

## Option 3: Advocate Guerrilla War Tactics for Africans Alone

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The African people recognize that to revolutionize South Africa, the present situation wherein white South Africa holds the monopoly of military power must be changed. This can be changed only by our acquisition of the means of challenging that military power. We must no longer attempt to communicate with an illegal regime. Instead, we must fight it at every turn. Then the whites will be forced to reckon with us. This is a violent regime that must be purged through violence. We must speak its language.

In Kenya the revolt of the people resulted in the country's independence. We can do the same here. The State does even consider us people who belong to this land. They do not have to listen to us because they do not fear us. In our nonviolent struggle we have posed no threat. We have simply offered ourselves up to be shot. But we can instill fear in the whites, and then they will give up their power.

We must do this alone, without the help of whites or Indians. Multiracial organizations have been dominated by whites and Indians. And the majority of white citizens support the regime. Since whites arrived in this country, we have been enslaved, brutally massacred, and made strangers in our own land. This country is ours and we want it back. We are not fighting for good race relations, we are fighting for our country. The only way to do that is to take power away from the whites. Sharpeville showed the futility of nonviolence. We must engage ourselves to dismantle apartheid. Let the people speak: give them the weapons to do so. We must show the masses that they can take control.

We don't have time anymore for lengthy discussions and organization. Every day we are being detained, jailed, and killed. Our people have been suffering for generations. We must act now. Let the whites be surprised when we attack. Let them crouch in fear. If we are spontaneous in our attacks, we will be more effective. Random, spontaneous attacks on police and other white people will get attention. Only guerrilla warfare will win us our country back. We are ready for a revolution. Independence NOW!

### Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 3

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1. Violence is required to purify this country of the evils of the white government.

2. South Africa should be a nation for Africans. We must fight alone for our freedom.

3. Time is not on our side. The longer we wait to revolt the more of our people will die.

## Supporting Arguments for Option 3

1. Disciplined organization—the sort required for sabotage actions—puts us at risk as we cannot safely convene meetings. Guerrilla warfare does not require such structure.

2. The fear and intimidation inflicted as a result of guerrilla warfare has gained success for other Africans.

3. Fifty years of nonviolent struggle has proved useless.

## From the Historical Record

*Potlako Leballo, in The Africanist, 1954*

“If need be we must die for our freedom in our lifetime.”

*“Pola-ca-Pele”, in The Africanist, 1955*

“In Africa we must rule.”

*“Africanus”, in The Africanist, 1956*

“To whom does Afrika belong? Is this not the rightful land of the Africans? Do stolen goods belong to a thief and not to its owner [sic]? Those Africans who renounce their claims over Afrika should not stand in the way of the people, for they will be crushed together with oppression.... Those who mean to stay in this continent will work for the interests of Afrika and her people. Should they stand in the way of the people to independence, their end will be a ‘sorrowful sight.’ The ruling *herren-volk* [master race] know full well that the days of oppression are numbered.... Every minute the burning flame of African nationalism is scourging them.”

*Potlako Leballo, December 1957*

“[I]n order that a self-confident African people must exist it is necessary that they should, through action and self-sacrifice attain political consciousness and consciousness of their destiny. This must be achieved by the Africans for the Africans. It is possible that the battles of Blood River, Keiskamahoe and Thaba-Bosiu will be fought again, this time under the banner of African Nationalism; here, history must be repeated, if our African revolutionary struggle must be victorious. In this struggle for African Freedom, there can be

no compromise or apology, nor collaboration, nor servitude. Here, we fight it out, and to the finish.”

*PAC Founding Manifesto, 1959*

“[We must] implement effectively the fundamental principle that the domain of sovereignty over the domination of ownership of the whole territory rest[s] exclusively and inalienably in the indigenous people.”

*Robert Sobukwe, January 1959*

“We...stand for the complete overthrow of white domination.”

*Robert Sobukwe, August, 1959*

“We are gathered here, today, to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy.... We are here to make an appeal to African intellectuals and business men, African urban and rural proletariat, to join forces in a determined, ruthless and total war against white supremacy.”

*Josias Madzunya, Treason Trial testimony*

“These whites are just bluffing you by saying that they are friendly to you. They will never be friendly.... Europeans are like lice. They are parasites, busy sucking on blood by means of work for unequal pay.”

*Robert Sobukwe, 1960*

“We are not afraid of the consequences of our action and it is not our intention to plead for mercy.”

*Potlako Leballo, February 1960*

“We will never share our country with the oppressors.”

*Oceanic Ngosa, trial testimony, 1965, speaking of 1961*

“The time has now come when violence would be resorted to.... Members must now arm themselves when they go to meetings so that if a policeman should enter and disturb us we shall kill him then and there. Even when distributing leaflets if we should come across a policeman who wants to arrest us or disturb us, we must kill him.”

*“Terra” in Mafube, May 1961*

“In pursuing our struggle, cognisance must be taken of the fact that our flight is all-embracing and is against the whole system of white domination. It is therefore unwise to waste valuable time and energy at conference and conventions whose chief aim is to impose upon us a MULTI-RACIAL PROGRAMME as against a PURELY African-inspired programme.... The time for consultation is over, and all that is left for us is to strike a death-blow at the monster of exploitation and white domination.”