



**AZANIA**

**SHALL BE FREE**



**From Sharpeville to Soweto the road is bloody.  
To die for their freedom, they are willing.  
But Azanians are telling their oppressors to their faces,  
"We won't be dying any longer. We shall be fighting."**

**Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist)**

## **PAC sends CCL(ML)**

### **message on support campaign**

At the invitation of the Canadian Communist League (ML), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, last December, sent a two-man delegation to tour Canada and make public speeches and deliver lectures on the Azanian national liberation struggle.

The tour was a huge success and has made an important landmark in the ever growing relations between the peoples of Azania and Canada.

Everywhere they went the PAC delegates were warmly received and accorded militant hospitality by Canadian workers, students and a broad section of the people. The Azanian freedom fighters also took this opportunity to renew and establish ties with fellow Azanians, other Africans and fraternal people from other third world countries presently studying or working in Canada.

Inside three short weeks more than \$12,000 was raised to support PAC's fight for national

liberation, including a touching \$100 contribution from a Canadian miner. These funds have been swiftly delivered to the Pan Africanist Congress and have now been deployed for revolutionary work in Africa.

The tour took place at a time when the first in a series of trials, under the death sentence-carrying Terrorism Act, against Azanian patriots accused of furthering the aims of the PAC, was announced in apartheid South Africa. This is the so-called PAC Guerilla base trial in Pietermaritzburg against Stanley Thabo Pule, Morgan Gxekwa and Isaac Mhleka.

The Azanian People's Support Committee in Canada has collected more than 4000 signatures of people who denounce this trial and this petition will be handed to the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid of the United Nations, H.E. Leslie O. Harriman, of Nigeria, so that he may join it with other protests

from all over the world in condemning farcical trials now being held against alleged members of the PAC in South Africa.

All of these activities, and more, have demonstrated in a living way the close solidarity enjoyed by the Azanian people from their Canadian brothers and sisters.

We warmly thank all who made the PAC tour a success and take this opportunity to assure the Canadian Communist League (ML) of our very sincere feelings of solidarity and comradeship. Long live the militant friendship of the Azanian and Canadian people!

Victory to our common struggle against imperialism — old and new!

Down with superpower hegemony!

Down with all reactionaries!  
Viva CCL(ML)! Viva PAC! Viva A.P.L.A.!

David Sibeko member of the Central Committee and Director of Foreign Affairs

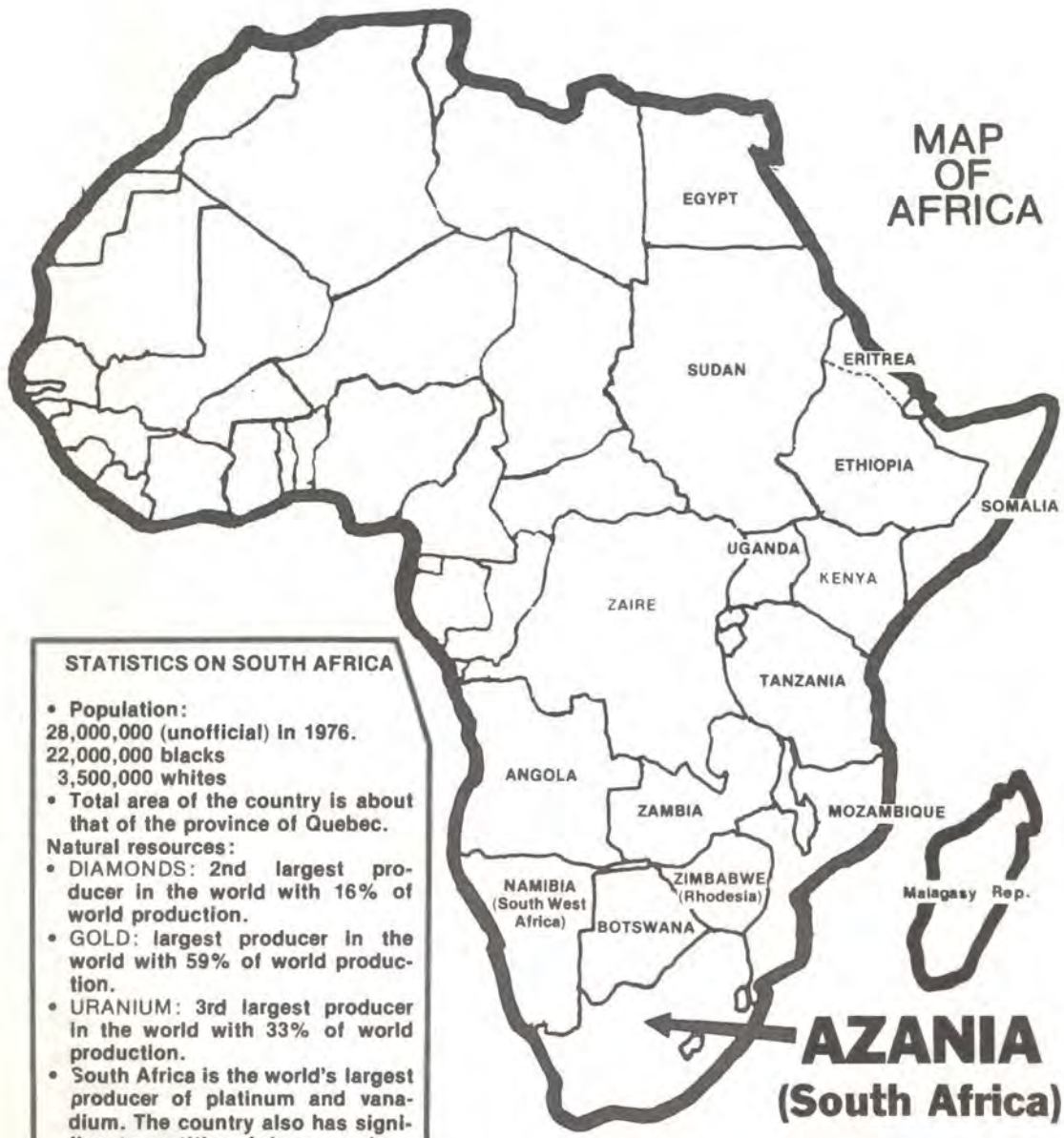
**This pamphlet is dedicated to  
ROBERT MANGALISO SOBUKWE,  
founding president of the PAC  
great inspirational leader of the  
Azanian people and  
revolutionary fighter.**



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>AZANIA SHALL BE FREE</b> .....	4
<b>I. AZANIA, THE LAND OF THE BLACK MAN</b> .....	6
<b>II. APARTHEID — RACIST SYSTEM TO MAINTAIN COLONIALISM</b> .....	7
<b>III. OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE</b> .....	14
<b>IV. IMPERIALISM IN AZANIA</b> .....	26
<b>V. AZANIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE RECEIVES WORLD WIDE SUPPORT</b> ...	31
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	34
1. Interview with the PAC .....	34
2. Brief Review of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania Tour of Canada .....	42
<b>MAPS:</b>	
1. Africa, page 3.	
2. Bantustans, page 11.	
3. Sea Routes Around Africa, page 27.	

# MAP OF AFRICA



## STATISTICS ON SOUTH AFRICA

- **Population:**  
28,000,000 (unofficial) in 1976.  
22,000,000 blacks  
3,500,000 whites
- **Total area of the country is about that of the province of Quebec.**
- **Natural resources:**
  - **DIAMONDS:** 2nd largest producer in the world with 16% of world production.
  - **GOLD:** largest producer in the world with 59% of world production.
  - **URANIUM:** 3rd largest producer in the world with 33% of world production.
  - South Africa is the world's largest producer of platinum and vanadium. The country also has significant quantities of chrome, asbestos, nickel, fluorspar, coal, etc. Agricultural products make up 40% of the country's exports. Main products: cereals, sugar cane, fruits.

**AZANIA**  
**(South Africa)**

# **AZANIA SHALL BE FREE**

Great events are taking place on the African continent. White colonial rule — this five hundred year-old system of oppression is going down to final defeat. Freedom fighters in Namibia (South West Africa), and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) are waging armed struggles which are approaching complete victory. In Azania (South Africa)\* the mass movements are creating the conditions for a protracted people's war to overthrow the white racists.

South Africa is an illegitimate, ferociously repressive regime. It is a powerful base of imperialism in Africa. Its fall and burial will bring great joy and

inspiration to the peoples of the world. Its defeat will weaken imperialism and particularly to the two superpowers, the USSR and US.

The Azanian people, led by its national liberation movement the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania, are rising up in greater and greater numbers to put an end to the inhuman apartheid regime.

Canadian workers have a role to play in this struggle. We must explain to our fellow workers and friends the significance of the Azanian people's liberation war. Their armed struggle is an example for us. We must learn from

---

\*Southwest Africa, Rhodesia, and South Africa are the names used by the white settlers. Colonialism not only robs people of their land but also their language.



and be inspired by their spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win. We must mobilize political and material support for the Azanian people and the PAC. These tasks are inseparable from our goal of overthrowing capitalism and building a socialist society.

The Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) organized a Canada-wide tour of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in December 1977 and a support campaign. It is the internationalist duty of the League to build mass support for all struggles of the third world while it works to build the Marxist-Leninist communist party to lead the proletarian revolution in Canada.

Through the course of the PAC tour and the support campaign,

the Canadian people expressed great interest in the Azanian people's struggle. This pamphlet is being published to deepen our understanding and determination to support the national liberation struggle of the Azanian people led by the PAC.

Down with the South African racist regime!  
Long live Azania!  
Long live the PAC!  
Long live proletarian internationalism!

# Azania: Land of the Black Man

European colonialists arrived in Azania in 1652. First came the Dutch and then the British settlers. They brought with them slavery, genocide, land-grabbing and plunder. They all wanted to exploit the rich human and natural resources of Azania.

White historians have tried to justify the crimes of colonialism with all kinds of racist theories: "the white man's burden" (it is the burden or duty of whites to educate Africans), "the land was empty and barren before the settlers arrived" and so on...

The truth is that the Azanian people, like all the African people, contributed politically, economically and culturally to world progress and that hundreds of years before the arrival of the colonialists, tribes such as the Khoi (Hottentots) and San (Bushmen) occupied and developed the land of Azania.

Many tribes such as the Zulus fought heroically against the dispossession of their land. The Khoi people continuously fought against the Boers (Dutch) who wanted to steal their land and cattle. But however valiantly the Africans fought, their spears and arrows were no match for the guns and cannons of the land-hungry colonialists.

With the "Great Trek" of 1836, when the Dutch moved into the interior, more and more Azanian land was stolen. The Boer War (1899-1902) gave the British complete control over South Africa. British control was consolidated in 1910 with the founding of the "Union of South Africa", which grouped



**Capitalism greatly developed with the slave trade. Millions of Africans were wrenched from their homeland and shipped to the Americas to work as slaves. The white colonialists, pushed by their greed for profits, stole Azanian land and subjected the people to near slavery.**

together the four separate colonies of South Africa (Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal and the Cape).

Through their control of the state apparatus, the colonialists began to systematically



institutionalize the national subjugation and racist oppression of the Azanians. In 1913, the Native Land Act stole large tracts of territory from the Azanians, leaving them with only 13% of the most barren land.

In 1948, the white fascist Afrikaan Nationalist Party came to power. It institutionalized racism with the system of apartheid. Apartheid is no different from Nazism. The Afrikaan Nationalist Party was a zealot

supporter of Hitler, so much so that Vorster, the present prime minister of South Africa, was jailed for war crimes during the Second World War.

South Africa is an illegitimate state. It was formed by white settlers, who stole the land from its rightful owners and installed themselves as all-powerful rulers. The country is run in their interests only — the African majority has no rights at all.

## **Apartheid: Racist System to Maintain Colonialism**

Apartheid is based on the ideology that whites are superior to Blacks and that to safeguard this "superiority", there should be no mixing of the races. This means separate land, separate schools, separate toilets. The whites have all the privileges, the Blacks have nothing. The apartheid regime of South Africa is one of the most barbarous ever seen on earth.

At the base of apartheid is capitalism and imperialism. In its drive for greater profits, the capitalist system develops various racist ideas to justify its inhuman exploitation and subjugation of entire nations. Through the institutionalized racism of apartheid, the white oppressors and their imperialist backers hope to perpetually super-exploit the Black labour in Azania. The profit rate for the capitalists here is the highest in the world, about 50% higher than the world average. It is little wonder, despite their pious words, why the imperialists continue to support the apartheid system.

Forcibly depriving the Africans of all their rights and inculcating the racist ideology that the Black man is inferior is the only way the

colonialists can maintain their power. Through their control of the illegitimate South African state, the racists have passed all kinds of fascist laws. The key feature of these laws is to create the best conditions to exploit the labour of Azanians and keep them from fighting back.

### **SOUTH AFRICA: LAND OF SUPER-EXPLOITATION**

Leaf through many a bourgeois newspaper or magazine and you will surely notice the advertisements for South Africa, the beautiful parks and wildlife reserves, diamonds and gold, a great place for tourists, and of course a great place to invest.

The Vorster regime is in deep trouble and it is trying to paint a glowing picture of South Africa by all means possible. Its hack propagandists and imperialist supporters around the world even go so far as to claim that the Blacks in South Africa have the highest standard of living of any people in Africa! And then there are the liberals who say that the situation is not great but things





Azanians are forced to be aliens in their own country. They cannot travel or work anywhere without official permission stamped on their documents.

can be changed under the existing colonial system. All of this is nothing but the lies and mystification of a regime on its last legs.

The parks, diamonds and tourism are there, but only for the white ruling class. For the Azanians, South Africa is a living hell! For 85% of the people, South Africa means the most ferocious forms of oppression and exploitation.

### WORKING CONDITIONS

In describing the development of capitalism, Karl Marx vividly pointed out that **"capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt."** One cannot better depict work in Azania for the

Black people. Black workers earn on the average 7 times less than whites; they have no right to strike, unions are forbidden, and Blacks are barred from skilled jobs.

In many industries such as mining, the Black workers live in company-owned barracks which are surrounded by barbed wire, and look like prisons. Sometimes as many as 14 men have to sleep on the same cement floor in the barracks, away from their wives and children.

Black workers have no access to any accident, sickness or unemployment insurance.

Recently the South African government proposed a new law which would keep "idle and work-shy Blacks in check". It states that



all Blacks in cities will face arrest if they are unemployed for more than 122 days in any calendar year. The four months of unemployment need not be consecutive. Penalties for the "idle" include detention in a rehabilitation centre or farm colony or other similar institutions. This is no less than a system of forced labour... better known as slavery. In South Africa, the unemployment figures for Blacks increase by 1,000 per day.

The racists also hope to force the Black workers who are not needed, back to the Bantustans where they can join the vast reserve of cheap labour.

Working conditions are particularly barbaric for Azanian women. In general, the only type of job they can find is working as servants in white households. If they do this type of work, they must live on the premises and are not allowed to see their children, even when they are sick. Azanian women are automatically fired if they become pregnant.

### **THE AZANIAN PEOPLE HAVE NO POLITICAL RIGHTS**

The Azanian people do not have the right to vote or to participate in any national political institutions. They cannot own land or houses. Medical care is so horrendous that 27 Azanian children in 100 die before their first birthday, in comparison to 1 in 100 white children.

The school system is designed so that Azanian people cannot learn about their own culture, and the educational level is kept so low that only 1% of Black students go to secondary school. The racist education system is to train Blacks as a cheap unskilled labour force.



**Azanian miners have made billions of dollars for the white racists while working under the most difficult and unsafe conditions. Thousands of Azanian miners have been killed in the diamond and gold mines.**



## **Azanian Freedom Fighter Describes the Life of His Father**

I didn't see much of my father during my childhood. Because the system of apartheid forced us to live more than 13 miles from the city. My father got up at 4 a.m. while we were still sleeping and he came home at 10 at night when we were already in bed. We only saw my mother who couldn't work because she had to take care of the housework.

My father worked at Phillip's, a big imperialist company. He was a technician; he learned this by himself because in Azania there are no places for blacks in the trade schools. In a free country, he could have become an engineer, but here he had to resign himself to a badly paid job. My father learned everything by himself. During the last war he was in the South African army — the imperialists forced the Blacks into the army to serve as their cannon fodder. He was lucky that he didn't die. It was there that he became interested in mechanics and electronics. After the war he found a job at Phillip's.

My father's living conditions were not as miserable as most other Azanians because he had a stable job and he could live with his family. But my mother had trouble making both ends meet. Once the rent and transportation was paid there wasn't much left to feed the family, buy clothes and school supplies.

My father always refused to accept the slavery of our people. He always said that one day the Black people would be free and his words had a great influence on us, his children, for my sister, my brother and myself are all fighting with the national liberation movement.

During the Soweto uprisings my father talked to the other workers of the importance of supporting our struggle and in solidarity he and thousands of other workers walked out on strike. He lost his job because of this and he knows that he will only find another one when the whites no longer dominate my country. However, he is resolved to struggle with us to make this day arrive.

### **BANTUSTANS MEAN MORE RACISM NOT FREEDOM**

Canadian people are familiar with the bourgeoisie's policy of genocide towards the native peoples of Canada, especially that of relegating them to reserves. In South Africa the whole regime operates on this basis.

The Bantustans are so-called homelands of the Black people, special areas reserved for Azanians. They represent only 13% of the most unproductive land in the country. The

Vorster racists claim that the Bantustans are independent Black areas, but this is a fraud.

The Bantustans are under the jurisdiction of the South African Ministry of Bantu Affairs. Defence, security and other important state agencies are completely controlled by the racists. The aim of the Bantu system is clear: divide the Azanian people according to their different ancestral tribes and provide reserves of cheap labour.



The small black patches above represent the Bantustans, 13% of the land where 22 million Blacks are forced to live.

The Bantustans create a situation in which no Black person would have South African citizenship. Every Azanian will have to be a citizen of a Bantustan whether he or she lives in one or not.

In October 1976 and December 1977, two of these Bantustans, Transkei and Bophuthatswana were granted "independence". This is just another tactic of the racist South African regime and has been repudiated by the world. All countries have refused to recognize these two states, saying that this would amount to accepting apartheid, except for the US, which abstained from voting on this question at the UN.



Azadians live in the most deplorable conditions in the Bantustans; no health care, electricity, or any minimal sanitary conditions.



## South Africa and Israel: Two Racist Allies

There are only a handful of countries that openly have diplomatic and other relations with South Africa. One of these is the equally illegitimate settler state of Israel. Both of these regimes support each other in all endeavors: they exchange military advisors; sell the latest arms, encourage investment (\$57 million in 1977); and violate all sanctions imposed on each country by the UN. They are imperialism's most faithful allies in the Middle East and Africa.

Based on similar ideologies — zionism and apartheid — their racism knows no bounds. As one South African zionist millionaire Oppenheimer proclaimed: "The mission of our two countries is to maintain two islands of western civilization in the middle of a sea of... barbarism."

However, the Palestinian and Azanian peoples will definitely rid the world of these two islands!

### THE FASCIST ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE AZANIAN PEOPLE DOWN

The Vorster regime is sitting on a volcano of people's war, and every show of revolt or resistance is met by some repressive law. The Azanians are not allowed to travel without permission. Anyone over 16 must carry 10 types of documents which limits people to restricted areas and to the types of jobs they can have. Missing one card means instant imprisonment. 500,000 Azanians are penalized or imprisoned every year under the Pass Law Act.

In 1950, a "Law on the Suppression of Communism" was passed which imprisons anyone who opposes apartheid. Gatherings of more than 10 people are illegal, and Blacks are absolutely forbidden to carry arms, while the whites are organized in militias.

In order to suppress the resistance and fightback of the Azanian people, the racist regime has every possible means at their disposal to violently repress the people. It has the strongest military force in Africa, with arms supplied by imperialist countries like

France and Germany as well as Israel. (1) It has the secret police BOSS, Bureau of State Security, and it has the racist courts and prisons.

The Anti-Terrorism Act passed in 1967 allows the police to pick up and detain anyone opposing apartheid. Thousands of Azanians have been condemned to between 5 and 20 years of imprisonment by this law. Every year, more than 200 Azanians are executed or die under torture. In 1976, 27 Azanians were murdered in prison and another 21 in 1977, according to official

---

1. See box on page 12 for relations between Israel and South Africa.

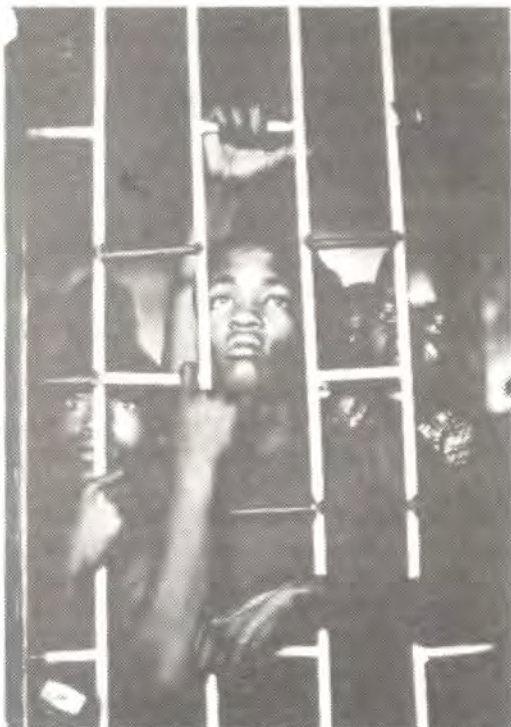


reports. At least 2000 people have been murdered by the fascist state following the Soweto rebellion (2) of June 1976.

With the national uprising following Soweto, the racist Vorster regime has stepped up its repression, arresting and detaining thousands of people throughout the country.

In October 1977, 18 Black and anti-apartheid organizations were banned and two Black newspapers were shut down by the racist regime to clamp down even more on any signs of opposition.

Following these events, the liberation movement PAC issued a call: "We call on all the oppressed sons and daughters of Azania to ignore the racist ban of their movements and go underground to prepare themselves fully and more effectively for that inevitable hour."



**Any dissent is met with the severest repression. All Black people, from children to old people, are victims of this oppression.**

---

2. See page 16 on Soweto.

# Oppression Breeds Resistance

**“Now that he (the white man) relies on the gun and we, too, can get the gun, it appears that confrontation is inevitable.”**

**Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe**

Ever since the white settlers first set foot on Azanian soil, the Black people have been struggling to free their land. And it is

particularly in the last 70 years that their resistance has become more and more organized and determined. Some of the



**Azanian women take an active part in the national liberation struggle. The PAC is training Azanian women in the armed struggle alongside the men.**



highlights of this resistance are:

*1906:*

A Zulu chief named Bambatta organized a large tribal army to make a stand of resistance against the European colonialists. Heroic as Bambatta's rebellion was, the British and Dutch settlers crushed it: about 4,000 Africans died on the battlefield.

*1912:*

Creation of the first national liberation organization, the African National Congress (A.N.C.).

*1919:*

Freedom fighters organized thousands of African workers and created the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

Between 1919 and 1928, the ICU organized 250,000 of its members and led the first big strikes of the Port Elizabeth dockworkers and the Rand miners. The ICU called for stronger organizational unity and action to bring down the colonial regime.

*1943:*

Creation of the Youth League by the African National Congress to train the Azanian youth to join the ranks of the freedom fighters.

*1952:*

The A.N.C. and the South African Indian Congress called for a general campaign of civil disobedience against the Pass Laws. The campaign covered all major cities, and about



**Striking Durban workers in 1973, brandishing sticks in defiance of the trigger-happy racist gestapo. Azanian workers are mobilizing more and more against their brutal exploitation.**



8,000 Azanians were arrested for having participated in it.

*1956:*

The application of the Pass Laws were extended to Azanian women. On August 9, 20,000 women marched on Pretoria to protest this.

*1959:*

Foundation of the Pan Africanist Congress (P.A.C.).

*1960:*

On March 21, the PAC began its first political activity by launching the Positive Action Campaign for the abolition of the "Pass Laws" which led to the Sharpeville Massacre. In protest to this, the Azanian people began a general strike. A State of Emergency was decreed, which brought on the banning of PAC and ANC. PAC went into clandestinity in order to prepare for armed

struggle. PAC leaders were arrested and imprisoned for terms of up to three years.

*1963:*

Over 10,000 more known members of the PAC were arrested. In panic, the racist parliament decreed all types of repressive laws. The "defence" budget was increased 500% compared to 1960.

*1973:*

65,000 workers in Durban, the largest eastern port in South Africa and the second largest industrial city in the country, began a one month strike, paralysing the whole town.

*1976:*

*Soweto National Insurrection:* In June, thousands of high school students demonstrated in the Black ghettos of Soweto on the outskirts of Johannesburg, as well as in John Vorster Square — the heart of the fascist state. It was to protest the decision of the



Despite the police attacks, Soweto students closed down the racist schools.

racist authorities to make Afrikaans, the language of the Dutch colonizers, the official language in Black schools. The students were organized and led by the Soweto Student Representative Council (S.S.R.C.). They stressed the fact that they were struggling not only against the language, but also against the racist and fascist system. This spark was fanned into the flames of a national uprising by the discontentment of the entire Azanian nation.

The uprising quickly spread to all sectors of the Azanian masses. In September of 1976, over 100,000 workers staged a general strike in Soweto demanding the liberation of those who had been arrested. Over 300,000 Azanian students are still boycotting the colonial education system after a walk-out in February 1977. The uprising spread to all parts of the country including Capetown, Khaba-Kwa and Vetenhoge.

## LESSONS OF SOWETO

The mass movement of the Azanian people has taken great leaps forward in the wake of the national uprising following Soweto. The inhuman conditions under which the Azanian people lives breed the most determined resistance, and through their daily confrontations with the enemy, the Azanians are realizing the need to get organized and to have a revolutionary organization like the PAC to lead them in the struggle. Soweto has shown that Azanians are uniting more and more against their common enemy. They are now shouting, "We are not calling for reforms, we want political power!"

The Azanian people also realize the absolute necessity for armed struggle if they are to overthrow the fascist South African regime. The people confronting the guns and tanks of the racists had just stones and sticks.



Sign at the funeral of a 16 year old Soweto student murdered by the racists shows the determination of the Azanian youth.



This is why the PAC has put out the call "Arm the people, free Azania." The mass movements that the Azanians have experienced could only lead to the inevitable conclusion that armed struggle is the only

way. As a member of the PAC said at the United Nations, "The day of people's war throughout the country for our national liberation has come and there is no going back."

## Steve Biko

Steve Biko, 30, was tortured to death, Sept. 12, 1977 by the fascist South African regime. He was picked up during the wave of arrests following the Soweto uprising, and detained in prison without ever having been charged. This young African nationalist leader was hated and feared by the white racists. He founded the South African Students Organization and the Black People's Convention to build the mass struggle against the evil system of apartheid.

### ON BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS:

"By Black consciousness I mean the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people. This must be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since the Second World War. Africa has experienced the death of white invincibility.

Before that we were conscious mainly of two classes of people: the white conquerors and the Black conquered. The Blacks in Africa now know that the whites will not be conquerors forever."

### ON THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

"I have no illusions about Russia. It is as imperialistic as America. This is evident in its internal history as well as in the role it plays in countries like Angola. But the Russians have a less dirty name. Because of this, they have had a better



start in the power game. Here we are probably faced with the greatest problem in the third world today."

## NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The entire nation of Azania is under the domination of white colonialism. Despite present day attempts by the white racists to divide the Azanian people by tribe (by using

the Bantustans, see section II), the Azanian nation was formed with the consolidation of colonialism.

The Azanian people are denied all national, political and economic rights. Azanians have nothing to gain from the colonial

system. Black workers are super-exploited, have the most difficult jobs, and are paid up to 18 times less than a white man. No Azanians, including the peasants, have the right to own land. Black businessmen are limited in their business expansion and Black professionals cannot find jobs.

That is why, from the poor landless peasants, to the miners and industrial workers in the urban areas, to the small shopkeepers and professionals, all Azanians are fighting to liberate themselves and seize political power for the oppressed Azanian nation from the minority European settlers.

Azanians are not just fighting for democratic rights, constitutional reforms or human rights. They are fighting for their national self-determination and independence. They are not fighting for a "multi-racial" society, something that the white liberals are fond of pushing. Multi-racialism only protects the privileges of the white oppressors under the guise of equal rights for all the races. The Azanians are fighting for a non-racial, democratic society.

The Azanians are determined to seize back their land and their national rights. The rallying cry of all Azanians is "One Azania, one nation, one people!"

Mao Tsetung pointed out the link between the national liberation struggle and the proletarian revolution. He said, **"In the final analysis, the national struggle is a matter of class struggle."**

He also showed that in the course of the national liberation struggle, **"no matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies."** (On New Democracy).

In 1916, Lenin clearly exposed the link between the proletarian revolution in the

capitalist countries and the national liberation struggles in the colonies: **"The social revolution cannot come about except in the form of an epoch of proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries combined with a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including movements for national liberation, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations."** (A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economy).

The Azanian toiling masses are pitted against capitalism and imperialism. It is the white bourgeoisie, supported by imperialism, that controls the racist South African state. The victory of the Azanian people will be a profound defeat for imperialism and an immeasurable contribution to the world proletarian revolution.

## NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The national liberation movements like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) were formed to regroup the nationalist forces and lead the national struggle.

The ANC was founded on Jan. 8, 1912. This was the first effort to group together all the nationalist forces struggling against the colonialist regime. At its founding it put forward the following demands: land for the peasants; the right to vote; and the liberty and unity of all of Africa.

It adopted a "non-violent" approach to the struggle for national liberation. The ANC adopted much of Gandhi's (an Indian nationalist leader) movement of passive resistance. The ANC's activities for many years consisted of petitioning the racist government, pushing for constitutional changes and relying on the white liberals to hand them reforms.

The ANC was later infiltrated by the revisionist "Communist" Party of South



Africa (CPSA), which quickly began to sabotage the honest efforts of ANC nationalists. The revisionists pushed to consolidate the position of passive resistance at a time when a higher stage of struggle was needed.

Wherever true communist parties have existed in colonial countries, they have been the most resolute and leading force struggling for liberation. However, right from its inception, the CPSA was communist in name only. It was founded in 1920 by a group of white liberals and it maintained a white chauvinist political line which denied the national oppression of the Black people and opposed the self-determination and independence of Azania.

The CPSA opposed the resolution of the Communist International at its 6th Congress in 1928 which called for the establishment of a "native Black type" state. The CPSA instead held that the struggle in South Africa is for democratic rights and socialism where all races would be equal. By not recognizing the colonial nature of South Africa, this line led to the protection of white privileges and the denial of the national struggle.

By the end of the 1950's the CPSA had become a faithful follower of Khrushchev and the line of "peaceful transition" to socialism. The CPSA claimed that the consequences of civil war will be "horrifying and permanent" and urged an "alternate solution" to a war for national liberation. The party, which had been historically led by whites, lost many of its Black members at this time.

The CPSA no longer officially exists in South Africa. However, it continues to operate from its base in London, with funds granted by the Soviet Union. The USSR provided it with \$3,000,000 in 1969 to further its work in the ANC.

The Azanian people are becoming aware of the destructive work of the CPSA. In 1977 some nationalist militants left the ANC issuing a statement saying that they would

resist all attempts to turn the African liberation struggle into a "tool of the lukewarm South African Communist Party or that of the Soviet Union."

### **THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA (PAC)**

The PAC is a national liberation movement which unites together the nationalist forces that want to overthrow the racist apartheid regime. The PAC was founded on April 6, 1959 by revolutionary forces led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.

The creation of the PAC was necessary to lead the Azanian liberation struggle back to the correct path. The people who created the PAC fought within the ANC for over a decade against the reformist, multi-racial line which has produced no results for the Azanian people.

The Youth League of the ANC was especially active in this struggle for a clear revolutionary strategy for the Azanian revolution. With the infiltration of the revisionists inside the ANC consolidating its reformist line, the youth and nationalist forces took the bold step of leaving the ANC and forming the PAC.

Shortly after its founding, the PAC assumed a leading role in the Azanian national liberation struggle. Through its militant positions and direct action, it developed its influence among the Azanian people.

On March 21, 1960, the PAC launched the Positive Action Campaign to abolish the Pass Laws. 250,000 Azanians responded to the call right across the country. Mangaliso Sobukwe led the 20,000 demonstrators in Sharpeville to turn in their pass books.

Following the Sharpeville massacre, anger swept the country. Different organizations mobilized and declared a national general strike. For three weeks, the whole economy was paralysed. The fascist regime declared a

## 25 Azanian patriots on trial for their lives

"The South African legal system is a farce. It is used to legalize murder by torture or by official hanging... The racist regime in Pretoria is attempting, through these mock trials, to break the back-bone of growing resistance and simultaneously to silence hostile public opinion abroad."

—Communique from the International Committee for the Defence of the PAC Trialists.

There are now 25 Azanian patriots on trial for their lives. Three of them, Stanley Pule, Morgan Gxekwa and Isaac Lolwane Mnikwa, on trial since October, are accused of being members of PAC, of undergoing military training abroad,

starting guerilla bases in the country and recruiting fighters for the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The other 22 patriots are accused of furthering the aims of the PAC and other charges under the Terrorism Act.

All over the world, a widespread campaign has been launched to denounce the racist trials and save the lives of the Azanian patriots. We must support it in every possible way!

**Demand the liberation of the Azanian patriots!**

**International Committee for the Defence of PAC Trialists**

211 East 43rd Street, Suite 506  
New York, N.Y. 10017

state of emergency and arrested hundreds of militants. Both the PAC and ANC were banned.

The president of PAC, Sobukwe, was one of the nationalist leaders arrested. He was sentenced to three years of hard labour. The racist minister of justice created the "Sobukwe Clause" of the Sabotage Act giving him the power to imprison Sobukwe for another six years in the dreaded Robbin Island prison. From the time of his release in 1969,

until his death in February, 1978, he was banned and under house arrest in Kimberley.

In 1963, the PAC mobilized for a general armed uprising. However, following a betrayal, more than 10,000 PAC militants were arrested in a nation-wide police operation. More than a hundred PAC members were executed and thousands were sent to Robbin Island. From 1960 to 1970, armed action was carried out by POQO (1), a military unit of PAC. About 200 militants were executed

---

(1) POQO, which means "genuine" or "pure" African patriots, were armed cells of the PAC. After the Sharpeville massacre many PAC members armed themselves with traditional weapons such as pangas, axes and homemade bombs and a few stolen pistols and guns. POQO staged armed attacks against white installations in the early sixties. The most serious attack was called the Paarl uprising, Nov. 22, 1962 where the police station was attacked. Two Europeans were killed and many police were wounded. As a result many whites fled to Capetown.





The PAC has the support of the Azanian people as it leads them in preparing a people's war. Demonstrators in Tanzania show their support for the PAC.

for political "crimes" during this period.

Since these setbacks, the PAC has been working with the people in preparation for a people's war. It has been building the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the armed wing of the PAC and sending cadres to liberated African and other third world countries for a period of military training.

The PAC is now deeply rooted in the masses of the Azanian people. It is carrying out political education among the people and works in mass organizations such as the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Black Consciousness Movement, directing the Azanian people's strength towards their liberation.

Despite its differences with the ANC, the PAC considers the ANC to be a legitimate

national liberation organization. The PAC views the honest members of the ANC as their oppressed brothers and sisters in the same fight to defeat the racist colonial regime. Due to the severe fascist repression, the ANC has also called for armed struggle.

The PAC calls upon the ANC members to struggle and defeat the revisionists of the CPSA that have crept into the ANC and tried to sidetrack the Azanian people's just struggle.

The PAC firmly stands by its call for unity of all forces taking up the fight for national liberation to bring victory closer to the Azanian people.

The PAC is hated by the reformists and revisionists because of the PAC's resolute stand for armed struggle and its opposition to the two superpowers.





March 21, 1960, 20,000 people led by the PAC president Sobukwe gathered in Shapeville to protest the pass laws. The Crowd begins to gather in Sharpeville township, south of Johannesburg. This picture was taken a few hours before police opened fire.



Police opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing 83 and wounding another 365.



"The final triumph of the liberation movement under the direction of the PAC is assured. The movement must triumph because in their march to freedom the African people have history on their side."

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe

## **Pan Africanist Congress: Revolutionary Movement of the Azanian People**

What makes the PAC the leading force among the Azanian people is their realization that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Passive resistance, reforms, constitutional battles... these cannot change the nature of a fascist regime. Only the armed overthrow of the whole system will bring freedom to Azania.

At the same time as PAC fights to overthrow Vorster's racist regime, it has also taken up the struggle against imperialism, particularly the two superpowers, USSR and the US, and their designs on South Africa.

PAC is also opposed to multi-racialism — a concept that promotes the division of society into different races, all supposedly enjoying equal rights. But under apartheid, separate means: separate but unequal — and so this theory only serves to protect the privileges of the whites. For the PAC there is only one race — the human race!

### **POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS:**

- The PAC is struggling for national liberation, to completely overthrow white domination and imperialism in Azania.
- It is struggling to set up a Black majority regime, to establish a democrat-

ic, socialist society.

- It is struggling for the restoration of the land to its legitimate owners, for growth and development of all sectors of the economy, so as to restore the dignity of the oppressed population and return the effective control of their lands and destiny to them.

- The PAC has taken a position opposing the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. It denounces their interference in African national liberation struggles, their expansionist aims in Africa and in the world and their growing intrusion in many parts of the world.

- In its program and within its ranks, the PAC puts forward the equality of women and men. For the PAC, the emancipation of Azanian women is achieved by their full participation in the struggle for national liberation, including armed struggle.

- The PAC advocates people's war and is totally opposed to terrorism, military actions undertaken by a small group cut off from the support of the masses of the people.

- The PAC affirms the necessity of developing ideological unity between the Azanian national liberation movements.(1)

(1) For further information on the positions of PAC see "One Azania, One Nation, One People", a PAC publication available at the Norman Bethune Bookstore (see advertisement for address).



## Mangaliso Sobukwe

Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, founding president of the PAC, died on Feb. 27, 1978 at the age of 54, at the hands of the racist authorities. Sobukwe was kept under house arrest after leaving Robbin Island in 1969. He was seriously ill with cancer but the racists refused to give him proper medical treatment.

Sobukwe was jailed or banned for the last 18 years of his life. It was illegal to quote anything that he said or publish any of his writings. However the message of Sobukwe, the message of liberation, was clear. This message was taken up by all Azanians who refused to live under slavery. Here are some quotations of Sobukwe which reflect his determination and vision in the fight against racial oppression and imperialism.

"The African people, therefore, are awake! They are waiting; waiting eagerly and expectantly; waiting for the call, the call to battle — to battle for the reconquest of the Continent of Africa which for over 300 years has been the prostitute of the philanderers and rakes of western capitalism. "Mayibuye i Afrika," that is the ringing cry throughout the Continent. Africa for the Africans! Izwe Lethu — i Africa! Those are the words that spell doom of white supremacy in Africa."

"The white rulers are going to be extremely ruthless. But we must meet their hysterical brutality with calm, iron

determination. We are fighting for the noblest cause on earth, the liberation of mankind. They are fighting to retrench an outworn, anachronistic vile system of oppression. We represent the fresh fragrance of flowers in bloom; they represent the rancid smell of decaying vegetation. We have the whole continent on our side. We have history on our side. WE WILL WIN!"

"There is no doubt that with the liquidation of Western imperialism and colonialism in Asia, the capitalist market has shrunk considerably. As a result, Africa has become the happy hunting ground of adventuristic capital. There is again a scramble for Africa and both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are trying to win the loyalty of the African states."

"On the 6th April, we met in the Communal Hall in Orland, Johannesburg, to launch the ship of freedom — the Pan Africanist Congress. On that historic day, the African people declared total war against white domination, not only in South Africa but through the continent. On that day there entered into the maelstrom of South African politics an organization committed to the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of an Africanist Socialist Democracy."





# Imperialism in Azania

The white racists in South Africa have the highest standard of living in the world. In order to assure this, they must maintain the slavery of millions of Azanians. But Vorster's racist regime is weak! It couldn't last a day without the economic, political and military backing of imperialist powers such as Great Britain and the U.S.

1,632 transnational companies belonging to 13 imperialist countries operate in Azania:

Country:	Number of Companies:
Great Britain:	630
United States:	494
West Germany:	132
France:	73
Sweden:	59
Netherlands:	57
Belgium:	44
Italy:	21
Switzerland:	17
Canada:	15
New Zealand:	3
Japan:	2

The imperialists want to dominate all of Africa. This third world continent contains immense reserves of natural resources: 60% of the world's deposits of cobalt, chromium, titanium, diamonds and gold. It also means a vast reservoir of cheap labour for them.

At this point in time, the two greatest bandits, the USSR and the US are fighting most bitterly for control of Africa. They lust

The South African Common Market



404 Peugeot's new 4-cylinder engine  
incredible reliability - inharshable precision  
- takes little money. Why not join the South  
African Common Market. There's a Peugeot  
for you: 404 Automatique 404 Automatique  
404 Coupé 404 Cabriolet 404 Sedan  
404 Sedan 404 Wagon 404 LDV petrol  
404 LDV diesel 407 Maxi-van

 **PEUGEOT**  
South Africa's Thoroughbred

Imperialism makes huge superprofits in Azania. Second world imperialist countries like France and Canada have a lot at stake in preserving the status quo. For the two superpowers the strategic position of South Africa is very important in their war plans.

not only after its riches, but also after the important strategic position that Africa occupies with regard to Europe.

### **AFRICA — KEY ZONE FOR THE SUPERPOWERS**

The superpowers' main target in their hunger to control the world, is Europe with its great industrial centres, its technology, and its millions of experienced workers.

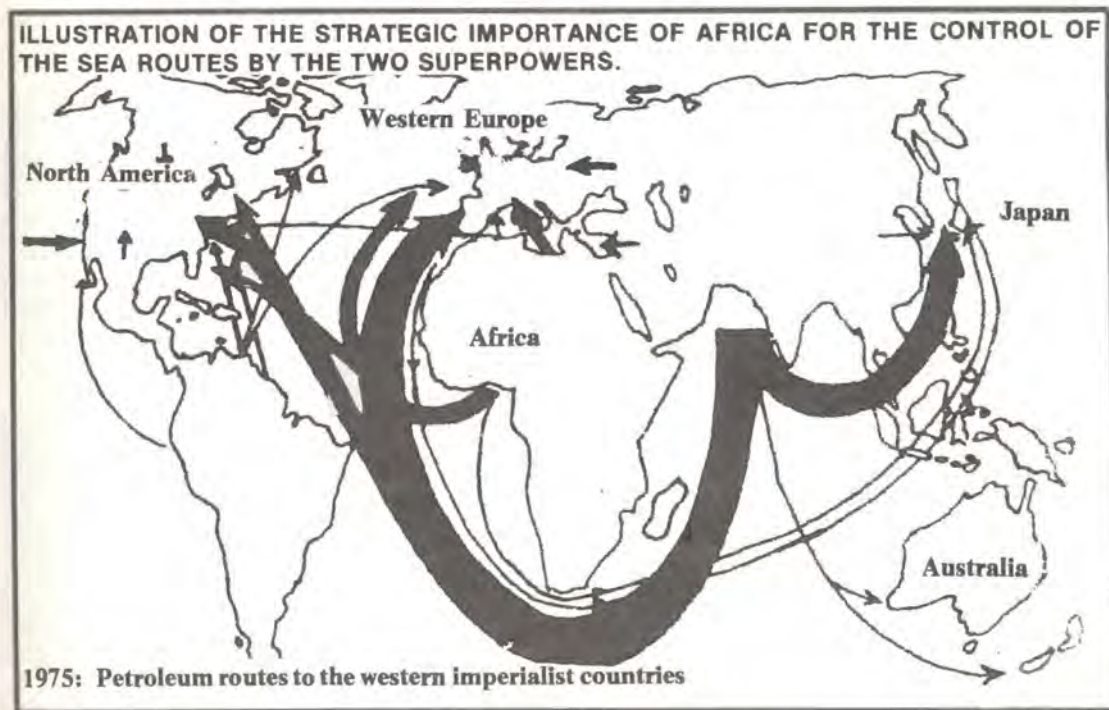
The nearby African continent commands all the sea routes that supply the European countries with oil. The superpower controlling eastern Africa with the Red Sea and the Suez Canal at one end, and South Africa at the other, could impose a serious blockade on the European countries in the event of war.

This is why the superpowers are so actively manoeuvring in Africa, why the US sent its

high emissary Young there last year, and why the USSR sent Podgorny and its social-imperialist mercenary Castro. This is also why the USSR, the more dangerous of the two superpowers, is presently stepping up its acts of aggression, as in the Horn of Africa. This rivalry between the two superpowers is leading us to a new world war. However, this war can be delayed if the people and countries of Africa, along with the rest of the world, unite together against the two superpowers.

### **SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM**

Clearly, the USSR has gone on the offensive in the African continent. It is pouring thousands of arms and tens of thousands of Soviet advisors and Cuban mercenaries into Ethiopia. It launched an armed invasion against Zaire using paid mer-





cenaries which included Cuban troops.

The USSR uses a "socialist" image and proclaims itself the "natural ally" of the African people. Its tactic is to give economic aid to countries and liberation movements in order to infiltrate them. This is precisely what it did in Angola, when the Angolan people were waging their heroic national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism. It sowed divisions within the liberation movements by throwing all its support behind the MPLA, while claiming that the other groups were reactionary. This "support" for the struggle included sending in thousands of Cuban soldiers to fight against Angolans.

Now, as a result, more than 20,000 Cuban soldiers and 2,000 Soviet and Cuban "Advisors" control the Angolan state apparatus, and completely orient the country's development for the benefit of the USSR. One example is that the Soviet Union only pays 38% of the world price for Angolan coffee.

This means impoverishment and dependence for the Angolan people.

The USSR is trying to play the same scenario in Azania. It has infiltrated the ANC, and is doing its utmost to discredit the PAC in the eyes of the world. In 1977, an article was written for the magazine *Secheba* (ANC) by an ANC delegation which had visited China. It was never published. The article was censored in East Germany where the magazine is printed. This shows the great influence of the USSR in the ANC.

There is also the Kremlin's loyal agent, the South African "Communist" Party. This party hysterically denounces China and supports every Soviet manoeuvre in Africa. It is almost entirely funded by the USSR to carry out its dirty work inside the ANC.

But the African people have drawn major lessons from the negative example of Angola. As a PAC member said: "It is thinkable that

the Soviets will do all in their power to ensure this outcome, if only to gain a firm foothold in our country in the interests of its global expansionist drive and contention with the US. So already we see the spectre of our people in a fierce struggle against the two superpowers — US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, in the not too distant future."

Throughout the struggle, the PAC has never ceased educating their people on the dangers of social-imperialism. They won't let the USSR endanger the independence they're preparing to win by force of arms!

This great revolutionary current is now sweeping all of southern Africa. And the more aggressive superpower, the USSR, has been unmasked in several independent African countries. In just the last three years, social-imperialism has been booted out of Egypt, Sudan and Somalia.

#### AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

In face of Moscow's manoeuvring, the United States, with 494 transnationals active in South Africa, isn't sitting quietly on the sidelines. Up until very recently, it openly supported Vorster's racist regime. In 1970, South Africa received \$230 million in loans from the European-American Banking Corp. Consortium, which consists mainly of European, American, and Canadian banks. Up to \$50 million went through the same channel in 1972. In 1977, South African exports to the US nearly doubled to \$125.3 million from \$64.9 million a year earlier.

But Washington had to change its tactics when faced with the growing number of struggles by the Azanian people, and the powerful support they are getting from other third world countries as well as the virtually universal condemnation of the racist Vorster regime. Carter now claims to be in favour of a so-called Black majority rule in Azania. To make this sudden change of face seem



plausible, he occasionally denounces the violations of human rights in South Africa. But this has never stopped him from giving political, economic and military backing to the racist minority in power.

None of these manoeuvres have fooled the Azanian people. They are continuing to fight under the PAC's leadership to completely wipe out colonialism and imperialism in their country.

### **CANADIAN IMPERIALISM ALSO OPPOSES THE LIBERATION OF AZANIA**

Canadian imperialism is just a baby tiger compared to the superpowers or to some of the other imperialist countries, but that doesn't stop it from fattening itself off the sweat and blood of the Azanian people.

The same Canadian monopolies that exploit us here, exploit the Azanian people.

At the Alcan plant in South Africa, 13 Black miners were shot down by police for walking off the job. Alcan's hands are stained not only with the blood of Canadian workers, but with the blood of Azanian workers too.

Massey-Ferguson is also getting the most out of apartheid by paying its black workers starvation wages of \$3 a day. That's less than what workers in its Canadian plants earn in half an hour. And there are a lot of other examples like Bata Shoes, Consolidated Bathurst and three of the big banks, the Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Montreal and the Toronto Dominion Bank which furnish millions and millions of dollars to this repressive regime. Canada has over \$100 million directly invested in this country.

Despite hypocritical statements against apartheid, the Canadian state maintains close ties with South Africa. Canada has preferential trade tariffs with the racist regime and encourages investment in and trade with



**At a picket line set up by the League outside the Massey-Ferguson plant in Toronto, Massey workers expressed their support for their Azanian brothers who are superexploited by the same company.**



South Africa. The Canadian crown corporation Polymer has interests in South Africa.

**SOME CANADIAN COMPANIES AND BANKS IN AZANIA AND NAMIBIA**

Companies:

Alcan Aluminum Ltd.  
Brilund Mines Ltd.  
Chromium Mining and Smelting Corp. Ltd.  
Columbus McKinnon Ltd.  
Consolidated Bathurst Ltd.  
DeLeuw Cather and Associates  
Falconbridge Nickel Co. of Canada  
Ford Motor of Canada  
International Nickel Co. of Canada  
Manufacturers Life Insurance Co.  
Massey-Ferguson Ltd.  
Morse Corp.  
Polymer Corp.  
Sun Life Assurance of Canada  
Tinto Holdings Canada Ltd.

Banks:

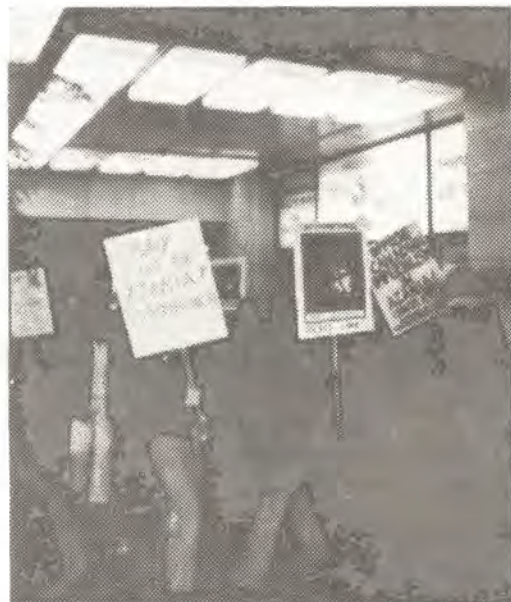
Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce  
Toronto Dominion Bank  
Royal Bank of Canada  
Bank of Montreal

In December 1977, the Trudeau government announced that it would apply certain economic sanctions against the Vorster regime. The Minister of External Affairs, Don Jamieson said that they would withdraw their economic advisors from Johannesburg and Capetown and prohibit the Export Development Corporation from trading with the regime. But these measures do not affect the private sector. Alcan, Massey-Ferguson and all the other Canadian monopolies are free to continue exploiting the Azanian people.

On April 29, 1978, Jamieson announced a new "code of conduct" for Canadian companies operating in South Africa. But as usual, it's all talk and no action. The code is not mandatory and does nothing to stop racist and discriminatory practices in Canadian-owned companies in South Africa.

Canadian imperialism shamelessly takes full advantage of apartheid in South Africa. It has no scruples about supporting the racist regime militarily through NATO. So it is not surprising that servants of Canadian imperialism like Trudeau have taken a position in favour of maintaining diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa, or that Coates, the new president of the Conservative Party, enthusiastically supports the racist regime.

It is clear that all the pious pronouncements of the Canadian government are just trying to pacify the Canadian people's hatred of the southern African regime and are nothing but a smokescreen to hide their real aim: to ensure that profits continue to be made at the expense of the Azanian people.



The Hudson's Bay Company supports the South Africa regime only because it can continue to make enormous profits from its operations in Namibia which is illegally occupied by the racist regime. This picket line was set up by the League in Vancouver during the PAC tour.

# Azanian People's Struggle Receives Worldwide Support

Azania is part of the third world and the liberation struggle in this country is clearly seen as a struggle of the whole third world. The South African regime is considered illegitimate by third world countries, such as socialist China, which does not have any relations with it.

The militant support that the Azanian people have received from many third world states demonstrates the growing unity and strength of these countries. This again proves that the peoples and countries of the third world — representing 70% of the world's population, being the most oppressed and exploited by imperialism — are the main force in the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and the two superpowers. The facts speak for themselves:

- In March 77, at the last Afro-Arab summit meeting, concrete material and political support was extended to the struggles in southern Africa.
- In May 1977, the People's Republic of China, a socialist country of the third world, clearly expressed its position at the United

Nations: "The Chinese delegation solemnly declares once again that the Chinese government does not have and will never enter into political, economic, commercial or any other relations directly, or indirectly with the racist regime of South Africa. The Chinese government and its people will firmly support, as they always have, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against racism and for national liberation until they have won complete victory.

● In July 77, the Organization of African Unity (OAU)<sup>(1)</sup> passed a resolution condemning foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the continent. It has a committee responsible for channelling all foreign aid to the liberation movements, to prevent superpower infiltration in the struggles of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Azania.

The entire third world is standing behind the Azanian people. The history of colonial oppression and the struggle for national liberation is a common history of third world countries.

Through the course of their struggle, the

---

(1) The OAU groups together all the independent countries of Africa and the national liberation movements in the colonies. It was set up to unite the African countries in the common struggle to rid Africa of all vestiges of colonialism.





**The Palestinian revolution against Zionism and imperialism and the struggles of the peoples of southern Africa are important component struggles of the whole third world which is the main force against colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemonism.**

Azanian people supported by the third world countries and peoples are winning over some second world countries like Norway, who recognizes the PAC, to isolate the apartheid regime in South Africa. The revolutionary drive of the Azanian people supported mainly by the third world have led to various military and economic boycotts against the racist regime.

In the world, the illegitimate South African regime is isolated and despised. There are only a handful of countries like Canada that have diplomatic relations with the regime, and everywhere that South African sports and cultural representatives travel there are demonstrations and protests to greet them from England to Australia, from Norway to France.

Just recently in the United States, 5,000 people demonstrated their anger at the presence of a South African tennis team in Nashville, Tennessee and called for the victory of the Azanian liberation movement.

It is clear that as Mao Tsetung pointed out, **“Enumerable facts point out that a just cause enjoys abundant support, while an unjust cause finds little support.”**

### **THE AZANIAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE IS OUR OWN**

In Canada, only a handful of diehard reactionaries dare to openly praise South Africa. Among the Canadian people, apartheid is clearly discredited and more and more people are transforming this general rejection of the racist regime into concrete and conscious support for the liberation struggle in Azania led by the PAC.

The Canadian and Azanian people are waging the same struggle against imperialism and the two superpowers.

These greedy imperialists, especially American imperialism, never miss a chance to meddle in our affairs and rob our country. When the Azanian people land a blow against imperialism and the superpowers, they contribute to the world revolution and help us in our struggle for socialism in Canada. confront these two vultures.

It is the internationalist duty of Canadian workers to support the Azanian people as we wage the struggle here against the capitalists. As Lenin said, **“the revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would in fact be nothing but a sheer fraud if, in their struggle against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of “colonial” slaves, who are oppressed by the capital.”** (The Second Congress of the Communist International)

The struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations are an integral part of the current of



world socialist revolution. This is why it is important to support these struggles with all our strength.

The Azanian liberation fighters are dealing blows to Canadian imperialism. Each attack against Alcan or Massey-Ferguson and the others in Azania advances the struggle of the Canadian workers for socialism. The victory of the Azanian people will profoundly contribute to the defeat of imperialism.

The Canadian people on its part must do all it can to aid the armed struggle of the Azanian people. We must denounce the barbaric apartheid regime. We must oppose Canadian imperialism everywhere in the world especially in southern Africa. Canadians can build a vast movement of support for the struggle of the Azanian people. We should:

- Demand that Canada completely break off diplomatic, economic and military ties with

South Africa

- boycott all South African products
- inform our fellow workers, neighbours and students about the struggle of the Azanian people
- pass resolutions in our unions and mass organizations
- raise funds and material support of all kinds for the PAC
- continue with the support campaign launched by the Canadian Communist League (ML) for the PAC.

The Canadian people and Azanian people live thousands of miles apart and have different customs and culture. But we have common interests, common aspirations: that both our lands be free from exploitation and oppression. The Canadian working class' militant support for the heroic freedom fighters in Azania will help to bring us one step closer to this noble goal.



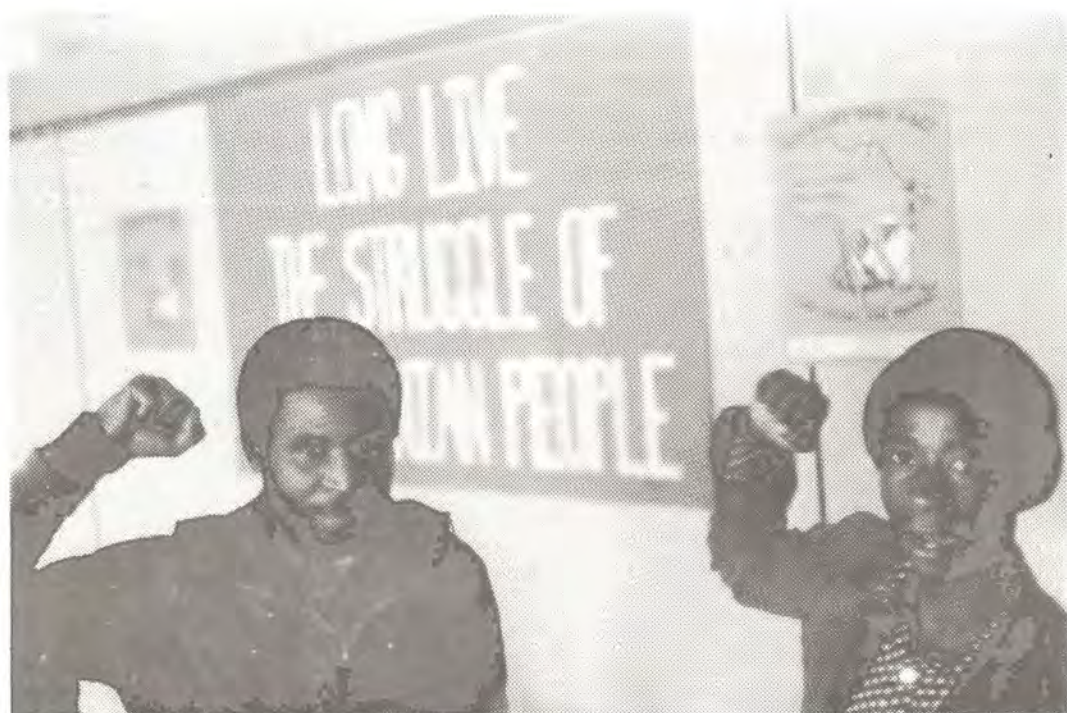
Chairman of the Azanian People's Support Committee, left, presenting a petition to Leslie Harriman (Nigeria), Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid. At right is David Sibeko, representative of the PAC. The petition with 3906 signatures calls on the Canadian government to withdraw all its support from South Africa and the immediate release of all political prisoners in South Africa, particularly the three patriots who have been accused of being PAC members and setting up guerilla bases in the country.

United Nations / Photo by Y. Nagata.



# APPENDIX

## Interview With the PAC



Mzonke Xuza, left, former student leader who worked with Steve Biko. He was forced into exile in 1974 for his political activities. He is presently assistant representative of PAC at the UN. Trofomo Sono, a young leader of the Soweto uprisings. He was president of the Soweto Students Representative Council in 1976 and 1977. Both are representatives of the PAC.

The following interview was made during the PAC tour of Canada. Excerpts of this interview appeared in the Dec. 9, 1977 issue of THE FORGE (Vol.2, no. 23).

### **What is the racist apartheid system like?**

**Mzonke:** The situation in South Africa is a situation where whites are separated from the Blacks socially and through the state, and oppress the Black masses for a privileged and comfortable life.

During the colonial era the British governors followed a policy of divide and rule. It was Cecil John Rhodes for instance, who came up with the idea of apartheid. He said once "We will either recognize these people on an equal footing or regard them as a subject race. And under the present circumstances in order to maintain a high living for the British Empire we have to regard them as a subject race." The Land Act of 1913 followed on that.

The act said 13% of the country would be occupied by Black people and 87% would be taken by white people. There are 20 million Blacks and 5 million whites.

All Black people as soon as they reach the age of 16 must carry a pass book where you have your ID, photo, and what is most important, what tribe you belong to divide Black people according to tribal lines.

In that pass book, for those who are lucky enough to get work, the employer must have his signature every month, so that if one month's signature isn't there the policy can say that you are not employed: "You belong to this tribe, you cannot come into an industrial area, go back to your reserve area."

You are not allowed to leave your reserve and go find employment. You cannot move. Before you can leave the magistrate must stamp your book. That way they can control the number of Black people in white areas.

The reserves are barren, no industries, nothing. People are herded into these reserves just ready for when industry needs labour. They'll take anything as long as they get something to support their families.

If you find a job you cannot bring your wife. Men live in bachelor hostels for the duration of their contract for three or six or eight months even years without seeing their families. Then they can go home to their families. You can imagine what effects this has on family life of Black families.

### **What is the economic situation like?**

**Trofomo:** On his job a Black man works with a white man as his foreman or superior. He does 90% of the labour. After a month, when it is time to be paid, a white man who does nothing gets 99% of the salary and a Black man only gets 1%.

Some people get 24 rands a month. You find a parent with six children and rent is 12 rand a month. These children must go to school, they must eat at home, they must have clothes, they must have pocket money. All on 24 rands. It is real little for living.



A man could arrive with 24 rands on Friday and by Sunday it is all gone because the cost of living is so high.

### **What is the difference between white and Black education?**

**Trofomo:** The government spends 165 rands a year on each white student and 32 rands for a Black student. In white schools you could find 15 students being taught by one teacher whereas in Black schools you could find 103 students in one class. Bantu education is only meant to make a Black man a better slave and to denigrate Black men. It is not to give a Black man light on the outside world.

Also the syllabus of our subjects is cut. We are not taught for instance, academic education, and our history courses teach us that whites are right in taking our land. Bantu education also encourages segregation and separate development among Blacks.

We don't have equipped laboratories where we can make some experiments on the things we learn — as a result we learn to pass examinations but not to really understand. But with white students everything has been 100% the opposite of what we have.

### **How did the huge uprising in Soweto last summer start?**

**Trofomo:** Nobody was responsible for going around to the schools and telling people there would be demonstrations. It was just a general feeling among students to abolish the type of education and Afrikaans, as the language of instruction.

At that point we were not aware that we were boycotting against the government. We thought it was the teachers who were to blame. They are forced to take everything that they are given by the authorities. We changed our attitude toward the teachers and turned our anger towards the government.

### **What was the role of the Soweto Students Representative Council?**

**Trofomo:** As we started, the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) was formed to generate even more struggles and direct the fight and demonstrations.

### **How did the SSRC mobilize for the activities?**

**Trofomo:** Well, we used to have meetings with the students and we would

have meetings with our parents in churches and prayer meetings. We used to distribute pamphlets. Some of them we distributed during the day at the schools, some of them during the night underneath the doors.

### **What did Vorster's police do?**

**Trofomo:** The police provoked the students who were marching peacefully by firing at them. The police used the Riotous Assembly Act so if they found us having meetings they would use tear gas and then they would just open fire and shoot at us.

But even if they fired the students never ran away. The police just kept on firing until they became tired or had to flee when they were chased away with stones.

They don't even try to stop the demonstrations peacefully, or talk to the students. They use guns to talk, guns to disperse.

### **Did women play a role in the demonstrations?**

**Trofomo:** It wasn't only the boys who were standing up to the police with stones, it was also the girls. Some of the girls were shot. By this I want to show that it wasn't only the boys who were brave, but also the girls. And when the police came, the girls were even more brave than the boys.

The police knew that most members of the SSRC are boys and if they wanted to get a leader they would guess a boy. So the girls would stand in front during the demonstrations.

### **What were your parents' reactions to the struggle and how did they support you?**

**Trofomo:** If we had strikes or stay-aways, we would urge our parents to stay away from work. Then they would not go to their jobs. The parents realized they had to do something. Now that they had seen the activities of the students they took advantage of the situation and demanded pay increases. And that is how they supported the strikes and stay-aways. And this of course was of great harm to the South African economy. I remember last year the government had to make a \$1 million loan from the USA because of the economy. Some of those providing financial support to South Africa were afraid of giving money because some things were damaged and so on.

Our parents do not tell us to go and fight for freedom. They do not tell us, my child, we are oppressed. But we ourselves, we see the reflection they give when they return from work, the anger that they have in their faces. The type of eyes that they look at us with and the stinking of sweat that they come home with after their labour duties shows that oppression and exploitation. We feel that it is oppression. And without being told, without any fear we volunteer to pick up the gun, to free the masses of Azania, not just our parents, but the masses.



### **Why did you join the PAC?**

**Trofomo:** I joined the PAC because the PAC is following a Marxist-Leninist line, and because the PAC is fighting for the total liberation of my country. The most important reason why I joined the PAC is because I wanted to wage armed struggle and I cannot do it as an individual. I have to be in a group that is preparing for armed struggle to liberate the people. I joined the PAC because it is composed of people who are prepared to liberate the masses, and because it has no collaboration with the imperialists and social-imperialists, and moreover, because it is the only vanguard of the Azanian masses and works in the interests of the Azanian masses.

### **What are the aims of the PAC?**

**Trofomo:** The aims of the PAC, which are the aims of the people of Azania, is to see that colonialism in Azania goes; is to see to that imperialism and capitalism are out of our country. And finally to establish a socialist, democratic government of Africans by the Africans, for Africans with everyone who considers himself an African and pays his loyalty to Africa.

Our aim is to establish in Azania itself, a socialist republic of Azania or a people's republic of Azania.

### **Why does the PAC say that armed struggle is the only way to liberate Azania?**

**Mzonke:** History has taught us that in a situation where a small group of people maintains domination over a majority in order to enrich themselves, for the dominated to reach a situation where the exploitation and the oppression is removed. They have to fight because from what we know it is not possible for an oppressor in a privileged position to acquiesce easily or to hand over power to a group or a class which it has been exploiting for years.

Given the intransigence of the racist regime and the determined efforts of the people to liberate themselves, the only way is armed struggle. PAC has long realized this, coupled with the fact that any forms of peaceful resistance have been met with reactionary violence from the regime.

To liberate the country PAC decided that the best way of liberating themselves will be a people's war. The Azanian People's Liberation Army was formed in order to form the foundation to launch a successful people's war. Now the APLA is being militarily and politically trained and is well equipped to train the people both militarily and politically, to discuss with the people to arrive at the correct political way of waging the armed struggle.

### **What are the interests of imperialism and the two superpowers in Azania?**

**Mzonke:** According to the latest information there are 1,634 foreign

companies with investments in the country. This includes the United States, Britain, Canada, West Germany, France, Japan and even Australia and New Zealand.

All international capital wants is a stable atmosphere. They're not interested in how it is achieved, as long as they have a source of cheap labour.

The South African regime, for its existence, depends mostly on the western imperialist countries because these are the countries which invest heavily in South Africa. In order to maintain their positions in South Africa it is in the interests of the western imperialist countries to see that the status quo remains the same. Therefore they'll do everything they can to see that the regime remains intact in the country. The liberation movement as a whole has been supported by the socialist countries in order to bring down that regime.

In the southwest part of the country there is a big naval base. There is a big cave there and a big military station; a cave where the USA and Britain have sophisticated machinery with which they are able to trace any ship which moves from South America to the east to Australia. The minute it moves they see it on their screens. So knowing that there are such facilities, and much more important the geographical position of Azania in relation to that part of the sea, is of paramount importance and interest to the other superpower, the Soviet Union.

### **What is the role of the so-called "Communist" Party of South Africa and the Soviet Union in Azania?**

**Mzonke:** There was what was called the "Communist" Party of South Africa. Now, I understand that this was one of the oldest "communist" parties in the world. But what I've found out is that the "C"PSA was only white, only white members. And as time went on, when the government used to issue threats toward this "C"PSA, rather than face whatever was coming to them, as they'd do if they believed in their convictions, they decided to disband on their own.

When they did that, they infiltrated the African National Congress (ANC), and they tried to direct all its activities. For instance, the ANC had been there since 1912. In 1949, they drew up a program of action, how they were going to go about the stages of liberation. But because of the influence and interference of the so-called CPSA, they never tried to put this program of action into practice.

What they used to do was to wait until a law was passed in parliament then organize a demonstration of protest against the law, and then sit down. Another thing was that most of the members of the "C"PSA had interests (shares) in the industrial life of the country, especially in Johannesburg and Capetown. So whenever a strike or a demonstration was planned they



would be there to say, "Oh no, you know what we think about that." So they'd plan a strike or a demonstration two weeks in advance. Between the setting of the date of the strike or demonstration, and the actual time of the strike, the workers would be exhorted to work overtime, so that when the day of the strike arrived there would not be much effect, there would not be much loss for the bosses.

I also remember what happened when the "C"PSA was still officially in existence. In the late 1920's a man called Sidney Bunting was delegate (from the "C"PSA) to the Communist International. A resolution was passed there concerning the situation in our country. It said the "C"PSA must work toward the realization of a Black republic, that is, a national democracy. Sidney Bunting refused the resolution, went back home and told the other members that such and such a thing had happened, that he had refused it and they agreed with him. The people kept all these things in mind. The "C"PSA, rather than helping, working together towards the liberation of the majority, were doing everything to suppress and sabotage these actions. This went on and on until the time the PAC was formed, in 1959. The "C"PSA was the most active in trying to slander it.

Of late, I have heard that Tambo acting president of ANC led a delegation to China last year. When they came back they wrote about their experiences in China. They sent this script to East Germany where ANC's magazine is printed. But the script never came out in the magazine, they suppressed it... it was suppressed by Moscow.

So we see that the USSR still meddles in the affairs of the people of our country. We have said time and again that the present regime in the USSR is continuing to try to divide the people of our country. But we have the conviction that millions of people inside our country are united. They can only manage to divide a few people here and there.

### **You knew the martyr Steve Biko. Can you tell us about him?**

**Mzonke:** When I first met Steve, we were in college together in 1968. We came to the conclusion that we had to do something with the masses at home, and we formed the first Black consciousness movement, SASO (South African Student's Organization). Steve was always at the forefront. In college activities, in political activities, he was always at the forefront, that is what struck me.

He did a lot of work, travelled all over the country to such an extent that sometimes his school work suffered. I remember one time, he spent all his summer organizing meetings and he didn't write some mid-term exams.

So when he came back the professor asked, "Mr. Biko why didn't you come to write your exams?" His answer was, "I had something more important to do than write this exam". And this professor said, "What could

be more important to you Mr. Biko, than seeing that your career doesn't suffer?" And Steve answered, "I was busy contributing to shaping the future of the people of this country."

Biko is presented as a moderate. This is a tactic used by white liberals to divide the movement which has always been militant and enjoying wide support. They wanted to allay the fears of the white liberal group which has vested interests in the present economic set-up.

**Trofomo:** The death of Steve Biko is very upsetting. But it shall not demoralize our people. Instead, it intensifies the struggle and mobilizes a lot of the Azanian masses. The death of Steve Biko will only increase the determination of the people to fight.

**With the increasing repression in Azania how do you see the struggle developing?**

**Mzonke:** With the determination of the people and realizing that these are frantic efforts to stem the tide of the liberation process we can say that this is the beginning of the fall of the regime. Where you have people rising up, the more the regime increases repression the more the people are politicized, the more they get determined to get rid of the present regime in the country.

**Trofomo:** It is armed struggle which is left for the Azanian people, it is death which is left for the imperialists. As we say to the workers, "Join the Azanian masses in their struggle, in their march towards socialism, you don't have to be brave to undergo this route, you only have to count on your determination. To you we say you are the heroes of the world."



---

## **Brief Review of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania Tour of Canada**

---

The PAC tour of Canada was part of the cross-Canada campaign launched by the Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) with the collaboration of the Azanian People's Support Committee from December 1 to December 16, 1977 to gain political and material support for the PAC and the struggle of the Azanian people.

The PAC representatives, Trofomo Sono and Mzonke Xusa visited the following cities: Vancouver, Regina, Toronto, Ottawa, Hull, Montreal and Quebec City.

During the tour, the PAC comrades addressed over 3000 people in 13 public meetings.

More than \$18,200 has been collected to date during the campaign from the sales of posters, pamphlets, support buttons and from donations.

Close to 4,000 people signed the petition demanding freedom for the three Azanian patriots, Stanley Pule, Morgan Gxekwa and Isaac Lolwane Mnikwa. The petition was presented to the Anti-apartheid Committee of the UN.

Numerous local and national radio and television programs introduced the PAC and the Azanian people's struggle to thousands of Canadians.

Informational pickets and tables were set up in hospitals, schools, union conventions, shopping centres and in front of companies dealing with the South African regime, such as Alcan and Hudson's Bay.

Numerous local meetings among workers in factories, hospitals and union locals were held.

Solidarity messages were received from unions, community organizations, schools, anti-imperialist organizations and individuals:

### **UNIONS**

International Association of Machinists, Lodge No. 111

Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) Central Council of  
Trois-Rivières

United Steelworkers, Local 15510  
CNTU — St. Charles Borromeo Hospital  
Union of Ushers and Attendants of Place des Arts  
François-Xavier-Garneau Cegep Teachers Union  
Rimouski Cegep Teachers Union  
South-West Central Council of the CNTU  
United Steelworkers local 6859  
Syndicat de Professionnels du Gouvernement du Quebec  
Syndicat des travailleurs du CLSC Seigneurie de Beauharnois (a local union  
of community health workers)  
Verdun Hospital Workers' Union and Nurses' Union (CNTU)  
United Oilworkers, Local 6 (Union Carbide)  
**MASS ORGANIZATIONS**  
Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan  
Third World Ethno Cultural Community — Regina



December 10, 1977, 1700 people attended the solidarity rally for the PAC organized by the League in Montreal. The PAC comrades, Trofomo Sono and Mzonke Xuza greatly helped develop our proletarian internationalist spirit and our determination to support the Azanian people. Here, the comrades are singing "The International" together with the League's cultural group.



General Assembly of La Vermouilleuse (daycare centre) — Montreal  
Clinique du Peuple (People's Clinic) St. Henri — Montreal  
East End Workers' Medical Clinic — Montreal  
Montreal committee for the unemployed  
SOS Daycare — Montreal  
Pavillon d'Education communautaire Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (Montreal  
community group)  
St. Michel (Montreal) food co-op

#### **STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS**

Student's Union of University of Regina  
Eritrean Student Association of North America  
Ethiopian Student Association of North America  
Arab Students Association, University of Montreal  
Asian Studies Student Association, University of Montreal  
General Association of Students, University of Quebec  
General Assembly of Students, Montmorency College

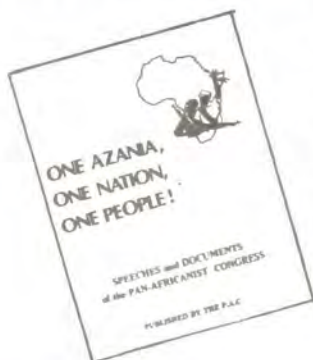
#### **ANTI-IMPERIALIST ORGANIZATIONS**

Arab-Palestine Solidarity Organization  
National Association of South Africans in Canada  
African Liberation Support Committee  
Canadian-Arab Federation  
Indian People's Association in North America  
Bangla Desh People's Association  
Third World People's Anti-imperialist Committee  
Anti-imperialist Committee, University of Montreal  
Iranian Students Association in Montreal (Member of CIS)  
Haitian Revolutionary Organization for Patriotic Action  
African-Caribbean Progressive Study Group



# PAC SUPPORT FUND

Azanian People's Support Committee,  
P.O.Box 222, Station E,  
Montreal, Quebec, H2T 3A7



PAC brochure including an article by Mangaliso Sobukwe, the PAC Manifesto adopted in April 1959 and three other documents.

This booklet in the PAC IN PERSPECTIVE series comes with in-depth analysis of the unfolding struggle for national liberation in Azania.

\$1.00

## NORMAN BETHUNE

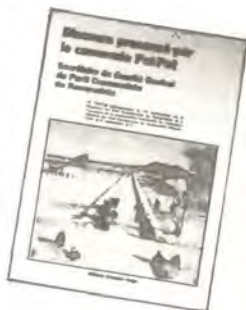
### Bookstores

CCL(ML) publications, books and brochures from the Canadian and international communist movement

Speech delivered by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, for the 17th anniversary of the founding of the party. The speech outlines the history of the Kampuchean people's great revolutionary struggles and expresses their determination to go on to even greater victories in building socialism in their country.

In Montreal:  
1951 Rosemont Blvd.  
Tel.: (514) 276-2421

In Toronto:  
1068 College  
tel: (416) 536-8749



Soon available in English

#### Hours in Montreal:

Mon. to Wed.: 10am to 6pm  
Thurs. and Fri.: 10am to 9pm  
Saturday: 10am to 5pm.

#### Hours in Toronto:

Mon. to Wed.: 2pm to 6pm  
THURS. AND Fri.: 4pm to 9pm  
Saturday: 10am to 6PM

## october

Theoretical review of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, published by the CCL(ML).



Double issue  
\$2.00

• The League's Second Congress  
Traces the Path to the Creation of the Party

• On the Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds

• Resolution on the Quebec National Question

• An Interview about how The Forge is Used

### SUBSCRIPTION (4 Issues)

Canada    USA    other countries

Surface mail    \$7.00    \$7.50    \$8.50  
Air mail    \$8.00    \$8.50    \$10.50

Please include your name, address and occupation with all subscription requests and write to: **October**, P.O.Box 364 Station Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Cheques and money orders should be made out to **The Forge**.





# Build the weekly *Forge*

The Canadian Communist League (Marxist-Leninist) is launching a campaign that will make *The Forge* a weekly next November.

With *The Forge* appearing more frequently, we will be able to hit back directly at the bourgeoisie's attacks. And we will be better armed to spread communist ideas and make them reach deeply into the working class. The weekly *Forge* is the key weapon that will make the fight to build our communist party move forward.

Central organ of the CCL(ML).

#### OUR GOALS:

- Increase our distribution.
- \$65,000 in 6 months.

The *Forge* is published once every two weeks in an English edition and in a French edition.

- One-year subscription: \$10. (add \$3. for airmail).
- One-year sustainer's subscription: \$15. or more.
- Subscriptions from outside Canada: US: add \$5.; Europe: add \$7. for postal rates.

Send your name, address and occupation with cheque or money order to:

THE FORGE,  
P.O. Box 364,  
Station Place d'Armes,  
Montreal, Quebec,  
Canada.