HOW WILL WE DO IT? THE AFRICAN We know that our oppressor who took our later once. We have prepared some of our best struggle. Some of the into him. In countries and many other plan oppressed people to make a continuent. equipment. But as in these countries, so in and, if need be, to die for our A people's armed struggle depends not or organised might of the whole people. The gun in hand, it is all of us—wherever schools and universities, in our church The enemy lears our guerillas and that is why he spo ace the the nec beinging

Don't let tap type: frent careful that yell QME

You teach that black is lazy yet wherever you look it is our sweat which makes your gold and money while even the most useless white stands there as our boss. You pretend that black is ignorant. But you know that even our professors, our doctors, our lawyers and our teachers have less rights than even the most ignorant white labourer.

white labourers at the first transport to the state of th white immigrant who has never before breathed the air of Africa can come here and become our lord and master. I the make you III face

Like a lying thief you want the world to believe that the national home of the black people is in those little corners of our land which you call "Bantustans" whilst the natural home of every white is in the rich cities we have built and on the land which ★ You think you can treat black people like children and you give us toy parliaments to play with whilst every white youth from the age of 18 can vote for the parliament which rules our country and the Bantustans.

* Because you are frightened of us you spread the lie that the black people of the world are not fit to rule even in their own countries yet you know that it is the white imperialist governments who have in this century killed and maimed more people than

at any time in history.

WE LAUGH IN YOUR FACES AT ALL THIS NONSENSE AND TOGETHER WITH OUR OLD COLOURED AND INDIAN BROTHERS WE SAY: "MOVE OVER OR! YOU WILL BE PUSHED". Jee's at the problem of the pusher of the pu

HOW WILL WE DO IT?

We know that our oppressor who took our land by force will not hand it back without force. We have prepared some of our best sons to take part in a people's armed struggle. Some of these heroes have already fought the enemy in Rhodesia and put fear into him. In countries like Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mocambique, Angola and many other places, the new art of people's war has made it possible for an oppressed people to meet and defeat an enemy 1,000 times stronger in arms and

BAR OF O'N O'S STREET SK

MOS AL PORTS

But as in these countries, so in ours, success will depend upon our readiness to sacrifice

and, if need be, to die for our fatherland.

A people's armed struggle depends not only upon fighting men. It depends on the organised might of the whole people. The freedom fighter is not only the guerrilla with gun in hand, it is all of us—wherever we are—in our factories; on the land, in our schools and universities, in our churches and in our tribe.

The enemy fears our guerrillas and that is why he spends millions on trying to prevent

us from beginning the armed struggle. Just as the armed struggle needs special methods so do we have to learn how to organise our whole people in the new conditions in such a way that we outwit the enemy

and defeat his security police and their agents and informers.

IN THE FACTORIES

We must resist the enemy's attempts to smash our trade unions completely. But we must also find new methods of creating the sort of organisation in the factories which will draw the workers into struggle for better conditions and for an end to oppression. Those patriots who read this will know best how to do such a job in their own factories. Especially at the beginning we must go about it carefully so that the boss and his friends the police will not be able to act against every member of the leading group.

Some of our activity can best be done in a secret way like, for example, leaving a few loaflets lying about or putting up a slogan when no-one is looking. Got together with one or two of your fellow workers and discuss and secretly work out with them how you should begin organised work amongst the rest.

When you have made a beginning in your own factory try to make contact with workers in other factories and get them to do the same.

Remember, the great general strikes throughout our country ten years ago when hundreds of thousands of African, Coloured and Indian workers downed tools more than once to demand an end to oppression and exploitation. The government was terrified

and for a few days it even suspended the pass laws.
Used at the right time and with proper organisation the strike is the workers' strongest weapon. That is why organisation and resistance in the factories is so important not only for the improvement of conditions but in the freedom battle which our whole nation has to fight.

Don't let the boss treat you in any way he likes. Get organised. Be careful but not so careful that you do nothing, er actions and stag

IN THE TOWNSHIPS

We all know the conditions we have to go back to after a hard day's work. In the ghettos in which we are forced to live we must organise and inspire the people to realise their strength and to make resistance grow. Here too we must learn the new ways of beating the enemy. Get together with your trusted friends and neighbours. Spread the propaganda of resistance and the idea of organisation wherever there are people who are together. But do it in a new way—secretly and carefully. We must use everything we can. Even the government bodies—like Urban Councils—can be used to help destroy those very toys which they try to fool us with. If we work cleverly and carefully, every township can become a mountain of resistance in which the police enter at their own risk. We must get weapons secretly. We must find hiding places for them. We must think of new ways in which we can hit at the enemy find hiding places for them. We must think of new ways in which we can hit at the enemy.

But to do all this we need even better and stronger organisation. This is the task of every patriot in the townships.

The factor of the townships of the second sec

We will not allow the government to treat us like sheep chasing us from one bit of dry soil to another.

It is not so long ago that some of our brothers on the land gave the enemy a bit of their own medicine. In Sekhukhuniland, in Pondoland and in the Transkei our men fought back when they tried to put their own paid servants at the head of our tribes. (1991) We still remember the intaba which brave Pondo men and women set up to run their own affairs. In Zululand the people fought bravely

Working together with our brothers in the towns resistance of the people in the countryside. defeat the enemy's plans. As in the factories, s those we trust and begin secret organisation to prepare for other things

Find good hiding places for guns, food and people's armed struggle so that when you are behind you and you will have the people, the n But even from the beginning inspire the people organised way and raise their fighting spirit and Wherever we are, whether in the reserves, on they call the settlement camps, we must spread bigger things.

AMONGST OUR YOUTH

Whenever people have fought for their liberatio of the struggle. They are the warriors for freed Our young people in the factories, in the scho to play. They must be examples of heroism an are taught and trained to be ready to defend whout any signs of resistance. We must answer this will be ours.

In all places where youth are together they mu

little and the big battles.

The enemy fights us not only with guns but w He tries to make us feel that black is weak, that I to have a second place in our country forever black child will know the truth; that he is strong, land lies in his two hands.

Youth of our land, you must learn the skills wh get a gun. You must learn to use it. You must l action comes. You must organise every young must develop a pride in every young man and

and in his future.

Young people who read this will know best how study, work and live. But remember that organ have to do has to be done secretly and cleve friends and build in such a way that it will be smash you.

You are part of the people—of the workers in th

prepare and fight back.

WON'T THIS GET US INTO

There can be no liberation without risking trou enemy as few victims as possible. But there is it

WHAT ABOUT AGENTS AN

A man who sells himself to the enemy and betra police is like a polsonous snake which must be our strength more than the enemy's strength.

WHEN DO WE ACT?

When we are ready. With the people behind us

weaker but stronger.
What we all do in the factories, In the townships, essential part of the freedom fight; it is part of the to take back our land. Our mass actions in the and encourage those who fight the enemy with t our armed freedom fighters will inspire and defiance at our rulers. Togother, these two stre will end oppression forever in our own country.

> THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS C EVERYWHERE TO WIN BAI

LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF THE AFRIC RADIO EVERY SUNDAY, MONDAY, ON SHORT WAVE 1, 19.44 R

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land gave the enemy a bit of their d in the Transkel our men fought the head of our tribes. en and women set up to run their 1 13 37 24 2 13-46 87

We king together with our brothers in the towns, we must raise once again the organised resistance of the people in the countryside. We must use everything to expose and defeat the enemy's plans. As in the factories, so on the land, we must get together with those we trust and begin secret organisation to lead the resistance of our people and to prepare for other things.

Find good hiding places for guns, food and freedom fighters. Learn the methods of people's armed struggle so that when you are ready to act you will have organisation behind you and you will have the people, the mountains and the forests as your shield. But even from the beginning inspire the people to resist the white man's laws in an organised way and raise their fighting spirit and willingness to sacrifice.

Wherever we are, whether in the reserves, on the white man's farms or in those hells they call the settlement camps, we must spread the word, organise and prepare for even bigger things. South of the stop good there parts down to plus water. Here our focult, ried the mixture to provider at

AMONGST OUR YOUTH

Whenever people have fought for their liberation it has been the youth who were the fire

of the struggle. They are the warriors for freedom.

Our young people in the factories, in the schools and universities, have a special rôle to play. They must be examples of heroism and resistance. Every day the white youth are taught and trained to be ready to defend white privilege, to kill our people and wipe out any signs of resistance. We must answer this with our own strength so that the future will be ours.

In all places where youth are together they must organise themselves to fight both the little and the big battles.

The enemy fights us not only with guns but with lies about the history of our people. He tries to make us feel that black is weak, that black is inferior and that black is doomed to have a second place in our country forever. Let us answer their lies so that every black child will know the truth; that he is strong, that he is equal and that the future of our land lies in his two hands.

Youth of our land, you must learn the skills which will bring us victory. You must try to get a gun. You must learn to use it. You must learn to hide it properly until the time for action comes. You must organise every young patriot in your school and university. You must develop a pride in every young man and woman in his blackness, in his strength

and in his future.

Young people who read this will know best how to do the job in the places where they study, work and live. But remember that organisation is everything. Much of what we have to do has to be done secretly and cleverly. Start off with some of your trusted friends and build in such a way that it will be difficult for the enemy and his agents to smash you.

You are part of the people—of the workers in the towns and those on the land. Organise, prepare and fight back. FUSE HELD

DOWN B

WON'T THIS GET US INTO TROUBLE?

There can be no liberation without risking trouble. The methods we use must give the enemy as few victims as possible. But there is no way to freedom without sacrifice.

VHAT ABOUT AGENTS AND INFORMERS?

A man who sells himself to the enemy and betrays his friends and his neighbours to the police is like a poisonous snake which must be destroyed. We must make them fear our strength more than the enemy's strength.

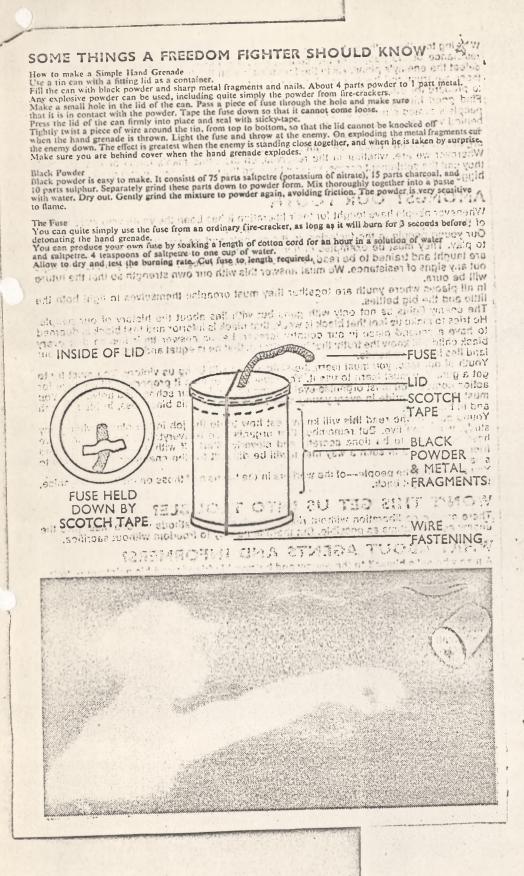
WHEN DO WE ACT?

When we are ready. With the people behind us each attack by the enemy will find us not weaker but stronger.

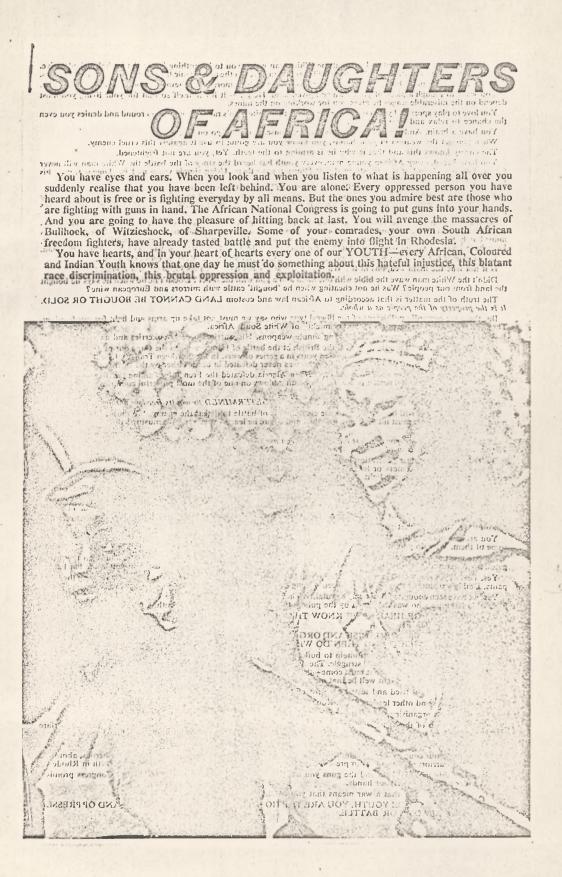
What we all do in the factories, in the townships, on the land and amongst the youth is an essential part of the freedom fight; it is part of the building up of the forces of our people to take back our land. Our mass actions in the towns and in the countryside will help and encourage those who fight the enemy with weapons in their hands. In the same way our armed freedom fighters will inspire and encourage people everywhere to spit defiance at our rulers. Together, these two streams will grow into a mighty river which will end oppression forever in our own country.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CALLS UPON YOU TO ORGANISE EVERYWHERE TO WIN BACK OUR COUNTRY!

LISTEN TO THE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON RADIO EVERY SUNDAY, MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY ON SHORT WAVE 1, 19.44 METRES AT 8.45 P.M.



Ex ttt° C



You are a student, you want to learn but the White man wants you to be nothing better than a half-baked native. He gives you Buntu Education. And he never will permit you to reach the astronomic heights of the moon and the stars. You are a young worker but the White boxs wants you to be nothing more than a hewer of wood for him and a nungry. You want to plough a piece of your own god-given land. He grabs it for himself so that for your living you must You love to play sport and you have an ear for puisic, the White man's racism hounds you round and denies you even the chance to relax and enjoy yourself. You have a brain. And you know that this kind of nonsense cannot go on forever.

When you get the weapon in your hands, you know you are going to use it against this cruel enemy.

When you get the weapon in your hands, you know you are going to use it against this effect enemy. The enemy knows this and that is why he is arming to the teeth. Yet, you are not frightened. You have heard, every African young man, every youth has heard the story of the battle the White man will never treet. You have heard of the disastrous defeat Dingaan gave them. Using simple weapons King Dingaan, gave his charter warriors: "order to his brave warriors:

Of their fand.

What is important to understand about this battle is that Dingaan fully understood that he was dealing with a desperate, brutal and ruthless enemy. He therefore devised a plan of action that would meet the situation. You must dismiss immediately the White man's attempt to portray Dingaan as a barbarian for conducting the battle the way he did. Everybody knows what the White colonialist police and soldiers do when they eatch you without a weapon in your hand. Dingaan used the well known military principle of DECEPTION and SURPRISE to crush the enemy. It is not true the main weapons in the White colonialist arsenal have been tricks, lies and deception?

Didn't the White man wave the bible with one hand and a gun with the other? Doesn't he lie when he says he bought the land from our people? Was he not cheating when he bought' cattle with mirrors and European wine?

The truth of the matter is that according to African law and custom LAND CANNOT BE POLICET ON SOLD

The truth of the matter is that according to African law and custom LAND CANNOT BE BOUGHT OR SOLD. It is the property of the people as a whole.

But there are cowardly politicians of the liberal type who say we must not take up arms and fight for our freedom. They say we can never defeat the "military might" of White South Africa.

But Dingaan did. He destroyed them using simple weapons. His warriors used knobkerries and assegais.

Cetywayo defeated and utterly disgraced the British at the battle of Isandiwana. In the Cape our people resisted the White colonialist invaders for almost a hundred years in a series of wars. In the Northern Transvaal, Schhukuni routed the Boers in many a battle. Moshoeshoe in Lesotho was never defeated in battle either by the Boers or by the British.

In modern times, we have seen how our brothers in Algeria defeated the French by fighting guerilla warfare. And in far away Vietnam a small nation is dealing devastating blows on one of the most powerful countries in the world— America.

History has shown that provided a people is UNITED and DETERMINED to win its freedom nothing can stop them. But like Dingaan, it will be necessary to use clever plans of battle to defeat the enemy. We must use Surprise. We must use deception. We must hit and hit hard when and where he leasts expects us. We must use the tactics of guerilla

Dingaan used simple weapons against him. You too can use simple weapons to attack and rout him and take his gun. That is an important lesson of Guerilla Warfare.

By tradition the younger generation in our society never takes the initiative in anything without first of all getting the go-ahead from the seniors or leaders. The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, today gives you the right to go-ahead. You have the green light.

Many times, some of our youth come to the leaders and say: "we would like to burn down the pass office, can we go-ahead?" The A.N.C. says "Burn, baby, burn!"

You have said you have no money to carry out organisational work. But there is a bank not far from you. You guys you must take it. That is our gold.

You have whispered that you know where you can steal a gun or two. Steal it man!

You are complaining that you cannot organise because there are spies and informers everywhere. You even know some of them. Why do you allow them to have a good time by betraying the nation?

No one must ask where are the leaders. Some are in Robben Island waiting for you to come and open the prison gates. Some are abroad organising material support. But when the hour strikes they will be with you in the battlefield.

Yes, Thabo, yes you there Nomsa, you Abdul, you Boitjie—you too are leaders. You are no longer wearing the boy's pants. Daddy's trousers fit you. The fight needs young men and women like you.

Yes, we have seen enough of the enemy's brutality. The spirit of some of our youth like Vuyisile Mini who was hanged, like Habla Saloojee who was murdered by the police stands as a challenge to our youth. IN OUR HEART OF HEARTS WE KNOW THAT OUR TURN TO GO FORWARD AND SACRIFICE IS

COME, IT HAS COME!

We have to ORGANISE, ORGANISE AND ORGANISE. WE HAVE TO PREACH UNITY, TO BUILD UNITY. WE HAVE TO SACRIFICE. AND THEN DO WHAT?

In 1912, our people met in Bloemfontein to build unity. They formed the African National Congress. The A.N.C. went along the long road of peaceful struggle. The A.N.C. was schooling the masses through practical though peaceful struggle—preparing for the day that must come—the day when we make it a gun for a gun. In Victnam they have been fighting for thirty years. It might well be that our period of armed struggle will be shorter,

The A.N.C. has been tried and tested and proved to be the unyielding leader of our people.

Nelson Mandela and other leaders are in Robben Island waiting for you to come and open the doors.

Oliver Tambo is organising from outside waiting for you to stand up tall and receive a gun and FIGHT,

Yes, this violence of the White oppressors will be met by our revolutionary violence. If we fight guerilla warfare

What must be done? We must do two things,

1. From inside our country we must mobilise the masses, Not in the old way. Tell them about our heroes, about the bravery of our warriors of old and of our present day freedom fighters who have fought so well in the North in Rhodesia.

2. From outside material help and the guns you need will be organised. The African National Congress promises today to place the GUN in your hands.

3. Everyone must know that a war means that you MUST KILL.

THE HOUR HAS COME! YOUTH, YOU ARE THE HOPE OF OUR LONG SUFFERING AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. GET READY FOR BATTLE. 1 300

PAUL MACHIEL STEYN

Ex VV'15

VERKLAAR:

Ek is Nr. 30481M SERSANT in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie gestasioneer te Radiotak Distrik 39, Johannesburg.

Op die 13/8/1970 omstreeks 7.10 nm. asgevolg van m radio boodskap het ek gegaan na die 'Rand Daily Mail' kantoor, h/v Mooi en Mainstrate, Johannesburg.

Op my aankoms aldaar het ek n Mnr. King gespreek wat n rapport aan my gemaak het en wat n papiersak van
'Pick n Pay' aan my uit gewys het wat voor die gebou voor die
hoof-ingang gestaan het.

Ek is na die sak en gevind dat daar m aantal pamflette in die papiersak was en dat dit tot bo vol was. Daar was verskeie mense blank sowel as nie-blank wat voor die gebou saam gedrom het.

Ek het van een van die nagwagte gehoor dat hy die papiersak daar voor die perseel gevind het, en dat hy dit na die hoof redakteur geneem het waarop die hom op sy beurt na buite terug gestuur het, om dit weer terug te plaas waar hy dit gevind het.

Ek het die papiersak toe na die kant van die gebou gene Vir Veiligheids-doeleindes omtrent tien tree van waar dit oorspronklik deur my gevind is.

Toe ek die papiersak op die grond neer geplaas het, het ek n suis geluid gehoor en n rooi vlam het die lug in gegaan, ek het my gesig van die papiersak weggeruk en my linker arm is gebrand, sowel as my uniform, baadjie en kombinasie lyfband.

Na die ontploffing het ek gevind dat daar m plastiese emmer in die papiersak was met m 'tiepe horlosie' wat gekonekteer was met twee floto batterye wat na die ontploffing alle pamflette die lug ingeskiet het.

Later het Lt. van Heerden en S/Sersant Potgieter van Veiligheid daar aangekom wat besonderhede geneem het en wat beslag op die bom apparaat gelê het.

SERS.

J.V.PLEIN - 14/8/1970 -

- 10.15 vm.

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GERT JANSEN VAN RENSBURG

"WW" 158

VERKLAAR:

1.

Ek is n Majoor in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie te Johannesburg gestasioneer waar ek aan die Veiligheidstak verbonde is.

2.

Op 18.3.1966 het ek Woonstel Nr. 7 Raleigh Court, Raleighstraat, Yoeville, Johannesburg deursoek.

3.

Hierdie woonstel was deur MNR. VICTOR FINKELSTEIN gehuur en was deur hom en m sekere MNR. CHARLES KATZ bewoon.

4.

MNR. V. FINKELSTEIN sowel as MNR. C. KATZ was albei tydens die deursoeking teenwoordig.

5.

Tydens die deursoeking het ek op boeke, pamflette, briewe, n tikmasjien en dokumente beslag gelê.

6.

Onder die dokumente waarop ek beslag gelê het was onder andere n dokument getiteld "FRELIMO MEMORANDUM". Hierdie memorandum handel oor metodes om ondervraging te weerstaan en gee wenke om onder sekere omstandighede nie 'enige inligting te verstrek nie.

70

Tydens verdere ondersoek in hierdie verband was dit vasgestel dat hierdie boeke, dokumente ens. die eiendom was van ABRAM FISCHER. Dit was ook vasgestel dat ABRAM FISCHER die voorsitter is van die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommuniste Party. Deskundige ondersoek deur handskrif deskundiges het ook bevestig dat hierdie dokument opgestel is op n tikmasjien wat die eiendom van ABRAM FISCHER was.

ABRAM FISCHER was aangekla vir sy bedrywighede en tot lewenslange gevangenisstraf gevonnis. Hierdie dokument was een van die bewysstukke wat in die saak teen hom ingedien was.

M.S.J.J. VAN RENSBURG.

JOHANNESBURG.

1.12.1971.

Dis veridenties even det lavity op The denement has acknowledged heegtsis met die in oud van har he then he/she knews and understrees veridering ver bedeelig / heve die veridering ver bedeelig / heve die ver even nie this as idevit which veridering / de neider far as tond the contents of this as idevit which ver even nie the end before me en vere my en veridering / herek is in my technique die descrop aange- my presence.

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GERHARDUS PETRUS VAN TONDER

VERKLAAR

Ep"XX"

1.

Ek is Nr. 30356R Speurder Adjudant Offisier in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie verbonde aan die Veiligheidstak, Afdeling Johannesburg.

2.

Op 19/3/1971 en as gevolg van inligting ontvang, is navrae by die Poskantoor te Fordsburg ingestel op soek na n stuk geadresseer aan H.D. MARAIS, Poste Restante, Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

.3.

n Beampte in beheer is versoek om indien sodanige stuk bekom word, dit aan te hou en my onverwyld in kennis te stel.

4.

Op 22/3/1971 is vasgestel dat sodanige stuk wel opgespoor is.

5.

Op 5/4/1971 is die inligting met die plaaslike Hoofstaatsaanklaer bevorder met die oog op n lasgewing kragtens Art. 118 Wet 44/1958 tot beslaglegging.

6.

Op 13/4/1971 is die verlange lasgewing bekom.

7.

Op 14/4/1971 is die lasgewing uitgevoer en beslag op die stuk gelê.

8.

Op 10/5/1971 is James Edward APPRIL tot 15 jaar gevangenisstraf in die Hoër hof te Pietermantzburg gevonnis.

Thomas S/A/OFF

G.P. VAN TONDER.

JOHANNESBURG: 1/12/1971

: 9.30 vm.

Ek sertifiseer dat die verklaarder erken dat hy/sy ten volle op heegte is met die inhoud van hierdie verklaring en dit begryp. Hierdie verklaring was beldigt voor n.v. en verblaard? se and inderstands the contents of this affid, it which was sworn to a filmed before me and the dependent's singeture themby trint/ mark was placed thereon in any presence.

Vrederegter/Justice of the Powe.

Kommissaris van Ede/Commissione/ of Oaths.

Datum / / 2 7/ Plek
Place

Interromation and the Status Sethed To Frelino members have had much experience in Monasbique of police daterrogation where solitary confinement and the so-called "statue" notheds have been used. In this monorradum I abail andouvour to not out what general conclusions are be aroun from this or, orience. First fourtheir: The inamperienced and untrained prisoner who for the first time finds himself gut into solitary confinement and expects to have to undergo lautal interrogation ecompanied by many long hours of standing feels frightened and overswed. It need to him that as far up he is concerned the struggle for freedamide every there is nothing core that be can do; all the power now rests with the police and they will be able to do whitever they like with him. This for him is usually the worst period, or one of the worst. No sunt impediately start to stool himself. He must realize that this first resultion is incorrects. The struggle for him is not ever; it continues in pricent. While his position of weakness any spen hopeloss, this is not in fact so - he has cortain assets Thile the roter of the police may seem unlimited, this also is not so the interrogators too have their limitations. The interrogator will naturally try to hide these fosts. His took is to try to make the prisurer believe that no human power our withstand this interregation and that polico pamoro and their capacity for brutality are limitless. that the situation remains a "two-way" mituation, a contest, and if such be made by the prisoner to remain so. It must not be allowed to become a "con-way" situation in which all the initiative is with the interrogator. The aim of the pricinar must be to mike the interreptor think that it is hopeless to try to extract inferential from him and cospel him to break off the contact between the two of them The Princer's Defences and Counter-attacks (a) The pricener must examine; try to find out and understand what his can weaknesses may bo. In must constantly watch himself. On the one hand he must avoid being "chatty" and thereby establishing a "friendly" relationship between himself and the Interrogators One of the effocts of solitary confinement is to wake the prisoner decire contact with other lamen being, even the interrogator. This he must avoid at all cests. take his explinement periously by organising his time and thoughts couther to does not develop this decire. He must do all he can to counteract weaknesses he personally may devoled because of his solitary confinement. This is an individual ratter and each our cust afuly his own wasknesses. He must be on the look-out constantly. (b) On the other hand, he must not become so angry and hostile that he become excesses involved with his interrogator - that he embarks on long political discussions with the interregator. Teny facts and such information can be given away in such discussions. fact one of the objects of the interregation is to provoles the prisoner into this sort of discursion. (c) The correct attitude therefore is one of cold, eilent are angor and heatility. haynoto is see of non-ecoporation. himners on h

the ferm which terture may take or at the knowledge which the interrogator may show that he has. The princer must expect every kind of terture and most expect that the interrogator has picked up all corts of information that he, the princers, thought was absolutely secret. It makes no difference that the Interrogator known more than you thought he did. You still must not centim it or in any way add to it, even unwittingly

- (0) The prisoner sust all times remember that he is not in fact faced with 'absolute' powers. The intervegator is or may be subject to 'restrictions' either because his superiors have I id down certain limitations beyond which he may not go or because the particular interregator has certain personal weaknesses which prevent his free going to the limit or the pretended limit. The prisoner should therefore to constantly testing the intervegator to find out how far he is prepared to go. If personal weaknesses can be found, the prisoner must play on these. As far as possible the intervegator must be said to understand the dirty game he is playing.
- (f) There are other limitations to the 'absolute' power of the interrogator. The 'interrogator himself can get bered or think that some other line of investigation may prove more profitable. After all his remard is his premotion or the culmination of his investigation in a presecution. It may well be that if the main prisoner holds out for another hour or two, the interrogator will conclude that his time can be spent better eleculars.
- (g) It is important for the prisoner to realize that the human being is enjable of compting himself to impredible hardship. The poverty-stricken peoples of Africa and Asia descentrate this through-out the years. He must therefore realize that he can 'habituate' himself to isolation, to interrogution and even to different forms of torture.
- (h) LOTT BE PASSIVE: The prisoner must above all not be passive. He must carry on the struggle actively at all times. He must not co-operate in any may, not in small ways e.g. be accepting ten and cake or a cigarette, nor in important matters, e.g. by attending when he is told to stand. He should rather provide assault than agree to stand and thus become his own terturer. Where a 'two-tmy mituation, a content' is kept alive, non-ecoparation exasperates the interrogator. He is also subject to strain and he also reacts. The prisoner must be on the lookeut for signs of strain, e.g. shouting, loss of temper and assaults. An assault may very well to the prelude to prisoner's victory.

4. Dieplet Instructions

I do not believe in a blanket instruction that prisoners abould not anomal any questions at all. I believe this to be unrealistic and I think that the U.S.A. and authorities have esse to the same conclusion.

Here one nust distinguish between (a) Cases where setual forthe is used and then it is not used; (b) Cases where the prisoner is deeply involved and there he is nevely peripherally involved.

As to (a): I essue that the prisoner is constantly testing his interrogator. It is interrogator is prepared to go to the limit in terture, there ere very few busines who can stand up to this. In these circumstances the prisoner is almost bound to give some information away. When this ha pens, and if the prisoner has been a "blanket" instruction, then he feels ashamed; he has broken a fundamental rule of his cole, there is nothing more to hold on to, and he is thus more likely to give everything he knows. If, however, he regards the interrogation as a perpetual contact.

and finds that the interregator is prepared to go to the limit, then he will use all possible name to play for time: So then to the lawstory, protect to be ill or unconscious, agree to make a statement, and take hours doing so (e.g. because he is too week to write and needs a rest) and give away as little as he possibly can.

A "blanket" instruction may lead to a total loss of normle.

As to (b), the can who is only peripherally involved and who can get many with a "story", a. by lying or by putting the blame on those who are already out of danger, should be allowed to do so and should not be provented from duing this by a blambet instruction.

5. Training: One of the main ind difficulties, of course, lies in cetting across to any considerable body of mon these semenhat complicated instructions and ideas. That is viry training and discipline for these who are out of the country and are waiting to come back, are of crucial importance.

Such men must in the first place, live under conditions where the strictest dissipline is maintained at all times. This is necessary for two reasons without such discipline world cannot be maintained and morale is important for the purposes of propering for possible interrogation as well as for other purposes. Secondly, all persons are not muitable subjects for submission to possible interrogations. These mothed of weeding out the unsuitable people is by testing them by discipline. These who cannot willingly apply discipline to themselves, should cartainly not be chosen as caudidates for possible interrogation.

Put in addition to this there must be constant training and saluration in the principles set out above. Classes and discussion must be hold. For must be thought to prayers themselves contally and physically for the worst forms of interrogation. They should even, as the Americans secretices do, submit each other to octual assault and terture. Perfers they return they must fully understand the nature of the contest which they will have to carry on with their interrogators should they to pulled in and how it should be carried as possibly interrogators should they to pulled in and how it should be carried as constant of a final conclusion — suicide, but cortainly to such aggressive methods of counter-attack as magor strikes, passive resistance, etc.

P. Lopese

AUGMENTED MEETING

Ex "RR"H25.135

The C.C. (Central Committee) has recently held an augmented meeting at which it reviewed our policy and activity in every field. It is impossible by 'these means to give you a meaningful picture of the extensive discussions which ranged over such topics as our international position, the situation at home and on our continent, the problem of how the party exercises its leading role, both as an independent oragnisation and in its relationships with the national movement and a more concise consideration of our (more) approach to the armed struggle and its relationship to the political struggle. The meeting dealt in great detail with the needs of reconstruction and the intensification of propaganda at home which dominated our discussions as the foremost tasks facing us in these fields the meeting noted the encouraging steps already taken and took decisions to improve still further our internal work with an emphasis on grouth coupled with the strictest security. We attach the broad guidelines for the expansion of our internal organisation which you should (more) study carefully. Your comments would It is now more than ever necessary that be welcome. you should create around yourself (in a most careful and security tight way) an apparatus capable of functioning as a political collective and having the capacity to produce propaganda material indigenously. Among the dicisions taken was a directive to the Central Committee to work for the publication of an internal party journal - a task to which no doubt you will contribute. You will hear further from us on these and related questions. Next year is the 50th anniversary of the foundation of our (more) party and it will be an occasion to undertake extensive activity inside our country. You will hear further about this later in the year.

We send you our warmest greetings and congratulate you on the work you have already done in your post which is of tremendous importance to the future of our revolutionary growth.

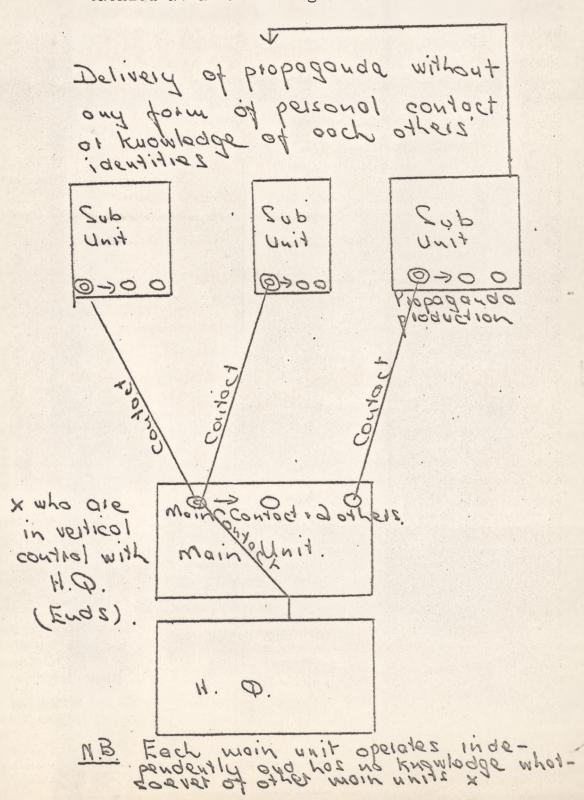
GUIDELINES FOR THE EXPANSION OF OUR INTERNAL ORGANISATION :

- (1) Our main contact will aim to recruit two others with whom he can work as a collective unit. This we call the main unit.
- (2) No recruiting is to be carried out without first obtaining the permission of headquarters.
- (3) At an early stage the <u>main unit</u> must make provision for the following: (more)
 - (a) Finding a place at which illegal propaganda can be produced with safety;
 - (b) Obtaining all technical equipment necessary for propaganda production:
 - (c) Working out postal and physical techniques of propaganda distribution. In the case of physical distribution the methods evoked should in general minimise the risk of exposure by the use of timing devices of various sorts.
- (4) All communications between the main unit and Head-quarters shall be conducted by the main contact and he alone shall have konwledge of the specific methods employed. But special techniques must be worked out which would enable one or other of the other two members of the main unit to take over communications in the event of the main contact becoming incapacitated.
- (5) It is only in exceptional (more) circumstances that the main contact should himself take part in physical propaganda distribution.
- (6) In the event of any member of any unit being detained by the authorities the others shall act on the assumption that their own detention will immediately follow and they must therefore without delay get out of harm's way. Each comrade must work out a contingency plan for himself which must not be known to the others.

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- (7) The <u>main unit</u> should work carefully and securely for the creation of <u>sub units</u> which will be under its control.
- (8) There shall be no contact between any of our main units (even if operating in the same area) except through Headquarters.
- (9) The following rules shall apply to the creation of sub units:
 - (a) No person should be approached or recruited without the unanimous agreement of the main unit concerned.
 - (b) The main contact shall under no circumstances appraoch or recruit any member to a <u>sub uhit</u> nor shall his connection with the organisation be known to any person other than Headquarters and the other two members of his <u>main unit</u> in other words the approach and recruiting to a <u>sub unit</u> must be carried out by the other two members of the main unit.
 - (c) A <u>sub unit</u> shall consist of not more than three people.
 - (d) The <u>sub-unit</u> shall be in contact with the <u>main</u> unit through one of its comrades appointed for this purpose by the <u>main unit</u>. No member of the <u>sub unit</u> other than this appointee shall know the identity of the contact from the main unit.
 - (e) Specific and safe contingency arrangements must be worked out to re-establish (more) communication in the event of a break-down in the contact system between the main unit and the sub unit.
 - (f) When the main unit has succeeded in establishing two or more sub units (who of course
 are not aware of each others existence) it
 will be advisable to separate the function
 of propaganda manufacture from distribution.
 For this purpose the main unit may designate one of its sub units to devote itself

1239 structure and its growth. It should be emphasised that in the initial period we envisage the creation of a multitude of main units who are unaware (more) of each other's existence. Thus an enemy break-through to one of our main units aught in no way effect the operation of the others. At this stage whatever co-ordination is necessary will be done through Headquarters and the problem of local co-ordination can be best tackled at a later stage.



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The fact that it is possible for our forces inside the country to produce this news letter and have it distributed amongst our people is a positive sign that not all the terror unleashed by the South African State can halt our freedom fighters from carrying on the struggle against apartheid and racial discremination.

The Government is attempting to silence the true voice of our people by making it well-nigh impossible for the South African Indian Congress to function openly as the mouth piece of the Community. The only voice that is allowed to be heard is the false voice of the South African Indian Council composed as it is of stooges - of 'ya-baas' men.

Neither the S.A. Indian Council nor any other agency of the Government can make us swallow the deadly apartheid poison. We are learning (more) from bitter experience that the Vorster regime is using every means of coercion and intimidation at its disposal to drive us from our hearth and home, to rob us of our means of livelihood and force us to live in ghettoes, the so-called Indian Group Areas. The group areas are designed to become the graveyard of the Indian community.

The true voice of the poeple must continue to be heard. The news letter must voice the true aspirations of the people. It must help to inspire and mobilise them for greater and more effective resistance against apartheid tyranny, for an end to racial discrimination in all its nefarious forms.

Brothers and sisters: We must make it our duty to get hold of a copy of the news letter, read it and acquaint ourselves with what is going on all around us - both inside the country and outside. Inside the country, the oppressed people are finding new forms of struggle - new ways to (more) outwit and out-fox the security branch and its hordes of spies and informers. In the outside world the voice of opposition to apartheid is becoming ever louder and stronger.

11.25

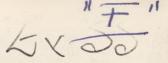
We are not alone. Our fight is a tributary of the mighty river of the struggle for national liberation.

History calls upon each one of us to play his or her full part, together with our African and Coloured brothers, for the overthrow of white supremacy A and for a free South Africa for all.

What must we do? We must organise against apartheid in the schools and colleges, in the warehouses and workshops, in residential and group areas—wherever our people live and work. We must find suitable methods of making our opposition to apartheid felt, in every possible way. We must not allow the Government and its stooges to use our religious and cultural institutions to dope and to divert us from the noble path of (more) the freedom struggle; we must always remember that religion and culture cannot flourish without basic human rights and freedoms.

We shall resist!
We shall be free!

ENDS.



The use of CS's (Code Systems) is an absolute necessity for the growth of our organisation. Specifically, such a system

- for the purposes of communication between members of a group and between different units;
- (ii) and for the keeping of official records. The CS's basically falls into two distinct categories:
 - (i) Those used by the Main Unit;

is used for two primary purposes :-

(ii) Those used by or for sub-units.

Code Systems for the Main Unit.

- These systems must initially be written out. They must be memorised by each member and written copies must then be destroyed.
- b) No single system will be accepted as perfect. Methods will be chosen to suit circumstances and to satisfy needs of adoption.
- c) Each system will be named, for e.g., the word 'BABY' can be used to indicate a particular system.
- d) The system used will be of two types, namely, visual and auditory.
- e) Again names can be assigned to the two types, e.g. the visua systems can be called 'Mother' and auditory ones 'Father'.
- f) The two types, on certain occasions, can be employed together, the audio-visual systems can then be called 'Father-Mother'.
- g) Although there should be no restrictions placed on the number of CSs used by the Main Unit, it is practical to use only a few, say five in all.
- h) If a certain CS is found to be inoperative on certain occasions, it need not be abolished for good but could be used on another convenient occasion.
- i) Also if a new system can be used to greater advantage than any existing one, it must be added to the list of CSs and must be put into effect.
- j) A CS must be put out of use (and forgotten) if a member 'mislays' it.
- k) Considering the fact that the CSs. once devised, will be memorised so that no physical trace of them will be left members must devolop the habit of revising them regular, In fact it is advisable that members should one another on their content. ...2/.

j) The suitability of any system should be thoroughly in discussed before it is put to use.

Code Systems for Sub Units.

- a) For reasons of practicality these should be visual ones only.
- b) A CS must be worked out for each sub-unit.
- c) The CS must, however, bear some relation to one another, that is to say they should be different only in degree.
- d) A type (model) of the CSs for the sub-units can be included as one of CSs in 'Mother'. This system must be memorised by the members of the Main Unit but must, for no reasons at all be used.
- e) It may be argued that communication between Main Unit and Sub-Units and between members of any sub-unit can be effected without the use CSs. In fact, it can even be said that the use of CSs exposes the organisation to suspicion and that the similiarity of the systems is sufficient evidence for the enemy to round the members of the sub-units. These are definitely disadvantages, but the advantages after precautionary allocation far outweigh the disadvantages.
- f) A CSc must exist for each sub-unit. The latter need not be aware of this. This means that as far as a particular sub-unit is concerned it has no CS.
- g) Communication between the Main Unit and Sub-units must, most of the time, be done by direct language. It is only when use of direct language risks exposure, a Cs be allocated to a sub-unit and subsequently be employed.
- h) The CSs once deviced must be put into writing and be handed out to the approriate sub-units. Members of the sub-units will not be asked to memorise them. From the security angle, the destruction of copies in the hands of members of the sub-units will be a ludicrous asking. However, no copies will be held by the Main Unit. The Main Unit will keep a record of the CSs for sub-units in one of its own CSs.

'Mother' --- Baby: :

The following sentence is written down on paper and each letter of the alpabet is numbered as indicated :-

ADDENDUM : To 'Guidelines'.

- a) Each member of every group must receive Theoretical guidance as to the nature and perspectives of our struggle.
- b) A Political Charter of allegiance should be drawn up in simple terms by the Main Group.
- c) A leader should be appointed in each group. The leader should be (appointed) elected on the basis of his revolutionary dedication, integrity and seriousness in working towards the realisation of our noble ideals.
- d) Every member of our organisation must swear allegiance that he or she does not work for any material benefits but for patriotic ideals.
- e) Pseudonyms are to be used for members of the organisation.
 A number is to be given to each sub-group. The number allocated should aim to confuse the enemy.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EQUIPMENT.

The primary purpose for obtaining photographic equipment is the following:-

- a) Propaganda purposes -- photos to be taken showing injustices and sufferings inflicted on our people by our enemy;
- b) Photos of enemy installations -- with specail attention given to vital industrial and millitary installations;
- c) Forging of documents -- all sorts of papers and documents necessary for our work could be counterfeited.

Equipment suggested for purchasing :-

- a) Nikkomat FTn --- (approx. R258)
- b) Enlarger Durst M600 --- (approx. R106) --- documents can be counterfeited from this enlarger ---- identical replicas can be produced.

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- Cine camera --- Nikkon Zoom Super 8 mm --- (approx. R200) --- can be used also for projecting film on TV.
- d) Additional lenses and equipment could be purchased --- (approx. R100) for example, zoom + telephoto lenses --- this could reduce any document or picture to about 2.25 x 3 cm. in size.
- e) Dark room and place for installing our equipment is available.
- A. Reasons for Obtaining Pringting Machine.

 To be used essentially for the printing of pamphlets, documents, newspaper, magazines, books and booklets.

 Also as a source of income in pringting legal work.

 This is however, subjected to the nature of the purchase.
- B. Pretexts to be used in Obtaining Machine.

The purchase of the machine is to be conducted on either one of two levels, namely:

- i) an existing business /home to be used as a front or
- ii) the purchase to be shrouded in absolute secrecy and no trace to be left of persons responsible for the ownership.

The following conditions are to be observed when machine is to be obtained under point (i):-

- a) Approach a business firm or the owner of a home for the purpose of using his premises on the basis of tenancy;
- b) The owner must derive financial benefit for letting out his premises:
- of machine, but is aware that we are in some form of legal printing work;

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- d) The nature of the place should be one in which the owner is 'struggling' and he thus becomes partially dependent upon us by benefiting from the extra source of income received from us;
- e) The place should be suitable for installing our equipment especially in terms of security related to safety of machine, safety of operations;
- f) Also investigate some essential personal charecteristics of the owner, such as whether he is literate or not, what family commitments does he have, is he a reserved and domesticated person, and so on.

 A thorough investigation of prospective persons who will fullfill these conditions must be carried out immediately.

The following conditions are observed when machine is to be purchased under point (ii) above :-

- a) An emigrant can be used;
- b) A business man about to go insolvent can be approached;
- receiving purchase machine. In this case the owner should not know the real identity of his tenants, therefore he sho not be residing in the same place. Advisable to offer rent in advance and excuse used for vacating premises will be because of it's unsuitability for ourpurposes;
- d) When delivery of the machine is effected by us. We should in this case make indirect inquiries regarding the policy of the firm in connection with delivery. Is it normal practice for own delivery of machine?
- e) A person who is specially brought out here for the purpose of purchasing the machine. He should convey the impression that he has been living around here for quite some time now. The purchase in this case is to be effected as quikly as possible.

C. Means of Payment for the machine.

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The method used in paying for the machine is subjected basically to the nature of purchase, however payment can be effected in one of the following ways:-

- a) Through purchase of shares on the market;
- b) When our money is deposited into a savings account;
- c) payment by cash;
- d) payment through a current account;
- e) payment on hire purchase system;

It is essential to obtain the precise policy of the firm regarding the various forms of payment.

D. Pringting Accessories Required for Machine.

- a) Most of the information in this respect will be obtained from the distributor of the machine;
- b) Investigate places from where paper requirements etc. could be obtained without arousing any suspicition from any quarter;
- c) Inquire about guillotine, stapling, binding, etc.

E. Training For Operating Machine.

- a) Training to be received by us irrespective of the fact that it's a'legal' or an 'illegal' purchase;
- b) Handbook should be obtained and fully studied and if it suffices for operating the machine then no need for training is required. This is significant especially when related to illegal purchase.
- c) Obtain further guidance in training from person/s who already own such a machine;

F. Servicing and Maintenance of Machine.

Legal Purchase :-

- a) How regularly it should be serviced;
- b) . Nature of method related to servicing,

...7./

foreg. are their <u>OWN</u> personnel involved in this, is their any fixed time for servicing themachine, for eg. every six months or so.;

c) Possibility of acquiring know how of servicing.

Illegal Purchase :-

- a) Possibility of acquiring know how of servicing;
- b) Contact person who is acquainted with knowledge of machine and who knows how to service it.
- C. Obtain Information About Availibility of Different Machines.

Geen uitbreiding hierop.

AMENDMENTS to DRAFT GUIDELINES related to 'ORGANISATION'

- comprising of three persons. In such a case we then allow flexibility in the number of persons which constitue a sub-group. It must however be emphasised that from a security angle it is not in our interest to have too many members in a sub-group. Three persons is the ideal number, less then that, or one more then the ideal number cannot be considered as too risky.
- should be no DIRECT contact between members of the Main Group and any sub-group. Indirect methods of contact should be worked out with each group and work is delegated to this group on the basis of this form of contact. Direct Contact, through an appointee of the Main Group could be established at a later stage when the Main Group is absolutely satisfied with the sincerity and seriousness of each member of the sub-group; or with the group as awhole.
- c) Division of Work could be established both within and between sub-groups. The latter becomes more

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apparent and practicable in the earlier infant stages of our organisation.

d) In the event of amember of sub-group being detained the whole sub-group is to be abolished.

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