

AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS' BETRAYAL
OF A NATION

by V.L.M.

The militancy of Azanians in their determined struggle to crush the power-house of fascist oppression in Southern Africa dates from the earliest days of white colonialist landings on the Cape Coast. The Xhosa Wars, the Zulu Wars, the Wars with Moshoeshoe and with Sekhukhuni bear testimony to this.

This revolutionary fervour suddenly lapsed between 1912, on the formation of the African National Congress (Bantu Congress then), and 1959, on the inauguration of the Pan Africanist Congress. What transpired and gave birth to pacifism and anti-revolutionary activity during these intervening years?

An onjective analysis is a revelation of how ANC leadership, disregarding the class composition of our society, quailed the African people. Indeed, a shocking study on the betrayal of a nation.

BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS

"The significant portion of our social milieu begins with the expansion of the markets founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century", so states the preamble to the Manifesto of the Pan Africanist Congress. European settlement of Africa was a direct consequence of the search for new markets and the quest for raw materials by rising western capitalism. From the mid-sixteenth century to the turn of this century the African people resisted this penetration of their country by force of arms.

However, at the turn of this century, some African "intellectuals" who had acquired education in Britain and thus had been exposed to British liberalism, came back to South Africa and founded the African National Congress. These leaders glorified so-called liberals as Sir William Wilberforce of the freedom of the slaves notoriety, completely oblivious of the fact that the industrialisation of Europe needed wage-labour and markets. Humanitarian considerations did not motivate the movement for the freedom of the slaves. This leadership worked and collaborated with white liberals, the class enemy, in its endeavour to get itself accepted as "civilised" in the circles of the class enemy.

For half-a-century, the African people led by this ANC leadership, expended their energy uselessly and futilely. Actuated by insatiable love for glorified positions, this leadership led the African people into abandoning the basic principles of their revolutionary motivation -- European Imperialism and rising western capitalism. For half-a-century Azanians were asked to plead, to appeal to the whiteman's sensibility, carrying alms to the establishment, hoping to get some constitutional crumbs that may fall off the oppressor's parliamentary table. This period was characterised by deputation after deputation to the oppressive government pleading for this or that.

This was the "civilised" thing to do, they felt. If the struggle were to be carried out otherwise it would have been too uncouth, too barbaric, unimaginable to "intellectual" minds that were jockeying neck-to-neck in attempts to prove that they had assimilated the whiteman's culture. The struggle became an academic exercise.

This leadership had even conditioned some of the African people into believing that in order to lead one either had to be a Doctor or a Chief. Hence the Dr. Dube's, the Dr. Xuma's, the Dr.

Dr. Moroka's and Chief Luthuli's in its leadership during this period -- a leadership that "played the game" according to the white oppressor's rules of constitutionality, legality and "civilised conduct". Never ever demanding as of right.

During this period ANC members took part in white created institutions for the blackman's oppression. These leaders collaborated with the enemy in the "Native Representative Council". Africans were encouraged to elect four white members to represent them in a parliament of 150 whites. No direct representation. This honour fell to the white "communists" in South Africa. These pseudo-communists represented the accumulated feelings, desires and aspirations of 15 million Azanians. Brian Bunting, Sam Khan and British "liberal" Margaret Ballinger are some of the nauseating names that immediately come to mind.

Even when militant youth leaguers of ANC charted a Program of Action in 1949 the ANC president then, Dr. Moroka, refused to be associated with its avowed aims. When the Defiance Campaign was eventually embarked upon in 1952, flowing from the 1949 program, Dr. Moroka used the fact that he had contributed funds to a scholarship of the Afrikaner Potchefstroom University - /Fund : a cess-pool of white supremacist education exclusively for whites - in a plea for mitigation when charged for his participation in the campaign.

This is the duplicity that has typified ANC leadership throughout its existence. The present leadership, born and nurtured during that era, still has its political orientation firmly embedded in the past. These testy old men in their tottering ivory towers have never divorced themselves from this sorry past.

REBIRTH OF A NATION

1959 witnessed a new era, the rebirth of a nation. This rebirth was precipitated by the "Africanist Movement" -- a movement of nationalists who were members of ANC but never part of it. This national renaissance manifested itself by bringing forth the Pan Africanist Congress after an intense interior revolution within the ANC.

PAC gave concrete expression to the Azanian peoples desire to be masters of their own destiny. It gave the struggle an infolding program of action derived from a new positive organic principle. The African liberation struggle was also given a prospect of achievement. An alternative government was now in demand -- a government of Africans for Africans and by Africans. An African being anyone "who owes his only loyalty to Africa and who is prepared to accept the democratic rule of an African majority". Pleas gave way to demands, appeals to clenched fists and later pangas and bullets.

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, PAC President implored the people to cast off the mental shackles that the ANC had chained around the peoples' minds. Potlako K. Leballo, PAC National Secretary enjoined the people to do battle with the white supremacists and imperialists. "Cast your eyes beyond the dust of revolution and see the glittering gates of an independent Azania" was his call to battle.

THE BATTLE IS JOINED

The objectives were well defined and the pace for revolution was set on March 21st, 1960 when Sobukwe blew his clarion call for battle. An irresistible force of revolutionary movement rallied to Sobukwe's call. 83 Azanians were killed at Sharpeville and Langa on that day. But there was to be no let-up. And so the battle was joined.

After total eclipse ANC called an All-In African Conference at the behest of white liberal elements. PAC withdrew from this conference after it became apparent that ANC still wanted to pursue the same old policies under a new guise. ANC leadership wanted a constitutional conference to be called by the fascist government -- a conference that would be attended by representatives of all sections of the community. It is political naivety of the highest order to expect the oppressor to call a conference where he would hand power over to the oppressed.

PAC, after banning and the arrest of some of its leaders, went underground. Chills went down the spines of white people on hearing of killings of whites in the Cape Province towards the end of 1960. PAC militants, known as POQO, had found modern usage for rude indigenous weapons such as pangas and axes, eliminating traitors from within and enemies from without.

PAC activists engaged in a program of armed struggle from then onwards. There have been historic confrontations with enemy forces in places as far apart as Paarl, Qamata, Queenstown, Cato Manor, Bashee River, Krugersdorp, etc., confrontations that compelled the government to appoint a Commission of Enquiry -- the Snyman Commission -- to find out the potential of PAC. In an interim report in 1963 the Commission reported that PAC was poised to start a nation-wide uprising. This led to the arrest of 10,000 Azanians, people who were known before the banning of PAC to have been its members.

As the seed of revolution germinated and was steadily growing into a firm plant counter-revolution grew apace. ANC had now promoted the foreign class enemy elements who had been associates throughout its life into being Directors. They were paying the piper so they had to call the tune. These elements resuscitated the ANC in order to blunt the revolution. Bram Fischer, by his own admission at his trial, stated that in ANC they engaged in "selective violence" (placing explosives in government toilets and stairs of government buildings) because they wanted to shock the government into its senses. What is otherwise bound to happen is revolution and the results of revolution are "horrific and permanent", he further stated. This is an executive member of ANC expressing a morbid fear for revolution. This, however, does not surprise the PAC because Fischer has to protect his class interests.

SUPPER WITH THE ENEMY

Whilst sitting pretty in a luxurious house situated at a "whites only" residential area in Johannesburg, Walter Sisulu, ANC leader, was arrested with others one night during 1964. Amongst them was a white avowed "communist", Gerald Ludi. Ludi was later introduced at Sisulu's trial as "Agent Q108" of the South African security police. He had been an ANC member for a number of years, it transpired during the trial, and had been to Moscow as an ANC delegate for top level arrangements. He had then come back to South Africa as a clerk responsible for all incoming and outgoing correspondence.

These are facts that cannot be glossed over.

I detest boring our intellectual readership with ANC history since its inception because it reads like a James Bond novel with spies pitching up at trials when ANC leaders are arrested, spies who had been executive members of ANC. We do admit, however, that such setbacks happen in every revolution. In all honesty and sincerity to the cause, the onus is on the liberation movement

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itself to create a machinery that will detect and out weed such elements. A liberation movement that looks to the class-enemy for leadership and guidance can never overcome this hazard.

ANC AND IMPERIALISTS: STRANGE BED-FELLOWS

The top person in the hierarchy of ANC shuttles between Europe and the United States spending very little time on the African continent. In fact he has a house in London. He can teach the pigs in George Orwell's "Animal Farm" a few new tricks on the betrayal of a cause.

This Bourgeois capitalist roader so tries to emulate his oppressor and capitalist friends to the extent that he has become more European than Europeans. He addresses this or that meeting of American industrialists and then dashes to the Scandinavian countries, under one pretext or the other, before eventually retiring to his villa in Britain. Contrast this with the fact that P.K. Leballo, PAC Acting President, has only been to the United States once, during 1962 for the U.N. Trusteeship Committee meeting, then it becomes evident which leadership is African orientated and has the African revolution at heart.

PAC, over the past few years since its inception, has been busy building up a strong net-work of the underground in Azania. In the process 92 activists have been hanged by the settler regime for eliminating enemy forces throughout the country whilst only four ANC activists have suffered this fate in South Africa.

Three months ago newspaper headlines were dominated by PAC's daring campaign through Mozambique (See Africanist News and Views No. 4, August 1968). A trial, at the moment, is in progress of 26 alleged members of PAC in the South African Supreme Court, charges against 74 others are pending whilst their in custody. These trials, the settler papers report, are the "guerilla trials" ever to be/largest undertaken in that country.

The casualties on the oppressor's side have been heavy. But, in PAC tradition, we release no communiques. We loath type-writer warfare because, as we have learnt from the fate of the ANC, half the work of the South African security police is compiled from information amassed from such communiques.

What a betrayal of a noble cause.

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Cape Town, Tuesday: Twenty-six Africans, said to be members of the Pan Africanist Congress, faced death today when they were charged in the supreme court here with plotting to commit sabotage and murder.....

Other charges were: That the plotters intended to murder the white inhabitants of the town, seize control of the power station and cut off the electricity supply, and tamper with the medical supplies at a hospital at King Williams town near East London.

The state said the accused were members of the Victoria West Branch of the banned militant organisation Poqo.....

---Nationalist,
Dar es Salaam,
September 5, 1968.

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