

for the whites.

True, the grazing pastures had been drastically

But communal life still persisted.

atically reduced,
few head of cattle, the sparse grazing grounds and the
limited acreage put aside for tilling enabled these Africans
to maintain their traditional way of life and to keep body

The

The discovery of gold and the opening
and soul together.
up of huge mines was to spell an ominous finish to this type
To all intents and purposes, no man could voluntarily

of life.
tarily opt to abandon his wife and children - his kin in
the countryside to do long spells of harrowing work in the
And more so the pay was so
perilous bowels of the earth.

low.

Economic necessity, in the interest of white capitalists,
prompted the enactment of legislation which, in effect,
force Africans to surrender their labour for the development

In such a setting,
of the mines and agricultural farms.
then, were the hut, poll, and a series of other taxes and
measures conceived.
to work on the white farm, the cane fields, coal and gold

To make sure that the African went

mines, all the taxes were only payable in hard cash.

A

new phase in the history of black and white relations was
setting in.

White domination, hitherto imposed through
military superiority, was now being consolidated by
economic subjugation.

The pattern of life for the African
was changing rapidly.

The terms were dictated, and the
pace set, by the white man.

He had attained the truly

formidable position of determining where the African could
stay, where and how he should work.

Through the noxious

system of passes and permits he was able to control and

divert the movement of the Africans.

White domination

had been assured.

Industrialisation had given birth to

a working class which was almost entirely black.

Oppressed

as a defeated nation the Blacks now suffered a system of

rigid exploitation as a class.

It was a lethal combination.

South Africa entered the 20th century with the white settlers

embroiled in a fratricidal skirmish popularly known as the

Anglo-Boer war.

Thieves had fallen apart.

The predatory

interests of the British Empire conflicted sharply with the

nationalism of the Dutch descendants who had elected to

call themselves Afrikaners. Having played their role in the

colonial conquest and the subjugation of the Africans, The

Dutch descendants looked forward to grabbing a sizable share

of the territorial spoils.

The British would have none of

this/,.mâ\200\230

treaties to which they were signatories, the whites came to possess all the rich and fertile land.

Deprivation,

hunger, dehumanisation and cruel suppression followed in

the wake of the plunderers' ancestors robbed of their traditional lands but were also forced to surrender their labour for the advancement of

Not only were our

rampage.

the white men.

The instinctive reaction of our forefathers to this barbaric invasion and rape of our motherland was typical:

they

Many a poisoned arrow and spear felled the white

resisted.

cattle rustler caught napping in his mission of plunder. Countless ambushes prepared by our outstanding African commanders held the invaders in check.

recorded some of the most gallant performances put up by our ancestors in defence of the motherland ~ epics that rival the very best in the world.

History has also

Yet modern weaponry and better technology were to tip the scales against us in our heroic wars of resistance. says much for the courage, determination and selflessness of our forefathers that the white man needed well over two hundred years to complete and consolidate his conquest. With the advantage of hindsight we are able to observe today that the absence of a co-ordinated effort and perhaps, also, an excessive faith in the good intentions of the white man, cost us not only the battle but eventually our country. Severe

The price of subjugation was very high.

as well.

It

humiliation and the relegation of the entire African to a status of serfs and menials.

Elderly gentlemen were

This turned sweat and toil for the white man's pleasure. up before the offices and homesteads of the whites as post, garden, herd or dwellingboys".

Our beloved mothers and

grannies did not escape this rejuvenation, they received

the title of kitchen girls and maids;

Even on promotion

men became "boss boys" â\200\224 what cold consolation.

The unfolding of subsequent decades revealed the dynamics of oppression on a higher and more vicious plane.

The

discovery of diamonds and gold towards the end of the 19th Century ushered in the era of industrialisation .

The

big demand for manpower in the mines necessitated large scale recruitment of contract labour from the African Reserves.

Till then, though militarily defeated, the Africans in the reserves had felt no economic compulsion to go out and work for/...

Proceeding from their

was to establish a half-way station for Eastâ\200\224bound charter
They authored the derogative terms "Bushmen" and
ships.

"Hottentot" and it was applied to the Khoisan and Nama whom
they found in the Peninsula .

civilized standards the whites adopted a supremacist stance
and initiated a hostile and querulous attitude towards the
They regarded the local tribes as sub~human and
natives.

saw fit to confiscate their land, plunder their stock and
turn their womenfolk into objects of their debauchery.
Obeying the twin instinct of the white man's revulsion for
the black race and the colonialist contempt for the subject
peoples, the Dutch settled to a deliberate carnival of
murders which effectively reduced the Khoisan and Nama (who
consisted of over a dozen sub~clans) to a handful of
itinerant destitutes.

Where are they today?

Little did these simple and humble Africans know that theirs
was but the fate suffered by hundreds and thousands of
others unfortunate enough to be recipients of the white

In Cuba the Spaniards had
man's evilizing missions.

emasculated every Cuban male in sight;
chained and shipped to far-off America thousands of African
men and women, and still found time to commit genocide not
only against Australian Aborigines and Maoris in New Zealand
but also against the so~called Red Indian in America.
Germans, not to be outsmarted by their European compatriots,
were to wait until the twentieth century to unleash an orgy
of massacres on Hereros, reducing the pastoral tribe from
nearly on hundred thousand to a bare fifteen thousand
wretched souls.

Such was the colonialist terror;

the English had

such,

The

indeed, was white terror:

It was probably subsequent to the slaughter campaigns that
the Whites realised they had discovered an unpeopled land.
The contradictions and inconsistencies inherent in white
attitudes defy all logic.
the parks, the offices-everything~in our beautiful country,
abounds in signs and posters that constantly remind us that
whites are European and blacks native.

Suffice to say the landscape ,

How trueSESE

As they fanned out from thecoastal points to the hinterland
the whites set out with a granite determination to crush

every obstacle to the colonial quest.
a ruthless campaign to dispossess Africans of their land;

They embarked on

combining brute force and ruse, cunning and contempt for

.

.

treaties/.

this.

Seasoned plunderers, unscrupulous and unprincipled gluttons, they lost no time in annexing the so-called "Boer Republics".

What English colonialist would ignore the rich gold fields on the Rand with all the potential to yield hitherto unheard-of profits?

For 3 long years a tragic comic drama unfolded in which two aggressive white factions engaged each other in mortal combat.

The confrontation was concluded with the warring parties agreeing to stand united and systematise their oppression of the indigenous peoples.

No more petty rivalries which were likely to jeopardise the security of the white man. The White resolve to tighten the stranglehold on the Blacks found concrete expression in the formation of the so-called "Union of South Africa".

An

abstract "Union" indeed in the establishment of which the real South Africans, the teeming Black masses, were not consulted.

Thus did South Africa, usurped and ruled by foreigners, masquerade as an independent country!

History has charged the contemporary* African patriot, the revolutionary, with the honourable, if onerous task of obliterating this tragic farce.

Painful

duty calls on us to go forth and destroy this myth of an "independent" white South Africa.

As the hills and valleys echo with the guns of violent, revolutionary retribution; as the complacent cities and affluent suburbs stir in awe of the Black wrath;

as the weak-kneed and fence-sitters,
liokspittles and waverers are called upon to chose their
sides, the world shall know that the march to true South
African independence and nationhood has began.

For the

moment white sojourners colonised the motherland with

impunity and terrorised its inhabitants with cynical
arrogance.

For the benefit of the world at large may we
reiterate that we regard our country as a colony preyed
upon by a pathologically racist crowd of European settlers.
Spurred on by their Union of Hate, the White settled to a
schedule of cool and calculated business.

â\200\231They firmly

entrenched themselves in power and gradually broadened and
consolidated their economic grip on the country.

87% of

the most fertile and strategically well located land was
officially looted to become the White man's booty.

The

overwhelming Black majority had to make do with the remaining
barren and eroded 13%.

The foreigners dutifully elected

themselves into "Parliament" and promptly presumed upon
themselves the direction of the destinies of the voteless
Black/....

Pass Laws emphasised black enslavement

Black millions.
and ensured controlled and regulated movement.
laws were enacted guaranteeing the capitalist and industrialist of incessant cheap labour.
fields and grazing grounds to seemingly endless horizons,
gleefully utilised as farm hands the ubiquitous Prison
Gangs turned out by the White State.
particularly British, worked hand in glove with the racists
and seemed permanently geared "to keep the native in his

The White farmer, whose

Labour

international capital,

place".

The Africans and other groups constantly sort means to counter and eliminate the insults and injuries heaped upon
Isolated resistance and uncoordinated defiance
them.
confined to localities failed for sheer ineffectiveness.
An awareness was gradually taking root in many Africans
They realised that their sufferings and miseries,
minds.
the social and economic disaffections and prejudices they
incurred as a Black nation, could be turned into a powerful
Appeals for
weapon against the common White oppressor.
unity amongst African ranks and a demand for human rights
The Black giant was beginning
began to echo in the air.
to assess and appreciate his own strength and come into his

There was a sudden urgency to find a mouth piece,
own.
an organ to rally the millions of the destitute and the
landless to raise high the banner of African nationalism.
It was such circumstances which gave birth to the African
"We propose not to go into
National Congress in 1912.
details of the birth of, and struggles conducted by the
ANC in its eventful half-century of constitutional struggles in 201
Excellent material can be found in the pamphlet "History
of the ANC, Strategy Of the South African Revolution" etc.

We may, however, briefly point out that the path
struggle was always uphill and tortuous.
strikes, boycotts, appeals to international bodies, all formed part of the concerted effort to bring the white men

Protest meetings,

of the

to his senses.

The ANC collaborated with progressive
movements.

An alliance was formed in 1955 with sister

organisations representing different racial groups.
panic and uncertainty the white "state" became more and more

In

With the rising militancy of the liberation

reactionary.

movement, the racist colonial state was turned more and more
Arrests, beatings, jailings, murders,
into a police state.

The

executions, and massacres became the order of the day.

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BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF COLONISATION

gag

REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF THE

SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

What is to generally referred to as the Republic of South Africa is nothing but a fascist colonial state ruled by a racist white minority who ruthlessly oppress and exploit millions of the indigenous people and other racial groups. The colonial plunder of our country dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when some Dutch bigots belonging to the Dutch East India Company first set foot on the western tip of the Cape Peninsula .

The subsequent decades and centuries were to witness a steady and alarming influx of i more and more of these uninvited men of Europe.

They made

racism the conerstone of their policy, vis~a~vis the darkâ\200\224 skinned, real owners of the land - the Africans.

Making

random quotations from their Christian bible they sought to demonstrate the inferiority of the black people, and the superiority of the white race; callous debasement and degradation they meted out to the

Thus could they justify the

indigenous peoples.

The bizarre plunder, euphemistieally

referred to as the barter system, saw these Europeans gluttonously grab outsize Khisan cattle in exchange for crude knives!

A handful of beads, mere beads, sufficed to earn the greedy invader a beast or two:

Prized ostrich feathers

and rare animal skins went in exchange for mirrors and other worthless merchandiseo

Colonieation had began in earnest.

There are strenuous efforts within the white camp to popularise a blatant historical distortion, namely, that the whites found the Cape uninhabited and that, in fact, they entered South Africa "simultaneously with the Bantu".

The contention

is that this entitles whites to co-ownership of the country with the Blacks.

Space does not allow for detailed refuta~

tion of this preposterous presumption which emanates from greed for territorial acquisition and expansionism.

It is

a claim aimed at justifying and perpetuating White domination.

However, D'Almeida, who preceded the Dutch types by nearly two centuries, asserts that he found the 'Cape inhabited by people who "lived on meat and carried bows and poisoned arrows."

The caves in the Hottentots-Holland Mountain area abound in Bushmen drawings dating centuries before the white man arrived.

When the Dutch crowd landed in the

Cape Peninsula: they were subjects of some monarch in the Netherlands.

Their specific aim as they disembarked was

to,...

â\200\2248-

revolution more than they.
group or class stands to gain as much as they from
the destruction of white racism, colonialism and

In other words, no

(0)

fascism;
This also
They form an overwhelming majority.
unlenses their claim to be the rulers of the
,country, for, according to the precepts of democracy
it is the majority who must rule over the minority.

The sum total of these factors thus places the Africans in
the very forefront of the struggle and makes them the back-
There is no doubt that they shall
bone of the REVOLUTION.
be equal to their task of national liberation and shall on
attaining victory exercise their acquired power in accordance
with the accepted principles of democracy.

THE ALLIES.

The white oligarchy employs an old tested and tried tactic
of divide and rule in its repression of the darker skinned
races in South Africa.
Further, white society exercises political, economic, social
and all sorts of discriminatory measures against all the other
Supremacist and exploitive in character-

Predictably, the Africans
For one thing, the Whites

It

But for numerous reasons the degree of

racial groups.
prejudice differs with each group.
come in for the severest grilling.
are not about to forget the bitter colonial wars and the
stiff resistance put up by the Africans to colonisation.
took well over a hundred years to vanquish the shrewd and
scheming Xhosa warriors.
his masterpiece ambush in the kraal excites chilly spines
The frustration of Thaba Bosigo where

among the whites.
the crafty Moshoeshoe made perfect fools of themRoches
Drift.....these episodes revive indelible torments in the

The very mention of Dingaan and

racist minds.
reserve for steady, secure and cheap labour.
appears, the greatest threat the white man fears is the o

Then also the "Bantu" provide a paradise

Yet, it

overwhelming numbers which constitute the the African population.

Here lies power potential, the force that has the capability to overthrow white supremacy.

For this

reason,in particular, the Africans have to be treated

After all, the Coloureds and

worse than anybody else.

Indians combined are fewer than the whites.

eliminate the Bantu from our political life and ignore them in the situation that we are considering here, then the position is that we have a white majority in South Africa

".....If we

Â«3147â\200\230- â\200\230
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I

Wealthy, conceited and brimming with illâ\200\224

affluence.

concieved confidence, the white settler draws no i-\20listinction
between gold or uranium deposits, the factory machines and
the blackman.

They are all links in his chain of

self-enrichment.

The whites presently resident in South Africa enjoy a living
standard envied by some of the richest countries in the world.
They have created for themselves a "paradise on earth".
Hunger, poverty, disease are as foreign to the white commuâ\200\224
Through the notorious
nity as they are common among Blacks.
apartheid doctrine which decries as saorilegious the granting
of equal academic opportunities to Black and white children,
the offering of jobs on a colourâ\200\224blind basis, the payment
of equal wages or salaries for equal work, the free movement
The undeclared war
of citizens in the land of their birth.
on the Blacks has been going on for centuries now.
concerted war to distort and destroy our culture, annihilate
our pride anï-\202 dignity rages at a breathtaking pace.
dauntless representatives af the underprivileged millions
have suffered imprisonment, torture and execution at the hands
of the White tyrants.

The

The

The long hand of friendship extended by the black man to the
whiteman has, for a long time, been rejected with contempt
Appeals for the restoration of human
by the white settler.
rights and for the establishment of social justice have all
gone unheeded.
Christianity the white man injured the pride of the Black
man and all but destroyed his humanity.

In the name of white civilisation and

What then, remains for the freedom loving African to do?
With all the channels for peaceful debate completely shut,
the black man has been pushed to the wall.
alternatives remain;
perpetual slavery and subjugation.
organised, disciplined and Violent revolution.

one is that the Black man submits to

The other is the

Only two harsh

We fully recognise that there are a few whites who have
rejected the supremacist notions of the white settlers. Such
There
individuals are a tremendous asset to the revolution.
is no doubt that they shall be as welcome as any other
They are genuine revolutionaries if they
revolutionary.
recognise the rights of the Black majority to rule their
country and if they fully identify themselves with the
aspirations/...

and two minority groups " Dr. H.F. Verwoerd. House of Assembly, April 7, 1965.

The architect of Apartheid goes on to say, in the same speech:

"If the minority group becomes the tail that wags the dog because it happens to hold the balance of power between two equally strong parties, a colossal injustice is done towards the majority." (whites), because it then means the minority rules over the majority." The two statements show not just the colossal fear by the whites of Black numbers but clearly demonstrates the unwillingness on the part of the Whites to accept the Coloureds

and Indians as partners on an equal footing. the examination reveals that there is very little in common between Coloureds and Indians on the one hand and Whites

In fact, on the other hand.

The grand white strategy is to encourage the defeatist attitude of "half a loaf is better than no bread" among these groups.

Thus with the emptiness of the "divide and rule" policy thoroughly exposed, there is no reason why the Coloured and Indian people should not take their rightful place on the side of the Africans as staunch allies.

However such a suggestion is already redundant for there exists a long history of co-ordinated and joint effort among the oppressed people of South Africa be they Indian, Coloured or African.

The new era, the era of armed struggle to meet the fascist and police state brutality calls for even closer unity among the oppressed to overthrow tyranny and re-instate order and sanity.

THE ENEMY:

The enemy of the black man; the underprivileged, and the poor, the enemy of peace, freedom and national liberation rules the motherland with contemptuous arrogance.

He has declared in no uncertain terms what he thinks of the black man.

He has told all and sundry that in his rationalisation,
humanity begins and ends with a pale white skin.
ly he reserves dignity and respect for those whose external
appearances meet these silly qualifications.
and gives no quarter to a dark pigmented "creature".
enemy is the white man.

He symbolises oppression,

According-

He asks for

The

suppression and exploitation;

he personifies rabid racism,

he epitomises
sickening chauvinism and senseless hatred;
the diabolic evil that can only issue from a poisoned and
perverted mind.

The White man in our country regards the

black man as a necessary instrument with which to amass

affluence/...,

ANC had posed such a threat to the status quo that in 1960

'the panicky white state slapped a ban on the organisation. The leaders and activists were rounded up by the thousand. House arrests, banishments, banning orders, tortures were becoming part of the South African way of life. fateful year of 1960 the white men slammed the door on any respectable "dialogue" between white and black. immediately after its prescription, went underground and announced. its intention and determination to continue the struggle on a new and higher plane. enough of the systematised and legalised Violence without retaliating. tion movement, came into being with the sacred mission of welding the African oppressed masses and the other oppressed minority groups into a disciplined force, dedicateï¬\202 to restoring the rights of the oppressed in their own motherland through revolutionary violence.

Umkhonto We Sizwe, armed organ of the liberaâ\200\224

The masses had endured

On that

The ANC,

Let us here anï¬\201 now attempt to make a sober assessment of the Beg%ggggives of the revolution as we prepare to take the/blunge.

We must answer in no uncertain terms, with

crystal clarity the question:
of the revolution?

What are the aims and objects

Who constitute the mainstay of the

revolution?

Who is the ENEMY?

Who is the ALLY?

The revolution in South Africa is aimed at violently overâ\200\224 throwing the colonialist, racist, fascist clique which rules on behalf and in the interests of the white settler community and international capital. aims to establish a democratic government (naturally and necessarily Black) which shall primarily ensure the restoraâ\200\224 tion of human dignity to the Blacks and their attainment of human rights.

In its place, the revolution

The Africans doubtlessly constitute the mainstay of the revolution:

(a)

(b)

They are the indigenous inhabitants of the land. Just as the French, the Indians, the Congolese, etc., are masters in their respective countries so also

are the Blaats in South Africa.

They are the most brutally oppressed, suffer the

severest exploitation and in every way form the very
bottom rung of the social, political and economic

ladder.

For these reasons no body needs the

revolution/....

aspirations of the majority.

Such individuals are counted

as allies of the oppressed.

of today, such persons can be truly regarded as the worthy exceptions which prove the rule that the white man is the

In the context of South Africa

African's deadliest enemy and oppressor.