. /9

We have promised the African people freedom NOW. We cannot and we shall not fail them. Mangaliso Sobukwe has to be released and has to be released NOW. The five thousand members of the Pan Africanist Congress that languish in South African jails, gallant African nationalist youths who have withstood all attempts at demoralising and dehumanising them, they have to be released NOW.

This fifth anniversary of the positive action campaign of the Pan Africanist Congress will have failed to achieve its purpose if we can stop striving for our objectives simply because there is only this one terrible course open to us. We shall have betrayed the heroes who begot us. The national martyrs who sacrificed their lives so that we can walk up and down our country with our heads high. We shall have betrayed the sons and daughters of Afrika who lost their lives at Sharpeville, Langa and Vander bijl Park. We shall have betrayed the scores of African Nationalist Youths who died at the hands of Verwoerd gestapo police in the South African jails. May eternal curse rest upon our graves if we commit such betrayal.

On this day of rededication to the cause of African freedom we issue a last call to the Youth of our country. We say to you arise and remember the heroes that begot you. We say to you remember the glorious battles that were fought by your forefathers at Isandlwane, at Amalinde, and at Thaba Bosiu. Take your shields and spears and join issue with us to destroy white domination NOW and on its ruins build a giant monolithic state of Afrika, "free and independent amongst the nations of the world."

WE MUST RELEASE SOBUKWE NOW !

Forward to freedom NOW !!

TOMORROW THE GIANT MONOLITHIC STATE OF AFRIKA !!

Izwe Lethu !!!

THE STRUGGLE REMAINS NATIONAL.

by Africanus

The Africans commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Final Positive Action Campaign of the the Pan Africanist Congress which campaign resulted in the innocent sons and daughters of Afrika being murdered in cold blood at Sharpeville, Langa and Vander Bijl Park by the apartheid rulers of South Afrika on the 21st March, 1960.

The then one year old P.A.C. under the able and dynamic leadership of Mangaliso Sobukwe now detained on Robben Island indefinitely, on this day led a national Campaign of positive action to put an end to the outrageous pass-laws that were the very means for the enthrallment of the indigenous African people and that rendered them mere chattels in their land of birth... mere chattels that God bequeathed the white man for his conviviality.

For the first time in the history of S.A., an organised campaign directed by an unfolding programme of positive action was unleashed and brought about the declaration of a state of emergency. But the campaign also had some fruitful results. The pass-laws were suspended and South Africa was exposed for what she was, what in fact she still is, an outmoded fascist dictatorship.

All freedom loving people in the world were stunned by the deed and they urged the world to reorientate its attitude to South Africa. As a result of the campaign South Africa which exists on the exploitation of the last dregs of African labour and on foreign investment sustained economic losses and political prestige because of the revolt of the African people and the recession of foreign investment.

The brutal murder of children, their mothers and fathers was an incident that has toned up and consecrated the struggle for our redemption from the chains of foreign oppression and over their graves today we stand with our daggers clutched in our hands and make a solemn vow that our brothers and sisters did not die in vain; we shall fight for our birth-rights and perish if we must perish so that no African shall live as a craven human dog in the land of his birth. We shall proceed relentlessly with our programme until we have achieved our goals. Brutal murders like those of March, 21st show abundantly clear that there can be no reconciliation between Herrenvolkism and African nationalism, and as such the evils perpetrated under Herrenvolkist rule can be stamped out only by toppling down the huge walls of Herrenvolkism itself.

We, the Pan Africanists, who have been assigned this task must state our objectives and stand in no uncertain terms. We must follow the single and only course pertinent to our situation as a people nationally oppressed by a foreign minority, self-appointed to direct our affairs and decide on matters concerning us in our land of birth. Our brothers and sisters have died and suffered while explicating and expounding those noble ideals cherished by the whole African nation and we today, draw inspiration and energy from their gallant deeds and cling to those ideals irrevocably. We undertake this task under the motto of our party, SERVICE, SACRIFICE, SUFFERING ! We esteem the right to be good managers or bad managers of our affairs above our lives because this right we seek, is the giver of our life. We are therefore stubbornly slithering on in the course of the heroes who died at Sharpeville and Langa....., the course that leads to an African nation recharged and revitalised with the material spiritual and intellectual freedom of each for all and all for each. We shall rejuvenate our Africa by forming an Africanist Socialist democracy.

We of the Pan Africanist Congress believe that a united front to dislodge the foreign masters can only be formed by the oppressed African nation as a whole. All sections of the nation, the so-called middle class, workers and the peasants are oppressed just the same by a white minority and there are no antagonisms of a classical type that exist between them. It is therefore not realistic to talk of waging a class struggle in South Africa nor can we associate ourselves with the multiracialists who advocate the retention of the present racial position and of course, bringing about a change of the present situation by multiplying the existing racial antagonisms. Multiracialism is a diametric opposite of non-racialism, the panacea P.A.C. is presenting to the racially sick society of South Africa.

The supremacists must be fought by the African nation simple and straightforward without having to import foreign ideological cosmetics. We are not adopting any Western or Eastern fashions. We shall retain the original principle of an African egalitarian society and will only adjust it to suit modern conditions taking what we like from anywhere in the world for men are related and complementary. These are the simple and outright objectives of the P.A.C., the vanguard of the struggle of the African people in South Africa. The objectives for which many lives were lost at Sharpeville and Langa for which the members of the P.A.C. are suffering and dying to day in South African fascist type prisons and for which P.A.C. members are being spurned and...../11

.....persecuted all over colonial Africa. The stoic and tested nationalist members of the P.A.C. instead of succumbing to these enormities are but plodding on to reach their goals. Their resilience has been toughened by hardships and thus no set back can be a moral dagger to them.

LONG LIVE THE HEROES OF AFRIKA!!

LONG LIVE MANGALISO SOBUKWE !!

THE CONGO A STONE-WALL CASE.

By Izwe Lethu.

In defence of their operation in the Congo, the representative of the United States of America, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, tried to demolish the Stone-Wall case which they are called upon to answer. It originates from the landing of Belgian paratroops in the Stanleyville war theatre.

The gist of the case is that the Americans, the Belgians and the British actively intervened in the internal affairs in the Congo by the said action. That the action in fact aided and abetted the war effort of the Tshombe forces. That this was a deliberately calculated intention on the part of the three imperialist powers.

On the other hand the gist of the case of the imperialist in defence consists in that they were motivated by humanitarian reasons. That they got the permission of a legitimate government and acted in concert with same. That the revolutionaries in the Congo are savagely taking hostages and murdering them in cold blood and against international law and usages.

It is worth noting that at first the emphasis was that the hostages are white and then later there has been evident correction that the hostages are not necessarily white they include many nationalities and colours.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson is commendable as a clever lawyer who makes a good attempt to defend his client even if the client is as guilty as hell. The unfortunate thing is that one waste a lot of good time and energy prattling. In this type of defence that is what happens. The modern lawyer knows that when confronted with a stone-wall case it is better to advise his client to plead guilty and then construct a plea on mitigation. This is better and bears dignity in the promotion of the art of advocacy. But, then, let us examine closely what we have got in this set up. How good is this man's defence? He complains that the defence has been insulted and treated racialistically. One examines his situation better if he makes an attempt to analyse the forces at play.

about

Let us begin Prime Minister Moise Tshombe. Who is this man? He is the same person who wrecked the boat of the independence of the Congo by persisting on secession so that he could be the head of the state of Katanga. He did this for two reasons. As a self-seeker he was not satisfied that Joseph Kasavubu and the late Patrice Emery Lumumba were above him. He wanted to be in a position where he would be above everybody. He saw this possible if he led Katanga to secede. He also saw fabulous wealth for himself as head of a state in which the imperialists have such a colossal interest as the Union Miniere and in fact one is unable to avoid the conclusion that he was instigated by the imperialists because of their interests, to act as he did because they sensed

some kind of loss as a result of the independence of the country under the type of government which existed then. In the cause this his struggle he was involved in the murder of his Prime Minister, the late Patrice Lumumba. His hands are still very dirty with that crime.

The United Nations Organisation went into great pains to defeat the ends of Mr. Tshombe and he fled the country until he settled in Spain. Of all places he went to Spain. What sort of a country is Spain? Spain is a Nazi country. It is governed by the Falangist a Nazi Party led by one General Franco. It was in 1937 when the people of Spain elected a labour government against which General Franco led a n army rebellion. The Spanish people were too strong for Franco's Army and Herr Adolf Hitler, the German Nazi leader and dictator, helped him with the German armed forces to crush the Spanish people's legal government. That is how General Franco was installed as a dictator of Spain to this day. Spain is a loathsome Nazi country in this manner. Substitute Nazi for Falang and you have got an accurate conception of that country.

Like a bolt from the blue, we get up one morning to learn that Mr. Moise Tshombe has been dashed from Spain to come and form a government in the Congo. The business is so full of qualms ! How legitimate was the installation of this man? What impish hand was at play? Are we to believe that the Congolese got up one morning and were mad enough to call this man to come and rule them? It is common cause that the hand which brought him from Spain is the hand which had sent him to Spain; the hand which had led him to secede Katanga. The same hand which is now nurturing him, like Hitler did with Franco, to crush the Congolese revolution against him. It is this hand which brought the paratroops to Stanleyville, - whatever the pretext. Mr. Adlai Stevenson expects us to be very forgetful and blind to these glaring facts. He talks of legitimate and chooses deliberately to forget that it must be accompanied by conventionalism; There can be no legitimacy without conventionalism.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, as a lawyer, knows that where law has been broken by an authority which is set up for upholding same, those who react to that situation are breaking no law because it has been rendered null and void by its guardians. President Kasavubu broke the law by acting unconventionally when he called a criminal to come and govern the Congolese; so that on this score alone the revolution in the Congo is perfectly justifiable and therefore deserves the support of the world. Mr. Stevenson does not tell us that were it not for the mercenaries the revolution in the Congo would have long been successful and a stable government installed. That Tshombe is only able to govern the Congo through mercenaries. As soon as the mercenaries go there shall be no Tshombe to bother about. This we are not told We are only told of the mercenaries government that is legitimate. How are we supposed to think ?

We are told that the Congolese revolutionaries are savages; they break international law in waging war. That they kill white people (we bag your pardon; they take and kill hostages). They are terrible ! Is that so?

One must concede that in a situation there are always excesses. These are not only to be found on one side. As Mr. Stevenson's case is put, the mercenary army is devoid of these occurrences. It is only the revolutionaries who are guilty of excesses. One want to ask the question as to how Mr. Stevenson and his like collect these evidences in this war situation, so that they can attribute this phenomena to only one side. Surely, Mr. Stevenson must know that this is bad advocacy.

Mr. Stevenson knows that in modern war we are using automatic weapons With these weapons one relies on directional shooting and not on precision. But of course he will have us believe that his mercenaries are so good and human (!) that with these weapons they only shoot the revolutionaries. They are so good and careful that they make

no mistake about it. Fancy ! The mercenaries are all that is good to this man. But we ^{are} not such fools. The mercenaries shoot indiscriminately. To be mercenaries they are the scum of the very dirty white element of the South African and Rhodesian white population which has chosen Fascist Government of Verwoerd and Smith rather than adhere to progressive world standards of government. Here is the obvious. Remove the mercenaries and not only shall there be no more talk of murdered hostages but there shall be no fighting in the Congo because from the very beginning the people of the Congo were never interested in killing each other. That is why when Mr. Tshombe sent the national army to go and suppress the revolution, the army went and surrendered to the revolutionaries. This is a fact.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson pretends not to remember and he expects us to be like him in that; that murder, rape, looting and robbery are the natural causes in a situation of war because the ordinary criminal element in the population is a t large and nobody can claim to have proper control of it. He pretends not to know that the mercenaries openly gloat of committing these crimes. When he talks of Geneva Convention he does not tell us that the mercenaries brag of shooting captured revolutionaries at random. But the mercenaries tell us this.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson tell us of humanitarian reasons which motivated the intervention by his imperialists. He forgets that we have experienced in this 20th century that the imperialist are humanitarian as hell. That is why they have not applied this humanitarian reasoning in Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, South Afrika, South West Afrika and other places. There is no amount of cold-blood murder in these places by the imperialists and settlers. Mr. Stevenson does not tell us why his humanitarian reasoning does not apply here ; why it chooses only to apply where his criminal Mr. Moise Tshombe is concerned.

We insist that the white imperialists with their lackeys, lick-spittles and their debauched humanes must keep their foendish hands off the African Nationalists Revolution. The African are the only people who have the means of stabilising the impact and convulsions of the revolutions in relation to the broader world. This lesson must go down well. Mr. Adlai Stevenson and his like must know that they cannot hide their sinister world intentions by any ostrich tactics. They are already too well known.

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