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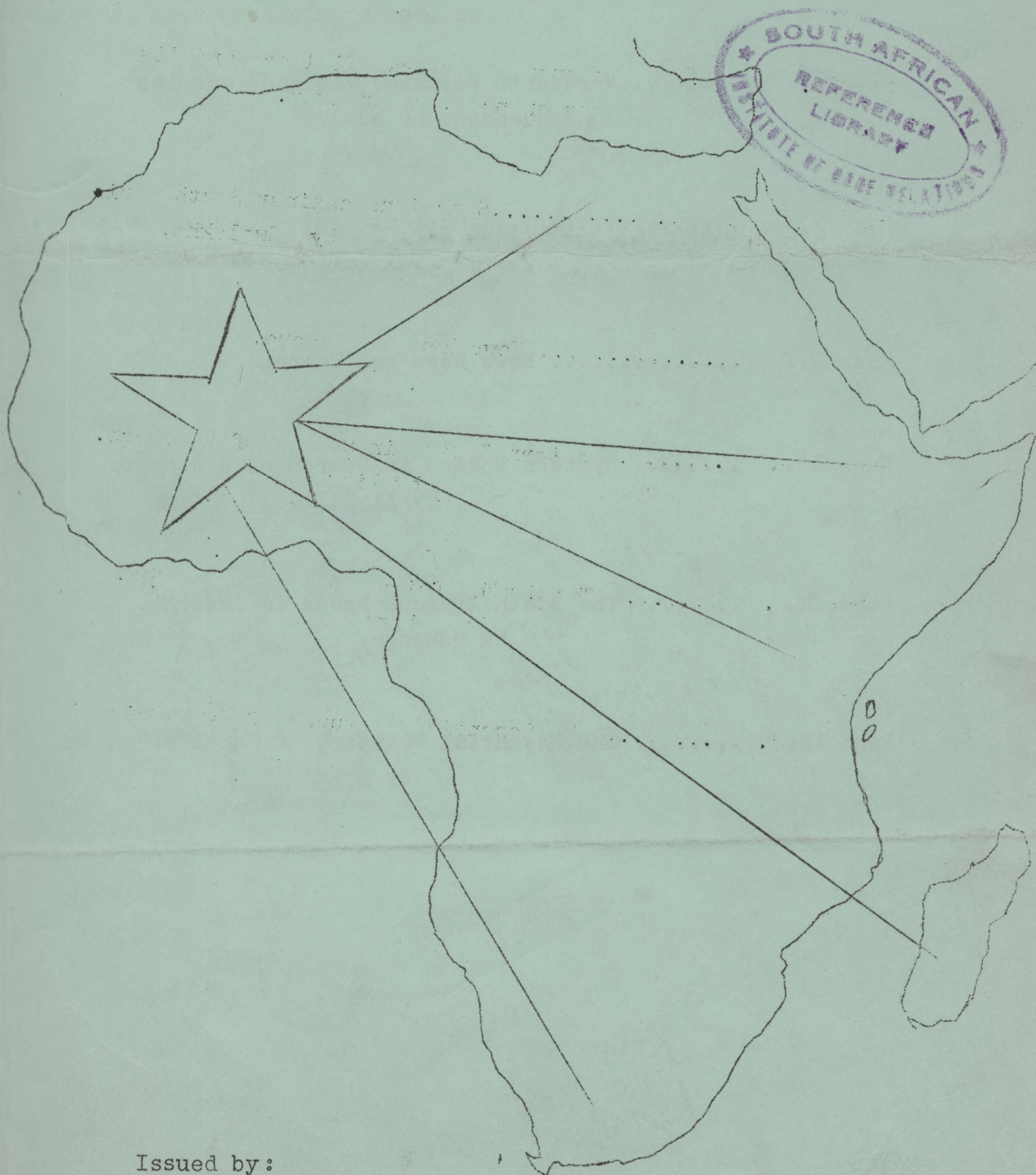
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THE AFRICANIST

APRIL 1965.

"Let me die if die must I, in a Free Africa! "



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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Page I.The Editor Speaks. As Lesotho moves towards Independence.
Page 5.Vorster's Fostered Violence and its Consequences. by Analyst.
Page 7.Sanctions against South Africa. by Zwelakhe.
Page 9. News Here and There.
Page 10. Western Powers in Search of a Stooge. by Lindall.
Page 12. The South African Press in Lesotho. by Mshengu.
Page 13. The Essential Features of Pan Africanism. by Xoxo.

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T H E   E D I T O R   S P E A K S   :-

AS LESOTHO MOVES TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE!   HA LESOTHO E-EA TOKOLOHONG.

On the 29th April, the African people of Lesotho shall attain the last stage before they achieve their divine right-to be masters of their own destiny - to manage or mismanage their own affairs. On the 29th April they shall elect a Party that will lead them to that esteemed prize of every nation - Independence. This is the stage which that great African nationalist leader, Moshoeshe, had hoped that, by this time, the Sesotho speaking Africans would have long attained when he asked for protection from the British government. A protection that turned out to be oppression for the Africans. One is bound to wonder what do the British understand by protection, especially if one has in mind the protection the British have accorded to those who have sought political asylum in the British Protectorates.

There are immense problems that face Lesotho as she moves towards independence. These are problems which shall have to be solved carefully, taking cognisance of the fact that the eyes of the whole of Afrika and those of all the true African nationalists in particular, are focussed on her, anxious to see what path shall the winning Party follow. A path that will destroy or build the image of Lesotho before the eyes of African Nationalists.

The foremost problem that the people of Lesotho shall encounter, is the economic dependence of Lesotho on the white settler-ruled Republic of S.A. The choice that faces the Party that will lead Lesotho to independence is whether to make Lesotho a satrap of the Republic of South Afrika by making Lesotho conform to the Bantustan policy of the Verwoerd government or whether that Party shall enter into a respectable and honourable agreement with the Republic of S.A. An agreement that shall neither undermine the sovereignty and integrity of Lesotho, nor besmear the image of Lesotho before the keen eyes of Afrika. And Lesotho is in a strong position to pull off such an agreement if she plays her cards carefully - diplomatically.

...../2

Ka la 29 'Mesa Basotho ba tla be ba fihlile mothating oa ho getela pele be fumana Tokoloho le boipusa bo phethahetseng, tseo e leng toka le tsoanelo ea sebo-voa se bitsoang motho. Ba tla itjarela tsebetso le mefokolo ka sebete le ka matsoalo a khutsitseng. Ka tsatsi leo ba tla ikhethela Mokha oa lipolitiki o tla ba etella pele o ba tataise ho ea Tokolohong. Bona ke bohato boo Morena Moshoe-shoe a neng a bo lebeletse ha a ne a kopa tsireletso tlas'a 'muso oa Manyesemane. Hape o ne a e na le khopolo le ts'epo ea hore e tla re mehla ena e fihla sechaba sa hae se tla be se se se fumane tokoloho eo e leng ea bona ka tlhaho. Empa ka bo-malimabe ts'ireletso ea manyesemane e fetohile tlatlapo sechabeng. Ana ke sebele, ts'ireletso e hlalosang ho manyesemane. Taba ena e mohollo - ts'ireletso ea manyesemane ke malepo a makatsang ha re nahanahape kamoo ba balehi ba lipolitiki ba tsoereng kateng naheng tsa ts'ireletso.

Ke'nete mathata ao Lesotho le tla thulana le 'ona ha le e-ea Tokolohong a maholo. Naha ena e tlameha ho loantsa mathata ao e ntse e hopola lichaba tsohle li ahile mahanya li shebile, li lisitse, Afrika eohle le lefatse lohle li shebile ka mahlo a nchocho a chatshi hore na Mokha o tla hlola likhethong o tla nka tsela efe. Ma-Afrika 'ohle a ipotsa hore na Lesotho le tla ikaha e be sechaba se hlomphehang mahlong a lichaba tse ling kapa na Lesotho le tla nka tsela e isang timelong na?

Marang-rang a maholo a mathata ao Lesotho le tla thulana le 'ona ke a ho itsetleha ka naha ea bajaki, naha ea Riphobolika (Republic) ho tsa matlotlo le leruo la naha.

Mokha oa lipolitiki o tla hloa e meng o tsoanetse ho nka e 'ngoe ea tsela tsena tse peli : o ka ikhethela sekhobo sa ho thonoka makumana a oang tafoleng ea 'muso oa Maburu kapa o ka ikhethela ho kena selekaneng se kekeng sa hlomphehang kapa sa nyeliso basotho litumellanong tsa maruo. Selekane seo e khona e be se ke ...../2



It is our fervent hope that when the people of Lesotho go to the polls on the 29th April to elect a Party that will lead them to independence, they shall not elect a Party that is politically bankrupt and ideologically barren, but they will elect a Party that has a clear perspective of the political realities in this country, and a politically mature Party that has proved through the years of struggle how much it values the interests of the African people. We hope that the African people shall not be deceived by wild promises and ostrich-like stunts of political dwarfs and upstarts who will close their eyes to stark reality. People who make promises of milk and honey as soon as Lesotho has an African Prime Minister and an African Cabinet. We hope they shall fully grasp and appreciate the hardships, that lie ahead, as they are put to them by the seasoned politicians of their country.

We venture to say that the real struggle more intense and testing than the one for independence, is the one the people of Lesotho shall have to face after independence. That will be a struggle that shall call for greater sacrifices. A struggle that will require the Party that will be in the vanguard to provide the masses with dynamic leadership and to give them a sense of direction. These are tasks that can be fulfilled by a genuine African Nationalist Party.

This will be a struggle for the full realisation of independence by the African people of Lesotho. For them to be able to realise their freedom fully and to be able to assert the African Personality which has for so long been suppressed by the imperialists, they shall have to join issue with the toiling African masses in the Republic of S.A. The African masses who are gasping and seething under the yoke of foreign obstinate white settler domination in the Republic of South Afrika are posed to deliver a final deadly blow at white domination in South Afrika. They are about to destroy foreign domination in this Southern tip of Afrika once and for all and on its ruins build a new social order an Africanist Social democracy, in a new Republic of Azania.

We ask the African people of Lesotho to be with us ...../4

Ke bua re tiile re re ha basotho ba kena likhethong ka la 29 'Mesa e ka khona ba khethe Mokha oa lipolitiki o tla ba etella pele o sa qea-qea. Re ba eletsa re re ba se ke ba khetha Mokha o fufetseng lipolitiking, mokha o se na ng s'omo kapa sona sebophho. Ke takatso ea rona ho bona hore ba khethe Mokha o butsoitsoeng oo lipolitiki tsa oona li seng li thopothetse maling a sechaba; be khethe mokha o tseng boemo ba mathata a naha ena ka kakaretso; 'me e ba mokha o seng o iponahalitse ka liketso hore o tseba ho oa le ho tsoha le sechaba.

Re tsepo hore Basotho ba tla soabisa bana ba lebetseng ke ho ikanya menoana, ba ntseng ba re mama ke mama. Basotho ele hloko e se re ba thetsoa ke bona ba hopotseng mehlolo ba nahanang hore hang feela hoba refumane Tonakholo ea mo-Afrika tsa lireng re tla li fumana ti tonositse kapa bana ba hopolang hore hang feela ha litho tsa "Cabinet" e le basotho le tla qhoaolla likobo re je monakalali oa keboleloa. Rona re che le lale le ntekanya misikarontoa boholo kea ka moso, ka mora Tokoloho e phethahetseng. Holim'a tsena tsohle rea tsepa hore Basotho be utloisisa mathata ao ba eang ba a tobile, maqiti ao manyesemane le maburu a tla ba etsetsa 'ona. Mehla ena he e hloka banna ba sebele, le Mokha oa sebele o tsebang methati eohle. Mesebetsi ea lipolitiki e batla baiteli ba ikabetseng sechaba bao e leng sehlabelo se monko o monate sechabeng. Ena ke nako ea banna baetabele ba sebele ba sa tsabeng lifefo tsa lipolitiki bo-petsoa-majoeng. Likhoro tsa lintoa tsa lipolitiki li ka hlooa feela tsa sireletsa feela ke ba boulelang Tokoloho ea basotho. Ke ka banna ba kang bana re ka tsebang ho khola litholoana tsa tokoloho. Banna ba bonelang litaba hole ba imatahanyang le ma-Afrika a mang ke bona ke bona feela ba ka felisang khatello ea motho kolim'a motho e mong. Basotho ba tla ba le hona he ho kena boitsekoeng 'moho le ma-Afrika a mang a ka Riphoboliking (Republic of S.A.) Sera sa rona bohle se seng 'me le sepheo se seng. Ma-Afrika a ka Kopanong a se a itlamme matheka, a finne lilelu ho loantsa tlatlapo le khatello e sehloho ea lilemolemo tlas'a pusa ea balichaba Rea le mema kenang le rona tsebetseng ea ho aho phelisanano encha ea Ma-Afrika ka MaAfrika naheng ea AZANIA (Republic of S.A.) . Re mema Basotho bohle ho kenya letsoho ha re aha histori e ncha.

Tsebelisano 'moho ke bohato ba mantlha. Bohato bo joalo boka etsa hore masapo a bo Chaka, bo Moshoeshoe le bo Hintsa a sisinyehe ke thabo ha hopola tsa mehla e fetileng ha bona ba ne ba leka ...../4



with us - creators of History, when we create the new Republic of Azania. This will be an accomplishment that will make the bones of Hintsa, Moshoeshe and Tshaka to shake with jubilation when they see their vision being realised - a vision which they themselves would have realised had they not been disturbed by the intrusion of foreign white invaders. We say this was their vision because before the advent of the white invaders, Tshaka had set himself the task of uniting all the Zulu speaking Africans into one nation, the same was being done by Hintsa among the Xhosa speaking Africans and by Moshoeshe amongst the Sesotho speaking Africans. Had it not been for the unfortunate advent of white invaders, it is a common belief amongst all African nationalists in the Southern tip of Afrika that these African Nationalist Kings would have been driven by the dynamic galvanising and nation-building force of African nationalism to further merge these groups into one great African nation of South Afrika. We of the Pan Africanist Congress have set ourselves the task of creating one African nation of Southern Afrika - that will be the African nation of the new Republic of Azania.

We ask you therefore fellow Africans of Lesotho not to betray the great national heroes who begot us. National heroes who watered this tree of independence, under whose shade we are going to sit now, with their own blood. We ask you therefore to march together with us to the new Republic of Azania, from where we shall go forward to the Central Union Government of Afrika - a giant monolithic state, stretching from Cape to Cairo, from Morocco to Malagasy.

IZWE LETHU !!

Our humble appeal to you is that vote for a Party that has the interests of the African people at heart.

Forward to the new Republic of

AZANIA !!

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION !!

ho aha le ho bopa sechaba se le seng mona Afrika e Boroa. Mosebetsi oa bona oa ho bopa sechaba o ile oa busetsoa morao, oa thunthetsoa ke ho fihla ha makhooa koana ka lintoa tse ngata tse ileng tsa jala pherekanō. Re bua phatlalatsa, re tseetsa ke lipale tsa histori re re Chaka o ne a se a qalile ho bopa sechaba sa MaZulu, Hintsa le eena o ne a sa iphe tsoeea har'a maXhosa, athe Moshoeshe le eena o ne a ema ka maoto ho aha sechaba sa BaSotho. Banna bana kaofela ha bona ba ne ba ikemiselitse ho boela ba kopanye lichaba tsena tsa bona ho aha sechaba se le seng mona Afrika e Boroa. Hoja ho se fihle makhooa, Marena ana, lichaba tsena ekabe e se e le sechaba se le seng tlas'a puso e le 'ngoe lebitsong la ma-Afrika. Moea oa bochaba ba bo-Afrika o ka be o kopantse lichaba tse marena ana. Ke sepheo sa rona ba Pan Africanist Congress ho phethahatsa litakatso le sepheo sa bo ntate rona moholo, ke sepheo sa rona ho sebelisano 'moho le ma-Afrika a mang re ikemiselitse ho phela le bona ka khotso re le bana ba thari e le 'ngoe Riphoboliking ea Azania.

Baheso le mengoa ke hona ho boloka le ho hlomphe likano le sepheo sa bahlabani ba sechaba; ho se be le ea mong ea koenehelang likano tsa banna ba re tsoetseng, bahale bao mali a bona a tsolohileng ho nsetsa sefate sena sa Tokoloho seo joale re leng haufi le ho phomola tlas'a meriti ea sona. Re le mema ho kena le rona menyakong ea Riphoboli ea Azania (Republic of Azania). Ho se ho kae re tla be re nyolohela pele ho aha le ho bopa puso e ncha Afrika eohle ho tloha Kapa ho ea kena Cairo, le ho tloha Morocco ho ea kena Malagasy.

IZWE LETHU !! (Lefatse la rona!!)

Kenang likhethong le khethe ka hloko le khethe Mokha a boulellang li-tsoanelo tsa ma-Afrika !

A re eeng Azania !

Ma-Afrika oohle a kene boitse kong !



VORSTER'S FOSTERED VIOLENCE AND  
ITS CONSEQUENCES.

by Analyst.

In the process of revolutionary development deviations from the progressive natural line can and do happen. There may be zigzags or regression or even periods of temporary stagnation. But history demonstrates that in the long run progressive revolutionary movements overcome all these temporary deviations and obstacles and make headway.

In Southern Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress has constantly advocated a revolutionary concept, the creation of one Race, the human race. Natural development was partly jettisoned when apartheid was first regorously applied. Therefore, apartheid caused a deviation and an obstacle on the way of progress. But, thanks to the laws of social change, the apartheid myth has since inception continued to create weapons of self-destruction. Apartheid is colapsing as it must, it is failing as it had to, and it is being exposed as never before.

The deterioration and the unpracticability of this social myth has reached advanced stages of hopelessness. The off-shoot of this hopelessness manifests itself in the form of Vorster's fostered violence. This new feature more than anything else spells immediate doom of an apartheid society. The final crunch is now in sight, and the 1966 white elections shall provide the essential fire ingredient to spark off the conflagration, and believe me Africans shall give undivided support to dynamic uncompromising revolutionary change.

CURRENT TRENDS OF VIOLENCE IN THE REPUBLIC OF S.A.

Fostered violence has now come to be identified with the following related features, born of different motives .

1. The bombing of places and the consequent killing of human beings. The most notable recent violence in revolutionary Southern Africa is that associated with the name of Frederick John Harris. Harris, a white school teacher, for political reasons detonated a bomb at the Johannesburg station and the result was the death of an old Boer maid or house-wife. The violence carried out by Harris was democratic, reasonable, justifiable and/or excusable in the circumstances, for it represented the majority of the civilised world and the majority of revolutionaries all over the world.

The B.B.C. states that Harris was campaigner against racial discrimination; Exactly. Nations of the world condemn discrimination and apartheid. In essence the nations of the world support and condone Harris' actions. Harris was attempting a political protest, the only one type left open to Africans and sympathisers in their cause in a country where all constitutional means of protest are outlawed.

2. Another trend of violence which has reached unprecedented proportions especially on the white farms in the Republic of South Afrika is the extravagant use of hosepipes. This has become a pastime amongst white farmers.

A recent court case in mind is reported from South West Afrika. There, a white farmer Schalk Nolte savagely beat an African servant to death with a hosepipe. The story given in court reveals that Nolte's white-wife joined him in the assa ult and that their white child of five years was encouraged to hit the African man. After the African servant had died as a result of the attack, his body was partly burned and was dismembered with an axe by the white Noltes.



Nolte and his wife are campaigners of apartheid and helped to place apartheid into power.

3. Vorster's 'fostered' violence is the third trend. All other forms of violence are an off-shoot or a reaction to fostered violence. Let us begin by comparing fostered violence as applied to two white men, namely Frederick John Harris and Schalk Nolte.

Vorster's justice decided that John Harris be executed and indeed he was executed at about 5 a.m. on the 1st April, 1965.

Vorster's justice decided that Schalk Nolte a white farmer be given only four lashes. What a mockery of justice, indeed what incitement. Because Nolte is the upholder of racial apartheid he gets four lashes. Because Harris was a campaigner against racial apartheid, he was killed by Swart and Vorster, the arch' apostles of apartheid. The parallel between the two cases has become indellible in the mind of Revolutionary Africa. In the fulness of time this injustice will be rectified and those responsible shall get their right punishment in the hands of history.

Who is this Vorster ? He is the man who detained Mangaliso Sobukwe on Robben Island. He is the white Minister of Justice in the Cabinet of Verwoerd. He is the Minister of Justice in the white minority settler government.

#### THE LESSONS OF HISTORY.

Vorster, Verwoerd and their white followers like all imperialists and exploiters have a panic fear of revolution, in this case African revolution. They try to portray it as a blood-thirsty monster 'Poqo' and they try to portray it as a blind destructive force that brings nothing but death, suffering and ruin.

Now as regards sacrifices, bloodshed and human suffering, they abound throughout the history of revolutionary societies where exploitation and oppression have been rampant. It will suffice here to recall only the horrors of Hitler and the atrocities in the Congo. Further, we warn that any postponement of the African revolutionary avalanche will multiply the retaliatory violence on both sides of the colour line. But, we are also certain that finally the African revolution shall amputate everything that is obsolete, rotten and is an obstacle in the way of Africa's progress.

In spite of Vorster's murderous acts, in spite of his atrocities and even because of them the wheel of change moves on.

We must thank John Harris for his protest the only logical protest in political self-defence left to the victims of arrogant apartheid.

The Republic of S. Africa is sick. The malady - an apartheid hydra-headed virus whose habitat is in the brains of the white minority settlers. This organism quickly multiplies when placed in the waters of racial fear. The cure? Your guess and mine!!

But, when a person is suffering from acute appendicitis, the use of medicines, tablets and injections serve the purpose only of mild relief. So, the only treatment on which all doctors agree is that of using your scalpel.



Political apartheid is in pains, it is in an inextricable state of acute suffering and hopelessness. 'Ageing' apartheid suffered a political stroke on March 21st 1960 and she is in a coma. If state President Swart is reluctant to exercise his prerogative of mercy to end apartheid, then that right shall pass as it must into the hands of revolutionary men - replicas of Frederick John Harris.

Certain we are that it has dawned also in the minds of some white settlers, that the only sure way of ending apartheid is that put forward by the Pan Africanist Congress in its unfolding programme of positive action.

### SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

IS THERE A PRICE TOO GREAT FOR HUMAN LIBERTY ? by Zwelakhe.

The United Nations Security Council's Expert Committee on sanctions against South Afrika has presented its report. A report that has been hailed by the Imperialist Press as a blow to those freedom loving people who advocated sanctions against the Verwoerd government of South Afrika. It is reported that the Experts committee has made no cut and dry recommendations. Though according to a statement by Colin Legum in the "OBSERVER" so far from ruling out the possibility of economic sanctions, the finding of the majority group, (of the Expert's Committee) as well as the two minority groups (the Communists and Africans), is that sanctions are FEASIBLE under certain conditions." This majority group finding was supported by the two big Western powers, Britain and United States of America. But both the two big powers have, as reported in the 'STAR' said they voted for the study's conclusions but do not regard this as obligating or committing them to any specific course or action' The British delegate is further reported as having issued a statement of reservations, particularly on what he called 'the under-estimation of the committee of the very serious implications of sanctions for Britain.'

Now that the Expert's Committee has failed to make any outright recommendations on sanctions against South Afrika, the question of sanctions falls back to the Security Council. It is this body, (some of whose permanent members, who have the right to veto, made reservations about the report) that shall make the final decisions on the application of sanctions against South Afrika. In a reply to a questionnaire from the Experts' Committee U.S.A and Britain indicated their distaste of sanctions, since the effect of stopping trade with South Afrika would worsen the British balance of payments by £300,000,000 in the first year and that of the United States by £105,000,000 a year. These are the prices that these two Western powers feel are too great to withstand. We wonder then whether the Security Council can manage to decide on the application of sanctions in view of the declared attitude of Britain and U.S.A.

When the Security Council meets to consider the sanctions question against South Afrika we hope that it will pay very serious attention to the state of affairs in South Afrika and the violent revolutionary spirit that is building up amongst the African people in the Republic of South Afrika. It only needs a spark to set the whole country aflame. The following observations may help to clear the fog. Colin Legum in the "OBSERVER" says, the danger in South Afrika is that African and even white liberal leaders are beginning to lose faith



in the possibility of the U.N. being willing to act with speed and determination in helping to destroy apartheid..... The Communist countries have siezed this opportunity and are engaged in a massive campaign to persuade the African Leaders that the only effective way of bringing apartheid to its knees is by a violent struggle....."

Dr. Joost de B lank the former Archbishop of Cape Town is reported in 'The Daily Mail' as saying 'The racial situation in South Afrika is such that it is possible for it to blow up into a world conflict. Moreover the white people in the African continent have thrown away so many chances, that it is very unlikely that they will have any left. We may well have passed the point of no return...' These are only superficial observations of the situation in the Republic of South Afrika.

The world is agreed that the status quo in the Republic of South Afrika has to be changed. What the world fails to find is a unanimously agreed upon effective method in which the status quo in South Africa can be changed. The reason for this failure to effect a change is not very difficult to see. Firstly the western countries, the main trading partners of the Republic of South Afrika, realise that the status quo can only be changed and peace restored in this country, if the white settler minority governemant is overthrown and an African majority government set up. The risks entailed by the setting up of an African government are too much for the West. Viz. there is no African nationalist government that will allow the West to use South Africa as a military base. Secondly the West want a government that they can manipulate to secure their investments in this country.

The second reason for the failure to effect a change in South Afrika is that the West is still dominated by the racialist mentality. They have not yet developed to regard human beings just simply as human beings. When they come to the question of South Afrika they put the survival of the whites above everything else. Is it any wonder then that U.S.A. and Britain the two countries that are masqueranding as the greatest champions and defenders of human liberty should come up with a fake that it will be too expensive to effect sanctions to salvage African liberty? Is the price they paid 'for humanitarian reasons' to save white settlers in the Congo less than this they have to pay now to save Africans from systematic annihilation by the racialist maniacs of South Afrika? Britain and America must realise that human liberty is human liberty and different standards must not be used where African liberty is concerned.

We have stated before that there are only two courses which events in this country can follow. It is either U.N.O. applies effectively economic sanctions against the Verwoerd settler government or revolutionary violence meets in a head-on clash with reactionary violence. A clash that will involve the whole of Afrika in a racial conflagration which will have the whole world heading for catastrophie disaster. All that can be said has been said and all that can be done has been done. Everything now rests with the Security Council, whatever decision they arrive at will tilt the scales either for a peaceful change or for a violent clash. If the Security council decides not to effect sanctions that will bring the downfall of the Verwoerd dynasty, then the Security Council and UNO. as a whole must take full responsibility for any catastrophe that might befall the world. We are inexorably moving into the twilight that precedes night.



NEWS HERE AND THERE

THE WORLD COURT.

The eyes of all the Africans here in this southern tip of Afrika are turned towards the Hague where the S.W.A. case is underway before the World Court.

What interests the Africans most here are two questions:

- (a) If the decision of the Court is against the South African government, will the Verwoerd Government abide by the ruling of the court ?
- (b) Secondly if the Verwoerd government does not, will the United Nations be able to force the Verwoerd government to abide ? These questions are uppermost in the minds of the Africans because they have seen with their own eyes the flagrant defiance of UNO decisions before by the Verwoerd government.

VORSTER - THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTER OF JUSTICE  
ACKNOWLEDGES THE INVINCIBILITY OF P.A.C.

We reproduce without comment, his own words, as reported by 'The Friend' 'In spite of the vigilance maintained by the South African police against subversive movements the training of saboteurs in other African territories continued and the Pan Africanist Congress was once again appearing at places.'

P.A.C. ACTIVITIES SUFFER AGAIN AT THE HANDS  
OF THE S.A. WHITE SETTLER JUSTICE.

- (i) Eight gallant sons of the Soil have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three years to six years, for planning to kill whites and also for organising a P.A.C. branch at Leuwkop Prison - S.A.'s maximum security prison. They were criminal prisoners there. This is the second group of criminal prisoners to be sentenced in Leuwkop prison within a space of for months for furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress. These sons of Afrika have gone to increase the ranks of what have come to be know as 'Poqo' Criminals' in Robben Island. They follow upon large batches, sentenced for furthering aims of P.A.C. which came from Stoffberg, Witbank and Fort Glamorgen prisons. We once said in this journal, (Nov. 1964) that all jails in South Afrika shall be staffed entirely with P.A.C. members within two years time.
- (ii) Four sons of the soil facing charges, before the Supreme court in Cape Town, of being members of a conspiracy to send out P.A.C. activists for military training with the aim of overthrowing the South African settler government by violent revolution.  
  
Twelve others in Cape town are facing trial before a Regional Magistrate for being members of a banned P.A.C. and furthering the aims of the P.A.C.
- (iii) Four others from East London have been sentenced by the Supreme court in Grahamstown to terms of imprisonment ranging from two and half years to sixteen for the part they played in a conspiracy to send P.A.C. activists for military training with the aim of conducting a wholesale violent revolution in South Afrika.
- (iv) Over two hundred in Port Elizabeth have been in detention since December 1964, for furthering the aims of PAC. They are divided into five batches that will appear in various courts in the Eastern Cape as from the 24th April.



MR. M.R. SOBUKWE.

The South African white settler government has maintained an unbroken silence about our President, Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. No reports are issued about his health. The rabid racist, Vorster, has not yet intimated whether he intends to continue the illegal indefinite detention imposed upon him (President Sobukwe). The African people as intimated before, shall wait expectantly till the 30th June, for the reaction of the world and the Verwoerd to the illegal imprisonment of their leader.

THE BASUTOLAND GOVERNMENT DOES VORSTER'S DIRTY WORK.

PAC freedom fighters escape from Vorsters' bannishment, house-arrests, detention and imprisonments in the Republic of South Africa only to suffer the same persecutions in Basutoland. The Colonial Basutoland Government not satisfied by the nefarious collaboration that exists between itself and Vorster's gestapo police, has decided to try out some of Vorster's outrageous inhuman practices on PAC freedom fighters in this territory. Without giving any reason and without any cause for such an act from the PAC members, the Basutoland government has restricted PAC members to the magisterial district of Maseru and asked them to report to the Police regularly. Penalty for the violation of these orders is the withdrawal of the permit to be in Basutoland. By this desperate act the British Imperialists hope to halt the inevitable. Come what may, PAC is irrevocable committed to overthrow white domination now.

BECHUANALAND JOINS THE BAND WAGGON.

The government, fearing that it was being outstripped by the Basutoland government in the systematic campaign, launched by British imperialists that is aimed at stifling the Pan Africanist Congress, has decided to appear on the scene. It has chosen as its target Mr. Z.B. Molete, the PAC Secretary for Publicity and Information. Mr. Z.B. Molete has been declared a prohibited immigrant in Bechuanaland. The most queer thing in all this, is that Mr. Z.B. Molete is not in Bechuanaland, and has no intentions of going to Bechuanaland.

However we wish to awaken the Bechuanaland government to realities of Afrika to day. The Pan Africanist Congress has made an unequivocal declaration, that there is nobody, worse of all a foreigner, who has the right to tell the African people where to go and where not to go in this continent of Africa, from Cape to Cairo, from Morrocco to Malagasy.

Watch this column for current events and developments in this southern tip of the continent of Afrika !

WESTERN POWERS IN SEARCH OF A STOOGE.

By.. Lindall

The western governments, precisely the Johnson, Wilson and de Gaulle's administrations are soft paddling and playing down the semi-peaceful move on stringent sanctions against the Verwoerd minority government. Several reasons may be advanced to locate and explain the neatly veiled racial complacency mustered by astute and adroit diplomatic machinery.



America in particular, under the Johnson administration is obsessed with a brand of doctrinal xenophobia that equates with communism as long as it does not bear imprint and stamp of Washington.

Allister Sparks has tried to put the case of the western governments, he states, these governments are sceptical on sanctions, 'not so much because of the technical problems involved .....nor is it because of the argument raised by some South African liberals that sanctions would destroy the one element - our expanding economy,' but that 'it is mainly because of a growing concern about what would happen after sanctions had brought down the Nationalist government'.

Further, he says, 'with the opposition both white and black fragmented into groups which range from the impotent to the disorganised and which would require time to find common ground, there would be a dangerous power vacuum.' In such a situation he further states, "racial animosity inflamed by white resentment and black starvation in the cities would easily explode into hideous violence"

On the question of impotence we would agree with him if he categorically said de Villiers Graaff's U.P. is hopelessly impotent, but on sanctions, African nationalist organisations have a common ground. It must be understood that these African nationalist organisations have a reasonable support from non-Africans on the questions of toppling baaskapism and white domination. A one man, one vote, open to all national groups would definitely win no less than 45% of the votes of non-Africans in favour of the Pan Africanist Congress.

That there would be 'a dangerous power vacuum' we maintain is only an attempt to indulge in obscure and obsequious semantics.

The idea of 'disorganisation' is sinister. All that is really meant by the west, is that African nationalist organisations refuse to be dictated to by the west. Refusal then to play Tshombe or to wear western blinkers is explained away as 'disorganisation'. All shades of white leadership are so full of hypocrisy, and suffer from a complexity of neurotic hallucinations.

Our thinking is that two or three reasons explain the western political boffoonery and feigned scepticism.

- (a) In the Republic of S. Afrika under Johnson administration America has not yet discovered or manufactured a Tshombe.
- (b) A Matanzima, would be too ethnic and Bantustan to pass the test of a 'national leader' stooge enough to be used against nationalists.  
By western standards of the twentieth century a national leader, moderate enough, is one ready always to call America to intervene and murder African nationalists, or one who apes the west.
- (c) In South Africa, sanctions would be against whites. The west has not yet outgrown its racial bias in favour of the Pan Africanist Congress ideal - the concept of one race, the human race.

In spite of the delaying tactics by the West or even because of them, one thing certain, the Republic of S. A. Afrika is fast heading for a catastrophe, via a racial war that may have far reaching consequences, outweighing their reasons for scepticism. Let the west be warned again and again the wheel of fate grinds slowly yet finely and surely and as many predict the inevitable cannot be avoided.



Failure on the part of the west to precipitate semi-peaceful sanctions will plunge the whole of Southern Africa into a furnace of hot war. There is still time even at this eleventh hour to manipulate the situation so that reactionary violence is not met with democratic violence

IZWE LETHU !!

### SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS IN LESOTHO.

By Mshengu

The struggle for self-government in the Protectorates in general and in Lesotho in particular has suddenly forced the South African press to take a positive attitude towards the contending political forces in this territory. Almost everyday, one comes across articles - in fact pieces of journalistic rubbish bin stuff of political quagmire by S.A. Press men in their nefarious attempts to confuse the political issues in a country which is on the verge of self-government. These campaigns are intensified because an Africanist non-racial Lesotho is a thorn in the flesh for the apartheid racist S.A. The South African Press is trying its best to concoct news in preparation of a marathon propaganda programme which would be unfolded immediately after self-government elections have been announced.

The South African Press men could not fail to realise that Lesotho is dependent on them for information since the local information service is nothing but semblance of an information service should be. And since the South African Press is controlled and used by the South African Boer government, it has shamelessly resorted to distortions, hypothesis and far-fetched imaginations of bankruptcy and corruption to transform and transfigure the doctrine of apartheid to Lesotho raw as it is. Not even a single day that one can read facts reported accurately and in readable form. Everyday one is bound to

come across concocted news receiving giant headlines by South African press men for motives best known to them and because of their vulture-like love of sensation and love of profit to sell to the public what they know to be monstrous pieces of political fraud and blatant falsehood. These campaigns will for certain, continue until a second Matanzima has been manufactured with best advertising service for foreign stooge competing markets.

Let us look at the people who are stationed in Lesotho as reporters. The first facts of paramount importance are that, these people are political renegades and they have a mercenary loyalty to Verwoerd's Regime. They are forces of corruption and saboteurs of the African revolution, people who have no political principles but cameleons of all environmental pigmentation. These Lancer's Inn critics and reconnaissance squadron of Verwoerd subversive networks have become real apartheid diplomatic corps of gigantic 'dwarfness and giantness'. They have with rudeness and vulgarity, sent distorted news to the South African Press. As political renegades and saboteurs of African Revolution, they have built stories of their free-ranging and 'fertile' imaginations against the genuine African nationalist leaders. They have openly associated themselves with spies and reactionary politicians of their make, and hacked their way through the labyrinth of vested interests, intrigues, grafts and servile mercenary loyalty to Broederbond controlled Press. These journalists have misbehaved.



We hope, as it is our burning desire that the Lesotho Africans have immunised themselves from all this propaganda machinery and only effect their chosen destiny with self-reliance, dignity and absolute loyalty to their Leadership.

We also ask any party that will win in these elections to take as a priority the establishment of the Local Printing Press. Press which will engage in research and exposition in order to unearth data that will help the leadership of our revolution formulate accurate policies as well as correct strategy and tactics for implementing these policies. The Press which will work with the people in spot lighting, attacking and uprooting all negative concepts in order to make room for the flowering of the ideas that animate our social society as Africanists.

FORWARD TO INDEPENDENCE NOW!

TOMORROW THE UNION GOVERNMENT OF AFRIKA !!

# THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF PAN AFRICANISM.

By Xoxo

When we say Pan Africanism is a continental ideology we mean that it has universal features which are characteristic of all the peoples of Afrika. These features are original and indigenous to Afrika. They are a unique heritage of the peoples of Africa from Cape to Cairo, from Morocco to Malagasy.

In thought, vision and imagination we, in Africa, are one. In deeds and current actions or objectives are the same in spite of the divisive and interfering chicaneries of the Imperialists, colonialists, neo-Colonialists and squalid manoeuvrings of the doctrinaire Socialists.

What are the essential features which bind us together throughout Africa and which form the basis of the Pan Africanist ideology through which we intend to project the African Personality and asset Africa to the World?

They are :-

## (A) THE SOIL OF AFRICA.

Every African is an indigenous person of Africa. Consequently our rights in Africa are original, perpetual and paramount. Non-Africans who have migrated into Africa whether from Europe, Asia or from anywhere else have no rights in Africa. If they claim any, then they have them simply by virtue of conquest, that brutal and plunderous method of dispossessing indigenous peoples. No rights can be acquired by theft and plunder. The indigenous peoples must repossess their land - the whole of Africa - and as things are today, by violent Revolution. There is no other alternative. After the Revolution all Non-Africans shall be absorbed and thoroughly reorientated in a new Afrika; in an African way of life. To be precise in Africa's civilisation.

The will of the indigenous peoples in the soil of Africa is supreme. It can no longer be subject to the whims of



of the conqueror or be influenced by any type of foreign infiltration. Any other approach by us can only mean one thing, the selling of our birthright.

This is the conception of all Africa and it underlines the first feature of our Pan Africanist ideology. No African leader throughout Africa, however reactionary or stoogelike he can be, can depart from this approach without being ridiculous or treacherous. To be realistic about it is the reason why most of Africa is free. It is also the reason why those parts of Africa that are still under European conquest and racist domination are engaged in violent Revolution for the repossession of their indigenous soil; and are getting moral and material help from all free Africa and even beyond.

#### (B) AFRICAN SOCIALISM.

This is the way of life of the African 'par excellence'. It is founded upon the communal and the classless nature of the African society. It is a social force which recognises man as a social being possessing material, spiritual, intellectual and cultural attributes which find their equilibrium and satisfaction in a genuine community spirit underlined by "Familyhood".

It is a significant feature of this social philosophy that it was never an imitated or a plagiaristic form of social philosophy. It has an origin of its own functioning within the media of African environment and experience.

It has not been affected, and need not be affected by the antagonistic class struggles of Europe, since by its very nature the African society is classless. Nor has it ever taken the form of the religio-caste systems of the Orient. The family unit which extends into community and national life is the nucleus of African socialism. In an African society a man is a member of the community in which 'Brotherhood' or 'Familyhood' is the essential feature of life. He is 'communitary' in thinking and in his way of living whether he is the head of the family a community figure or a national leader.

Describing AFRICAN SOCIALISM Nyerere says :- 'The foundation and objective of African Socialism is the extended family. The true African Socialist does not look upon one class of men as his brethren and another class as his natural enemies. He regards all men as his brethren; as members of his extended family ..... African Socialism is opposed to Capitalism which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of exploitation of man by man; and is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism (Communism) which seeks to build a happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict (class struggle) between man and man. 'This quotation shows quite clearly that our conception of socialism is an original and distinct field of human endeavour. It is a heritage; an indigenous form of society which we have preserved and we now want to purify and extend. Upon it we can safely project the African Personality make it blossom and reach heights unscaled.

African socialism is not a closed, static and retrogressive phenomenon. It is not a spurious caricature that is being manufactured by white racists in South Afrika in the form of Bantustans and/or the sordid society based on migrant labour and the break up of African family life in



in the cities of this country. It is not founded upon legislation exclusively enacted by white minority settlers who as conquerors create reservoirs of cheap African labour for capital exploitation and good paradises for practising racial abomination.

African socialism is dynamic adaptable and amenable to change. Its adaptability and changes shall be in keeping not only with the best virtues of its own character but also with humane values of all men worthy of human dignity and respect. In this connection President Dacko of the Central African Republic says - "we have no intention of applying a rigid doctrinal authoritarian socialism. Our Socialism will be empirical. As required by circumstances, by necessity, we will adapt, we will change, we will modify. We will not reject the imperative of facts

.....

By itself, African Socialism is more than a doctrine or even an ideology. It is an evolutionary process inherent in the make of all the peoples of Afrika but it may assume a revolutionary character whenever the objective conditions demand. It is true to say that it is an attitude of mind, a way of life, a traditional heritage and consequently, therefore, a civilisation. For what is a civilisation other than what we have just enumerated above? The much vaunted Western civilisation is essentially nothing more than an attitude of mind towards religion or christianity, materialism, the rule of law, democracy, a set of moral values, the standard of living etc.

In African Socialism Africans have an original and indigenous civilisation much purer, humanistic and humane contrary to the so-called Western civilisation which has brought us individualistic selfishness and prejudice, racist apartheid, communism, distorted or propagandised christian precepts and grotesque moral values. In dealing with human nature the civilisation of Europe is a chicanery concealing a gun to destroy its victim at the appropriate time. In science it has found a weapon to bully and to bolster racial bigotry.

The most obnoxious and callous feature of this civilisation is being applied in South Africa today. Through the Bantu Laws Amendment Act husbands and wives, fathers and their children are deliberately torn apart to satisfy capital exploitation and racist apartheid. In doing so they are destroying African family life or 'Familyhood' the very foundation of African socialism.

African Socialism is a dynamic force in our Pan Africanist ideology. As a feature of Pan Africanism it shows its continental dimensions: As a heritage it shows the depth of the virtues of the peoples of Afrika. All leaders of Afrika have expressed themselves unequivocally about it. Some have termed it a challenge that all Africa must take up and through it show her worth to the world. Two of its exponents have expressed themselves this way :-

"We prefer to correct the abuses of our traditional socialism and retain the community aspects of our civilisation ....." The other one says - "If Africa is faithful to her originality and does not abdicate her view of man and society, she has a good chance of proving to the world that there exists outside of communism and liberal capitalism

.....



another path more harmonious and humane to economic development; at the risk, it would seem, is worth the effort."

(C) THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY .

We in Afrika are not capitalists nor are we Marxists. We are neither Fabian Democrats nor People's Democrats. We are essentially Pan Africanists, ideologically immune and very rich in heritage. We do not need foreign doctrines and governmental systems to boost up our personality. We cannot build the African Personality on the sordid remnants of European conquerors bedevilled with racial philosophy. Nor can we tarnish the African Personality by the ideas of the so-called scientific socialism which is nothing else other than communism. However scientific communism can be (and it has been in existence for only about 117 years) there is a lot that it can learn from African Socialism because African Socialism is not a theoretical or doctrinal production of one or two men. It is an evolutionary process whose origin cannot be measured in time but is unmistakably African in space. We prefer to develop the African Personality on the evolutionary process which is our own and not on any alien doctrinal imposition. African Socialism is an embodiment of social values tested by time and space from time immemorial. The African Personality must be built on this impressive foundation to be worth its salt. From it, it can rise and branch in different directions, scientifically, materially, spiritually, and culturally to reach the pinnacle. In doing so it will not be a carbonised spectacle; an imitation of every doctrine and system of government on the face of the earth.

In Pan Africanism Africa has rediscovered herself not superficially but fundamentally. She is in a hurry to consolidate and purify her noble virtues long suppressed and callously treated by plunderous and relentless conquerors.

(D) THE REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER.

The Nationalist struggle in Afrika is continental in scope. The days of localised nationalisms are over. Pan Africanism is engaged in breaking down the balkanisation of Africa. It intends to form a strong bulwark against the exploitation of the peoples and the resources of Africa by foreigners. It must crush Neo-Colonialism - the return of Imperialism and Colonialism through the back door. The safeguard against these intrusions and intrigues is the formation of the Continental Union government in Africa. The foundation of such a government is well laid. We have unlimited resources of wealth. We have a common heritage. We have manpower and ability.

To accomplish objectives Pan Africanism has assumed a Revolutionary character. The term African Revolution is already a household phrase in Africa. It intends to preserve the hard won independence by the barrel of the gun and to repel any Imperialist reactionary violence with Revolutionary violence. With youth as the vanguard, Africa is not lacking in positive revolutionary material. In the last bastions of Imperialism and Colonialism where Africans are not yet free the struggle has already assumed a positive violent character.

With us in South Africa it was the white minority racists themselves who touched off a violent...../17



Revolution. It was they, who, in March, 1960 violently suppressed the legitimate demands of the indigenous people in an attempt to entrench the abominable creed of racial bigotry.

The struggle in South Afrika today is not merely a Revolution. Revolution is only a method - a method of reconquest. The land which the European Imperialists grapped by force of from its indigenous people must be recaptured by force of arms.

We are marching forward undaunted. We are conscious that this Revolution must be fought and won with utter Ruthlessness and without compassion. Ethics of a violent Revolution are different from those of a conventional warfare. By its very nature a Revolution can never be legitimate because it seeks to destroy an existing social order and aspires to the creation of a new social order.

Those who uphold it is order believe that it is moral and just. Those who oppose it believe that it is immoral and rotten. Two opposing beliefs can never exist side by side. The one must utterly destroy the other for life to be worth living among inhabitants of one and the same country.

Revolution is no epoch for readers of history. It is an epoch for makers of history. It is for men of action. It is where valour and bravery of youth abound. Fortunately the vanguard of the Pan Africanist Congress is its youth. The Leadership of PAC need have no fears for the future in spite of temporary setbacks. Whatever reverse we have had since 1960 up to now what is important is the funal onslaught.

The march forward of the Revolutionary forces of Pan Africanism is but one step left before we reconquer our indigenous soil from the foreign white minority settlers. This is the essence of our Revolution in South Afrika.

IZWE LETHU !!

AFRIKA MUST UNITE !!

LONG LIVE AFRICAN REVOLUTION !!!

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