

Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

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1983 NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO THE AZANIAN NATION

DELIVERED BY COMRADE NYATI POKELA

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It is 24 months since I came abroad. Twenty four months is a short period given the dimensions of the tasks to be tackled and the revolutionary hurdles to be cleared. Yet in these twenty four months, we achieved what could be termed the impossible with the very meagre resources at our disposal. Perhaps nowhere else in the world has a liberation movement gone through such a test of its will and commitment. We have continued to consolidate and survive through the sheer will and commitment to lead our people to final victory. And for the first time after 15 years, we are again certain and assured of the unqualified support of our activists and supporters inside Azania. This is important, but not just important but crucial, for we can now effectively co-ordinate all the forces both legal and underground that support our unfolding programme of positive action as it continues to unfold.

Having made the above points, it is fair again to state that we have managed to focus the attention of the Azanians on the national question, and have repeatedly reminded them that the decisive parameter in the armed struggle in Azania is the African people who are the only people that are super-exploited as individuals and as a nation. We have harnessed once more and are channelling the efforts of a significant and revolutionary segment of the African workers and peasants. We have built up a sizeable nucleus of reliable activists; we have established reliable operational links with our people and can now more than ever before continue seriously with co-ordination exercises with almost all the relevant mass organisations involving all committed sectors of our population.

Three hundred and thirty years have passed since the arrival of the white settler colonialists and we have observed over the years that two primary thoughts dominated their thinking: appropriation of our fatherland and the super-exploitation of the African. It was primarily around these two issues that the wars of resistance were fought. Land wars were thus at the same time labour wars. In the struggle in which we are active participants the question of land and the super-exploitation of the African constitute the central pivot around which the struggle must continue to be waged.

In South Africa apartheid constitutes an integral ingredient of white domination and exploitation of the indigenous population. Abroad, since I arrived I have been able to attend seminars at which apartheid was discussed. In such discussions one observes unanimity against apartheid. However, that unanimity does not presuppose a common consensus as to what apartheid really is or entails. Further, whilst one found consensus that apartheid is a threat to world peace and a crime against humanity, there exists as yet no consensus on the method to be employed to eliminate and liquidate apartheid.

From the Pan Africanist Congress standpoint, what must be fully grasped is that apartheid is not merely a set of laws in the South African Statute book which discriminate on the basis of colour. Apartheid is more than that. It is a policy devised primarily to stultify and perpetuate white colonial supremacy and continued dispossession of the Africans. The total and complete elimination of apartheid therefore cannot be achieved by the mere removal of discriminatory laws from the Statute book, precisely because the issue is not one of civil rights but of National Liberation of a people whose Fatherland was forcibly colonized by European settlers. Further, it must be emphasized that apartheid is integrated and embedded into the whole fabric of the economy of the white settlers. Therefore, the elimination and liquidation of apartheid must be coupled at every stage with the restoration of the inalienable rights of our people to their land.

One example should suffice to strengthen our reasoning. In this connection, the Algerian case for independence from French colonialism is instructive in that during that period also deceptive tendencies arose to argue that Algeria was an extension of France. In truth even some well-known progressives in France and Algeria regarded the Algerian demands as "separatist." Instead, they called for a class war of Algerian and French workers against the French bourgeoisie. They ignored an important point and fact, that Algeria had a history and a past and its people were not French, but colonized subjects. In this particular case the will of the people, the will of the colonized triumphed. And through their own efforts discriminatory laws were ended, whereas to the present day administrative and social discrimination continues to exist in France against peoples of the third world countries.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

This is the second half of the Twentieth Century. It is the century of the Black Man as Du Bois said. But even more important it is the Century of the common man. And who today in the whole world is more common than the African under-trodden? None in fact. My Dear Comrades, the heroes of today are not the Napoleons nor the Cromwells. The heroes of this century are the ordinary masses of our country and Continent, the unnamed, yet they are the real bearers of the revolution. It is for this very simple yet true reason that we of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania take the view as 1982 closes that in all sincerity we acknowledge and thank millions all over the world who, in one

form or another are daily chipping off at, and opposing apartheid. The ever-growing actions of the African workers, either collectively or individually to strike at their work places; the withdrawals of individuals of their deposits from banks operating inside racist South Africa; the individuals that lobby and pressure their governments to divest from apartheid South Africa; the principled sportsmen and women who boycott teams that patronise racists; the ordinary but conscious housewife that refuses to buy apartheid products, constitute in our view the crux and epitome of the unnamed heroes of this century, people who are our true and reliable allies in the fight against racism and imperialism.

ON SANCTIONS

We of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania reason that sanctions can only effectively work if there is the political will on the part of the international community to apply them strictly and comprehensively. In some quarters the will may be there, but they do not constitute the decisive or persuasive force. The key lies with the western industrialised powers, and they have repeatedly shown or expressed their reluctance, and at times open refusal to apply this only peaceful means. The reasons for this reluctance and or refusal on the part of the western industrialised powers are not difficult to find. True, apartheid is abominable, but it is also very profitable. Western investments, in brazen defiance of international calls for sanctions against the apartheid regime, have been growing steadily. Just a few examples from the most recent developments in this connection will suffice.

Firstly, American investments in South Africa in the past decade grew from just under one billion US dollars to 2.63 billion US dollars, which amounts to about 20% of all foreign investments in apartheid South Africa. Active research has shown that as few as five of the western industrialised powers hold 80% of all foreign investments in South Africa. The five are Britain, the USA, West Germany, Switzerland and France, with Britain having an estimated lion's share of well over 40% of the total. Between 1978 and 1981, foreign investments in apartheid have grown by leaps and bounds, both in terms of countries and transnational corporations investing or otherwise doing business with South Africa. According to some reliable research findings there were some fourteen countries with investments in Apartheid - that is, two years after the memorable Soweto Uprisings. But in 1981, the very year when the international community declared for sanctions in Paris, we find an increase of such countries to twenty two. Further, whereas there were 1,888 companies investing in South Africa by 1978, this total had increased to 3,040 by 1981 - a total increase of 1,152 companies investing in our oppression, exploitation and dispossession.

LET'S ALL RAISE OUR RANKS

We have repeatedly and consistently called upon all patriotic organisations to unite in a broad principled front. We are motivated by the fact that victory can only come sooner if all those who have a contradiction with the racists and their imperialist backers unite. Last year, I called on the OAU to revive the Ad-hoc Committee on Unity. Further, I urged the OAU to encourage other historic patriotic organisations in Azania to forge unity with the recognised Liberation Movements.

In addition it is important also to urge the OAU to unite. This is the crucial time necessary for united action. Too many issues are at stake in Southern Africa to cause concern. The United Voice and Action of the African States is more important now than ever before, and a common strategy is an imperative.

TO AZANIANS AND MEMBERS OF THE PAC

To all our activists and to the masses of our people both inside and outside the country, I feel compelled to emphasise the importance of leadership and discipline. I should like to project before you, and beg you to have before your mind's eyes the instructive words of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe to wit that:

"True leadership demands complete subjugation of self, absolute honesty, integrity and uprightness of character, courage and fearlessness. And, above all, a consuming love for one's people."

Let us enter the year 1983 with this resolve, this mood and perspective.

Finally, to the oppressed, exploited and dominated Azanians, may I pause to give you this message. Redouble your efforts to bring down the edifice of racism and imperialism; the crusade for the restoration of our inalienable rights to our land must be intensified; co-ordinated action and a common strategy must be evolved. And the greatest service is for one's people.

IZWE LETHU! I-AFRIKA!!!

