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Mr. Rindley

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PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA



BCM AZANIA
LONDON
WCIN 3XX

Telegrams: Monomark Azania London

1st February 1982

Dear Comrade,

The London Branch of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the PAC Mission to Europe wish to inform your Committee that they totally reject Tanzanian attempts to impose puppet leaders and representatives on the PAC and its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). The PAC and APLA recognise Pollako Leballo as their leader and no other. We enclose copies of our last meeting, one for your Committee and one for the unrecognised representative of the PAC at present eating funds in New York, Henry Isaacs.

Because of Tanzanian control over OAU matters, the true PAC has not been allocated funds for three years. We intend to show that our unfunded party can achieve more than the corrupt puppet Pokela-Isaacs-Make group with their ill-gotten wealth. We intend for a start to make a positive contribution on Sharpeville Day this year.

Yours in the Struggle



The Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Committee
The United Nations
New York

c.c. Henry Isaacs

who criticised this craven acquiescence, saying that if the Boers were given

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

Mission to Britain and Eire

BCM AZANIA
LONDON WC1N 3XX
ENGLAND

Statement January 16th 1982

The members of the London Branch of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, and the members of the PAC Mission to Britain and Eire, having conducted lengthy discussions with members of the PAC branches in Tanzania, Libya, Nigeria, Kenya and Zimbabwe, and having received evidence from the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), including those forcibly held at Bukoba, Tabora, Iringa and Morogoro in Tanzania, and having examined letters and statements from individual members of the PAC in other countries, are completely convinced that the Party and APLA as a whole, and in particular the bulk of the External wing of the PAC, continue to support the Constitutional Leadership of the PAC, and thus recognise Comrade Potlako Leballo as the undisputed leader of the PAC and APLA, despite the brutality and financial incentives on the part of President Nyerere's Tanzanian Government to force the party and its military wing to accept firstly David Sibeko, then Vus Make and finally (?) John Nyathi Pokela as puppet leaders.

The London Branch of the PAC and the PAC Mission to Britain and Eire

- 1) demand that the Organisation of African Unity censure the Tanzanian Government for using the OAU Liberation Committee as an extension of its own foreign policy;
- 2) demand that the OAU recognises Potlako Leballo as the Leader of the PAC and accept representatives recognising him as such;
- 3) reiterate that Comrade Leballo was elected leader of the PAC at Arusha in 1978 and no underhand Tanzanian-American imperialist meddling can be accepted by the PAC and APLA as superior to the Constitution of the PAC. We do not accept puppets installed by Tanzanian coups;
- 4) demand that the OAU holds an enquiry into Tanzanian conduct in regards meddling in the internal affairs of non-Tanzanian African political parties, in particular the PAC, and holds investigations into the killing of nine members of APLA, and the wounding of over forty more, at Chunya on the 11th May 1980 by Tanzanian People's Defence Force troops led by Colonel Makito;
- 5) demand the release of the several hundred strong Azanian People's Liberation Army held in Tanzania for three years for refusing to follow Tanzanian puppet leaders ordered by the Tanzanians to abandon armed struggle and enter dialogue with the racists;
- 6) demand the release from detention in Zimbabwe of the two APLA Airwing pilots detained without charges in Chikurubi Prison since April 1981 for refusing to follow Pokela;
- 7) express solidarity with APLA forces who have twice managed to break out of restriction in Tanzania and attack Pokela in his office. We remind the Party that Pokela is still answerable for using the Poqo Rising as a cover for eliminating suspected rivals who belonged to the Western Cape PAC and this is the major reason why Pokela dodged the Party after release from prison and was so willing to become a Tanzanian stooge; who criticised this craven acquiescence, saying that if the Boers were given

- 8) extend thanks to members of the Zimbabwe Government, ZANU(PF), ZANLA, members of the Zimbabwe National Army, cadres of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Students Union of the University of Dar es Salaam and other individuals who continue, sometimes at great risk, to help the Constitutional Leadership and APLA, despite President Nyerere's personal vendetta against Comrade Leballo and APLA;
- 9) encourage the PAC to increase talks with the Unity Movement, AZAPO, BCM, SARYCO, ANC(AN) and other ideologically sympathetic movements on matters of mutual interest;
- 10) reaffirm support for the concept of total war and revolution in Azania as outlined by Comrade Leballo at the PAC Moshi Conference of September 1967;
- 11) call upon the present Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Daniel arap Moi to bring pressure on the Tanzanians to withdraw their guard on APLA and permit APLA to operate in accordance with OAU principles;
- 12) petition the next Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Colonel Gaddafi of Libya, to accept that the PAC and APLA recognise Leballo as their leader and act accordingly;
- 13) demand that the Pokela-Make-Mwendane-Gora Ibrahim clique submit accounts of how funds allocated to them during the last three years of repression have been used.
- 14) resolve to take steps to revitalise PAC affairs in Britain and Eire within the next two months to show that the true PAC, without access to funds, can achieve more than the well-provided Tanzanian puppet PAC whose funds have been dissipated on decadent living, property speculation and international pleasure trips. Tanzanian interference and the greed of Pokela and his cronies have seriously disrupted the home-going programme and put several schemes into limbo. Once the forces trapped in Tanzania can be released and assume the role for which they were trained, and once this rotten wood can be ejected for ever from the Party, APLA can fulfill its historic role in the liberation of Azania, where up to now, thanks to the Tanzanians, the only resistance has been in the hands of Tambo, Slovo and their soldiers dedicated to assassinating buildings and pylons.

VIVA PAC ! VIVA APLA !! VIVA CHAIRMAN LEBALLO !!!

AFRIKA'S CAUSE MUST TRIUMPH !!!!!

IZWE LETHU - OUR LAND !!!!!



BACKGROUND TO THE TANZANIAN
REPRESSION OF PAC AND APLA

The Tanzanian Government of Julius Nyerere has been attempting to coerce PAC and APLA for the last three years for a number of reasons. Firstly there is the personal animosity for Leballo felt by Nyerere himself. Secondly there are American imperialist pressures which offer money for political meddling on their behalf and thirdly there is a fear of the nature of PAC itself.

Ever since Leballo came to lead the PAC in exile he has been under attack from bourgeois colleagues in PAC and their sympathisers because he is not a graduate and appeals mostly to ordinary people throughout the continent. He despises alcohol and socialising and is considered an embarrassment by the self-styled sophisticated intellectual leaders who pass themselves off as the true leaders of Africa. His outspokenness against totalitarianism and the cynical use of peasants, workers and guerrilla forces to place bourgeoisie in power who then terminate all constitutional methods through which they can be removed, has caused Leballo to be disliked in many quarters where African leaders have acquired wealth and luxury, or, like Nyerere, an intellectual monopoly and unchallenged domain where entire populations can be manipulated in social experimentation with hideous results. Leballo earned (ironically) great displeasure for saving Nyerere from the Kambona plot and also for criticising the recognition of "South Africa" as a sovereign state.

When Kissinger proposed that Tanzania should be paid off in order to put pressure on liberation movements to enter detente and dialogue, Leballo fiercely resisted. The Zimbabwe movements were forced to enter discussions with their enemies and eventually took over a country which they hardly controlled. Tanzania was tottering on the brink of financial collapse and appeased Kissinger by curbing liberation movements through its control of the OAU Liberation Committee and funds, and by talking of "giving South Africa five years in which to change," a slogan renewed on its expiry last year. The Americans wanted a reformist or diplomat as PAC leader. On the death of Sobukwe in restriction, Leballo was elected PAC leader in 1978 at Arusha. The Americans, Tanzanians and the SACP-ANC backed Sibeko, the PAC UN representative and bon viveur. The Tanzanians threatened Leballo when he objected to PAC arms being taken by the Tanzanian People's Defence force for use against Uganda. These arms, donated by the Libyans, decimated the Ugandan tank corps and airforce. The Tanzanians backed Sibeko in a coup when Leballo was away from Tanzania. The coup failed and APLA killed Sibeko. The Tanzanians put forward Vus Make and shot dead nine APLA soldiers at Chunya, wounding over 40 more, on ~~May~~ March 1 1th 1980 when APLA refused to accept Make, who had already met the Acting ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Bantustan puppet of American imperialism Buthelezi, in Nigeria and racist leader John Vorster in Liberia for discussions on turning the revolutionary PAC and APLA into a conference pawn. The Tanzanians then brought John Nyathi Pokela up from Lesotho, thinking a Robben Island prisoner would be an ideal leader for acceptance, overlooking Pokela's elimination of PAC activists in the Western Cape during the Poqo Rising, murders which have still to be investigated. APLA refused to accept Pokela and attacked the PAC office in Dar es Salaam on the 1 4th April 1981 beating up Pokela's supporters and wrecking equipment. The Tanzanians brought Pokela to Zimbabwe to demand that Leballo, directing APLA and PAC in Salisbury, should be expelled. The Zimbabweans advised Leballo to leave, declaring that Nyerere's prestige as an elder statesman, and the Tanzanian manipulation of the OAU liberation committee and its funds, combining with the Tanzanian role as leader of the "front line states" made it almost impossible to resist. The "London club" politicians in Zimbabwe, the Mercedes Benz, swimming pool, easy mortgage, tennis court set, also disliked Leballo's close relationship with Edgar Tekere, the ZANU(PF) Secretary-General, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings of Ghana and the Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi. Zimbabwe was under pressure from the Boers to limit Liberation armies' activities and Leballo was associated with those who criticised this craven acquiescence, saying that if the Boers were given

"five years in which to change" they would not stay idle but would perfect methods of annihilation of human life north of the Limpopo and certainly give no chance to Black states to build up their strength for a confrontation. The "London Club" urged acceptance of the ANO strategy of conducting sabotage of installations and killing black collaborators, rather than white soldiers, in the hope that constant newspaper publicity and support for reform in "south africa" would result in UN sanctions, moderate US support for limited change, constitutional talks and the imposition of the SACP-ANC as the "government" of "south africa" totally reliant on the existing administration and its expertise, with wealth and power being given to those hacks that had gratefully played the game as black mouthpieces for Joe Slovo's SACP white activists, who can never be accepted at the ballot box. The PAC should therefore have an emasculated leadership put on it which would talk of unity with the ANC and advocate detente and dialogue, polite words for the continued exploitation of Azanians under different faces. Happily the courage of APLA has weathered three years and three puppet leaders. APLA must never be disarmed. Give Azanians weapons and let them free themselves. Nyerere, we shall never accept your puppets. IZWE LETHU !

PAC Mission to UK and Eire
16 January 1982