

Wmm/023/0003/4

PAC

(21.3.81)

21/03/81

PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS COMMEMORATIVE MEETING, WESTMINSTER CONFERENCE CENTRE, LONDON, 21 MARCH 1981.

The meeting was attended by about 50 people, including Basil Manning, and former Executive Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and now associated with Black Consciousness organisations. Other members of the audience were not known to me.

The Bookstall carried PAC material, Black Consciousness material, IKWEZI, etc, plus material produced by Azania Solidarity (1 Park House, Shore Road, London E9) - the first issue of their bulletin Azania Solidarity Spring 1981, and a leaflet originally distributed at the Anti-Apartheid Movement's 1980 AGM - "Anti-Apartheid is out of date".

The Chairman (unidentified) introduced the platform - Ngila Michael Muendane, Chief Representative of PAC in the UK and Western Europe; Molefe Phetu, Organising Secretary of the Black Consciousness Movement in the UK; and Costa Gazidies (phonetic), Provisional Secretary of Azania Solidarity.

The Finance Secretary of ZANU(PF) in London/UK had been due to attend and speak, but failed to arrive.

Ngila Muendane delivered the main speech, dealing with the history of the South African struggle and PAC's role. The PAC was organising similar commemorative meetings in Holland, France, Cairo, Gambia, Tanzania and Lesotho, and inside Azania itself (AZASO and other organisations).

In closing he commented on the solidarity movement. Andrew Faulds was one MP who had helped the PAC when some members had been expelled from a certain country and were seeking asylum.

However, there were other solidarity groups which took the side of one group against another; which tried to pretend there was only one authentic liberation movement in Azania. "We reject this kind of resultant organisation. We shall continue to expose those responsible for this kind of sectarian attitude. I have never been afraid to mention these on public platforms and to expose them. We hope in time they will come to support the struggle without strings attached and on clear principles".

In contrast to Andrew Faulds, some MPs have taken sides - Robert Hughes, Chairman of AAM, is an excellent example of one of those who go about playing down the role of some of the liberation movements. There are however many good people in the AAM - some of whom may be unaware of the sectarian approach of the AAM leadership. The PAC has good supporters elsewhere eg in Norway and Netherlands.

Molefe Phetu said that since the BCM's inception in the UK in 1979, it had worked in cooperation with PAC. PAC had always honoured all approaches and invitations to joint events and actions. He paid tribute to the tenacity of the PAC, which despite problems in their



struggle had stood tall and repaired the damage. He urged the PAC to move forward now that a new day had dawned for it.

The Chair informed the meeting of the PAC's new Chairman John Phokela, recently escaped from SA with the assistance of both the internal and external wings of PAC. It was unprecedented in the history of a liberation movement for an incumbent chairman to step down in favour of someone from inside the country. On arriving in Tanzania Phokela informed the PAC that there was cooperation between PAC and BCM on Robben Island. He was committed to cementing this unity both on Robben Island and inside Azania.

Costa Cassides informed the meeting that he was born and bred in Azania. He arrived in Britain 12 years ago as a stateless refugee. After two years of negotiation with Roy Jenkins he was awarded naturalisation and was now a British citizen.

He pointed out that the meeting was taking place at a time of deep crisis in the world, a time of contention between the superpowers and the likelihood of a third world war. The USSR posed as the friend and natural ally of the liberation movements but its invasion of Afghanistan had opened everyone's eyes. In Africa there were many problems, the heritage of imperialism etc, which could be exploited by the superpowers.

In Zimbabwe a truly revolutionary government of national unity had been established, which had its sights firmly set on building a genuinely non-aligned independent state. It had resisted all attempts to divide the liberation movement and all one-sided support. In October 1980 Nkomo had said that if it had not been for the USSR's help Africa would still be in chains - this was "sheer nonsense" and revealed a slavish attitude towards the new imperialists.

Azania Solidarity itself had differences with AAM. AS intended to correct the "one sidedness" of AAM. AS was not timid about supporting the armed struggle; it supported all the liberation movements. AS recognised that Britain was an imperialist country and that the resultant chauvinism affected sections of the left, which tended to pontificate to other countries and liberation movements, and made solidarity conditional on the latter adopting the 'right' policies. £1,000 million worth of profits were arriving in Britain every year - these profits corrupted the whole fabric of British society, including the "right wing of the left", which was financed from them. The struggle in Azania was for the restoration of the land and its wealth, not a civil rights issue or for minor concessions, as depicted by AAM. "Anti-apartheid" as a concept was misleading because it implied that "apartheid" was the creation of the Afrikaners whereas in fact it was the creation of the British and merely touched up by the Afrikaners. It was patriotic to support the Azania struggle because the defeat of British imperialism in Azania and Ireland was a precondition for its defeat in Britain itself.

Azania Solidarity had recently organised a successful speaking tour, with meetings in Plymouth, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Yeovil and



elsewhere. In Yeovil they had addressed the Anti-Apartheid branch, whose members had been surprised to discover from listening to the PAC speaker that the PAC was not racist. The AAM as a whole had however not given platforms to any other movement besides ANC.

Azania Solidarity was organising clothing collections, was making lots of contacts. AS was not going to petition and lobby. It supported all patriotic forces fighting apartheid. It supported a total oil embargo, a boycott of emigration. Instead of investing in SA, trading, loans etc, businesses should be encouraged to switch their attention to Zimbabwe and the rest of Africa.

Az. Sol. had launched a fund to purchase an equipped mobile medical unit for the PAC transit camp in Tanzania - it was hoped to raise £7,500 by the end of 1981.

The speaker extended condolences to the relatives and friends of the ANC members murdered at Matola and expressed concern at the recent attacks on Angola and Mozambique.

Solidarity messages were received from the Gambian and Papua New Guinea High Commissions, and from an unidentified Irish group. Messages were delivered to the meeting in person by Provisional Sinn Fein, Working People Against Racism and the Revolutionary Communist League of Britain.

The film Generations of Resistance was shown.



# ANTI-APARTHEID IS OUT OF DATE

In the early years of its existence, the Anti-Apartheid movement played a good role in building solidarity in Britain. But today, the AAM has outlived its usefulness. The main reasons for this is that:-

- 1) it is very one-sided and for a very long time has concentrated its support on the African National Congress (South Africa) despite the existence of many other active liberation movements.
- 2) it has never exposed the betrayals of the struggle by the Soviet Union, and has one-sidedly concentrated on the Western imperialist countries.
- 3) it has only exposed the perfidy of the Tories in a one-sided way and has not exposed the way that the Labour Party has played the game for British imperialism in Southern Africa.
- 4) it clings desperately to a futile 15-year-old general boycott of "South African goods" (which EXCLUDES gold and diamonds, mind!) and is only persevering for its own conscience, because it is manifestly ineffective.
- 5) it refuses to recognise the name AZANIA which has been grasped as a weapon by the oppressed Black masses for several years now.
- 6) it misrepresents the nature of the struggle by concentrating on "Anti-Apartheid". The struggle is not for the ending of enforced racial segregation. It is for national liberation of the oppressed Black peoples.

## 1) WHO DOES THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT SUPPORT?

A solidarity movement in an imperialist country like Britain should give its support to all the patriotic forces which oppose the South African state and its backers. It has to be careful not to give selective support. The reason is that selective support will lead it to intervene and interfere in the liberation movements. Because of the enormous amount of chauvinism and racism which exists in imperialist countries, this can occur very easily indeed. Oppressed peoples do not want pontification and guidance - they want solidarity.

The AAM is very selective. For many years now it has been promoting the African National Congress (South Africa) as the sole and authentic liberation movement, and SACTU as the sole and authentic trade union body. This has led to all the other liberation movements losing confidence in the AAM and having nothing to do with it. This applies to the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, (BCM), the African National Congress (African Nationalist), (ANC(AN)), the Azania Peoples Organisation (AZAPO), Black Municipal Workers Union, etc .

This has caused great damage to the solidarity movement in Britain and has not contributed to furthering cooperation and unity among the movements. The monolithic view of the AAM amounts to interference in the struggle of Black Azanians to smash apartheid/colonial state.

---

## 2) IMPERIALISM and the AAM

The AAM has done a good job of exposing Western imperialism and its stake in South Africa. But it has failed to ever point a finger - even a little finger at the new phenomenon which now threatens the world and which tries to hi-jack the liberation struggle - the Soviet Union. This aggressive superpower recently invaded Afghanistan and revealed its true features to more people than ever. In Zimbabwe the Russians gave one-sided support to ZAPU and even today, Joshua Nkomo claims that the whole of Black Africa would be in slavery if it had not been for Soviet assistance, despite the fact that ZANU fought a heroic People's War under the banner of "WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS".



In South Africa too the Soviet Union is playing a sinister role:-

- i) It finances the South African Communist Party and turned its members into Russian agents,
- ii) It has infiltrated the ANC(SA) and recognises it as the only -ration movement,
- iii) Dr. Wolf Geisler of the AAM in West Germany revealed that the Soviet Union was buying uranium ore from Namibia, enriching it and selling it at a huge profit. The US superpower does the same but the Russian involvement has never been publicised by the AAM here!!

3) The AAM has done a good job of exposing the extent of British investment and profiteering from its investment in the South Africa state. It is reluctant to denounce British imperialism and its despicable role in upholding the racist regime. Instead, we are told it is the Conservative Party which collaborates with South Africa and that the Labour Party is somehow different. The truth of the matter has been that whichever of these two parties is in Government, the brutal exploitation of the Azanian people does not change. Both parties have collaborated with the apartheid regime and thus must both be regarded as serving imperialism. The AAM conceals this very obvious fact.

4) The boycott movement

A good boycott covers specific items for a specific time. On these grounds alone, the general boycott of S.A. goods covering about 15 years was doomed to failure - and yet it is been revived! But some new facts have been suppressed by the AAM. Mozambique is now marketing its orange under the OUTSPAN label. These facts should be recognised and considered instead of being deliberately ignored.

The cultural boycott of the AAM was sorely exposed recently. When the "SOWETO TEACHERS CHOIR" sang at St. Paul's Cathedral, the BCM organised a protest but the AAM flatly refused to participate.

5) The name "AZANIA"

AZANIA is the name that was inscribed on Steve Biko's coffin. It is the name that Winnie Mandela - wife of Nelson Mandela - has used. It is incorporated in the name of many liberation movements inside and outside the country. It is an old world meaning "Black Man's Country", and it has been taken up as a weapon to use on the S.A. racists. Just as "Rhodesia" has become "ZIMBABWE", just as South-West Africa is becoming NAMIBIA, it is very obvious that the oppressed Black people is South Africa will establish AZANIA.

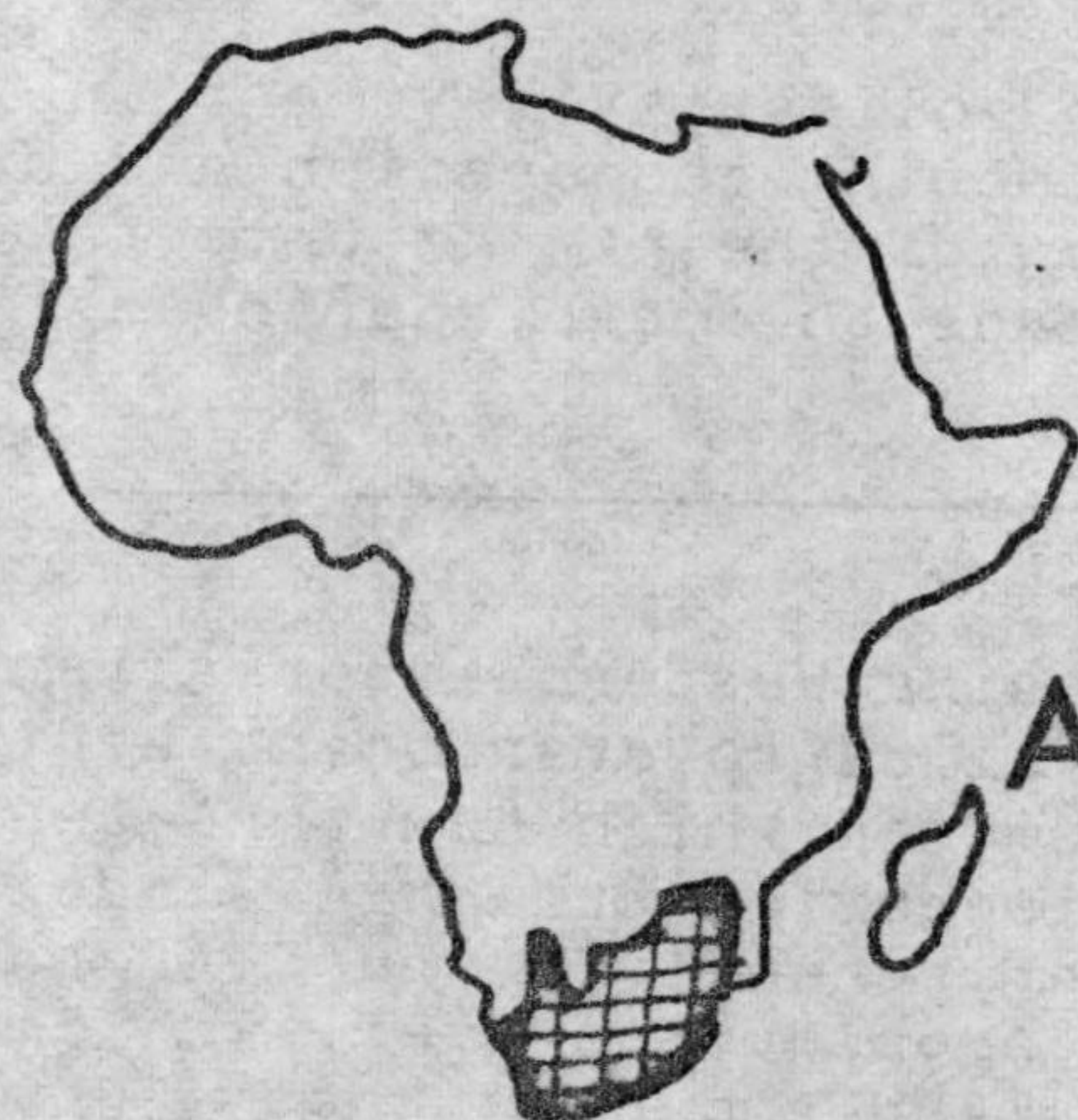
The AAM has completely ignored this development.

6) The concept of "Anti- apartheid" is misleading today. It implies that the struggle is for the ending of the colour bar and the separation of the races. That is not true. The masses of Azanian people want national liberation. They want to run their country, not to become "integrated". The ending of enforced segregation is already occurring in South Africa but the misery of the mass of people has not altered.

---

Published by:-

AZANIA SOLIDARITY,  
1, Park House,  
Shore Road,  
London E9 7TB.



AZANIA SHALL BE FREE