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Pan Africanist Congress

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Journal of Democracy, Volume 1, Number 4, Fall 1990, pp. 28-31 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1990.0057>



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democratic elections can be held with full franchise for all adults and protection for minorities.

Since there can be no true democracy without choice, we must ensure that a future multiparty system is allowed to operate free of fear or intimidation. We are ready to discuss with other major parties the details of how we might achieve these ends. But we are certain that, whatever is decided, we must succeed in establishing a true democracy, one that will work for the good of all South Africans.

*Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi is Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.*

### Pan Africanist Congress

*Ahmed Gora Ebrahim*

From the very outset the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (the name the PAC has given to South Africa) has maintained that the fundamental goals of the struggle in apartheid South Africa are national liberation and self-determination. This has distinguished the PAC from those who regard the struggle as one for civil rights and integration or co-optation into the existing system. The goal of self-determination arises from the historical fact that classical and settler colonialism dispossessed the rightful owners of the land, the indigenous majority. The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 institutionalized this dispossession by allocating 87.3 percent of the total land area to the white minority, comprising one-fifth of the total population. The majority, the rightful owners of the land, was allocated only the remaining 12.7 percent.

Consequently, the PAC has consistently maintained that repossession of the usurped land remains the cornerstone of the struggle. In demanding this, the PAC has invoked the international legal principle of *jus cogens*, which holds that the right of self-determination is an inalienable right that cannot be superseded.

The PAC does not view the repossession of the usurped land and the exercise of the inalienable right of self-determination as an exercise based on exclusivity. On the contrary, the PAC's declared policies are accommodating and inclusive. For instance, the PAC, while advocating a policy of "Africa for Africans," has clearly defined the term African politically rather than racially. At its Founding Congress in 1959, the PAC defined an African as one who owes his or her only allegiance to Africa and accepts African majority rule.

Furthermore, at its inception, the PAC condemned and rejected both racism and multiracialism. The regime preached and practiced racism.

The political organizations of the opponents of apartheid in 1959 were constituted along the lines of the racial classification of the regime. The African National Congress, together with separate Coloured, Indian, and white organizations, formed the Congress Alliance and advocated multiracialism. At its formation, the PAC said it believed in only one race, the human race, and it was the first national liberation movement to advocate and practice genuine nonracialism. Today the PAC takes great satisfaction in seeing that genuine opponents of the system have discarded multiracialism and have opted for the PAC's genuine nonracialism.

In pursuance of its policy of genuine nonracialism, the PAC has consistently rejected the granting or perpetuating of group rights. The concept of apartheid is based on group prejudices and group privileges. Instead of group rights, the PAC has called for guarantees for the individual rights of all Azanians. The PAC wishes to see fundamental individual rights enshrined in the new constitution.

The conquest of South Africa by the colonialists resulted directly in the mass confiscation of land and the virtual exclusion of the oppressed majority from the economy of the country, except as laborers. The PAC has called for a planned economy based on genuine democracy. In 1959, Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, the founding president of the PAC, said that totalitarianism is not inherent in socialism and that only a planned economy can redress the imbalances resulting from centuries of dispossession and exploitation and promote a viable economy embracing the vast majority. The PAC remains committed to the redistribution of the wealth and resources of the country to all the people of a free Azania, the socialization of the commanding heights of the economy, a mixed economy, and the protection and promotion of workers' rights.

The rulers of the apartheid regime are opposed to socialism and genuine democracy. They advocate the "free enterprise" system and so-called "power sharing," with whites enjoying a veto on all national legislation. The PAC rejects this formula and has put forward concrete proposals for a democratic alternative.

To resolve effectively any conflict the following steps must be taken:

- 1) Identifying the *principal* contradiction.
- 2) Identifying social forces that can truly resolve this contradiction.
- 3) Identifying the most effective methods to be employed to end the conflict.
- 4) Forming a broad united front.

The PAC, having identified the nature of the struggle as one of national liberation and self-determination, is convinced that the only vehicle for genuine change can be the oppressed, exploited, and dispossessed majority. The task of the national liberation movement,

therefore, should not be to appeal to the minority racist regime but rather to intensify the fighting capacity of the people. Every action, every campaign must be aimed at increasing this fighting capacity.

The very first major campaign of the PAC, the anti-pass campaign of 21 March 1960, which culminated in the Sharpeville Massacre, successfully destroyed the people's fear of going to prison. Detention, imprisonment, and even death sentences have failed to intimidate our people. On the contrary, imprisonment has further strengthened the resolve of the oppressed majority. The Soweto Uprising of 16 June 1976, for which PAC President Zephania Mothopeng was tried in the only secret political trial ever held in apartheid South Africa, resulted in the regime's trigger-happy police opening fire on unarmed and defenseless school children and workers. Hector Pietersen, the first victim of the Soweto Uprising, was only 13 years old. Although over 2,500 Azanians were killed in the uprising, the oppressed majority had finally lost its fear of the enemy's guns.

In 1961, in the face of intensified repression and increased aggression by the minority regime, the PAC formed its military wing, POQO (a Xhosa expression meaning "alone" or "pure"). POQO, subsequently renamed the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), was more successful than any other group in organizing widespread armed resistance to the regime.

POQO/APLA was formed out of the conviction that continued armed repression and reactionary violence had to be met with armed resistance. With the oppressed majority having lost its fear of the enemy's prisons and guns and having intensified the armed struggle, a new revolutionary situation developed internally. Internal resistance in all forms increased. Internationally, the racist regime was isolated, and voluntary and selective sanctions began to bite. In the light of this objective reality, the regime began propounding the concept of "power sharing." It created the so-called tricameral parliament system with the specific intention of dividing the oppressed majority and co-opting a section of the so-called Coloured and Asian communities. But the attempt failed.

In the meantime, the liberation movements further intensified the struggle and succeeded internationally in compelling divestments and imposing sanctions. Moreover, through the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations, we succeeded in universalizing condemnation of the apartheid system, securing international action, and ensuring a broad united front against the discredited regime. This combination of condemnation and concerted action against the regime was subsequently reflected in the Harare Declaration of August 1989 adopted by the Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the OAU and the unanimous resolution of the UN General Assembly adopted at a Special Session in December 1989. These two documents reflect the minimum demands of both the

oppressed majority within apartheid South Africa and the international community.

The PAC maintains that the Harare Declaration and the resolution of the UN Special Session have laid down five preconditions that the racist regime must meet in order to create a climate conducive to negotiations:

- 1) Unbanning of all organizations and individuals.
- 2) Unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.
- 3) Lifting of the state of emergency.
- 4) Unconditional return of political exiles.
- 5) Removal of racist troops from African townships.

Thus far, the regime has only unbanned the PAC, ANC, and 34 other organizations. As for the remaining preconditions, the regime has met them only partially or not at all. Instead of unconditionally meeting these essential preconditions and creating the necessary climate, the regime has attempted to turn them into issues for negotiation. The PAC rejects this approach. The regime's noncompliance with these preconditions has prevented the emergence of the required climate for negotiations.

The regime has also demanded that the national liberation movements suspend or renounce the armed struggle. The PAC adheres to the position stated in the Harare and UN Declarations that once the stipulated climate has been created, it should be followed by agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities. Nowhere in the Declarations are the national liberation movements required unilaterally to suspend or renounce the armed struggle.

The PAC has repeatedly stated that apartheid cannot be reformed or amended. It must be totally eradicated. The total eradication of apartheid remains the declared goal of the PAC.

To realize this noble objective, the PAC believes that a new, democratic, nonracial constitution must be negotiated. Such a constitution can only be drawn up by elected representatives and not by self-appointed agents. Consequently, the PAC has demanded the establishment of a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person, one vote, with all Azanians over the age of 18 registering on a common voters' roll. Only such a constituent assembly could claim to be truly representative and to have a mandate to draw up a new constitution. This is the most democratic way of achieving the demise of apartheid and the ushering in of a united, democratic, and nonracial Azania.

To realize this objective, the PAC is committed to employing every available pressure and to intensifying all forms of struggle, including the armed struggle.

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