

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
(TRANSVAAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

In the matter between:

THE STATE

v

1. THELLE SIMON MOGOERANE
2. JERRY SEMANO MOSOLOLI
3. THABO MARCUS MOTAUNG

ACCUSED 1, 2 and 3 sentenced to death by the
Hon. Mr Justice CURLEWIS (and two ASSESSORS)
at PRETORIA on 6 AUGUST 1982 for the crime of
HIGH TREASON.

VOLUME 16

Pages 1322 - 1391

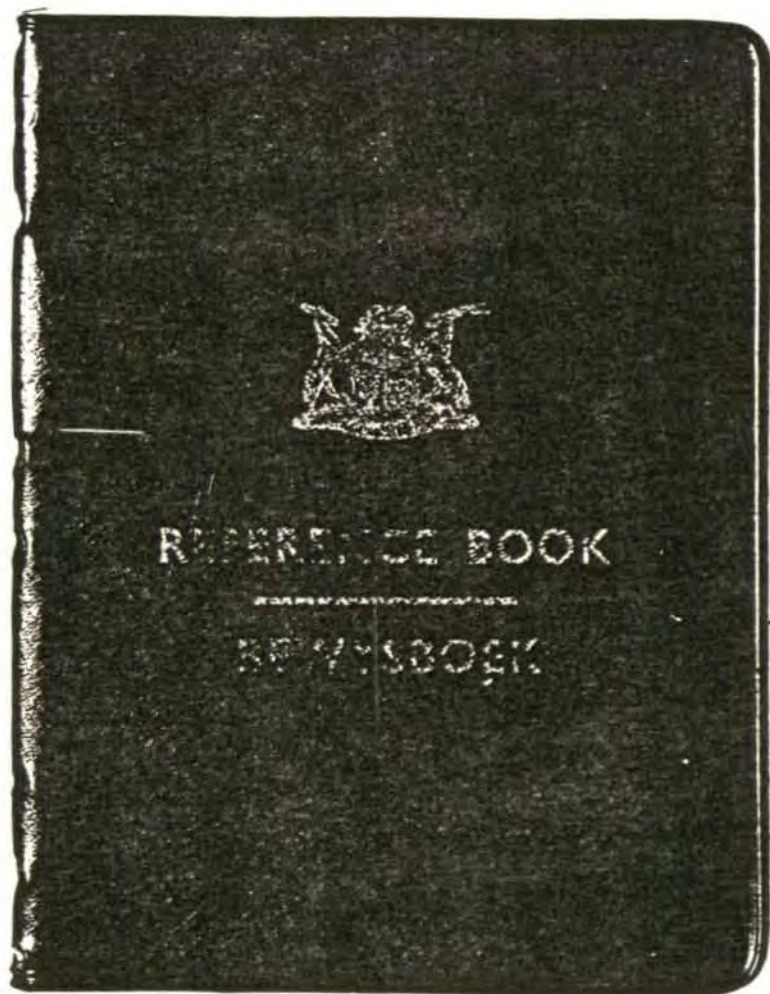
VOLUME 16PageBEWYSSTUKKE (VERVOLG)

HH - Bewysboek - J.M. Monareng	1322 - 1341
JJ - Bewysboek - J. Lebogang	1342 - 1361
KK - Bundel dokumente van ANC	1362 - 1391

BEWYSSTUK HH

BEWYSBOEK NR. 5601887 - JACOB MOJALEFA MONARENG

VOORBLAD



REFERENCE BOOK.—BEWYSBOEK.

WARNING: It is an offence for any person other than the one authorised or required by law to make any entry in this book.

WAARSKUWING: Dit is 'n oortreding vir enige persoon wat nie by wet daartoe gemagtig of verplig is nie, om enige inskrywing in hierdie boek aan te bring.

INDEX.—INDEKS.

- A. (1) Residential address.
Woonadres.
- (2) Administration.
Administrasie.
- B. Employment.
Indiensneming.
- C. General and hospital tax.
Algemene en hospitaalbelasting.
- D. Local tax, levies and rates.
Plaaslike belasting en heffings.
- E. Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V),
Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V),
Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.
- F. Driver's licences.
Bestuurderslisensies.
- G. Licences to possess arms.
Lisensies om wapens te besit.
- H. Personal particulars.
Persoonlike besonderhede.

A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H

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CAPE TOWN

Gedruk vir die Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, deur
KAAP EN TRANSVAAL DRUKKERS BPK.
KAAPSTAD

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
ADMINISTRATION. ADMINISTRASIE.							
<p>Permitted to be in the prescribed area of Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van</p> <p>JOHANNESBURG for the purpose of te wees met die doel om</p> <p>at Schoorlag and to reside tot 31/12/72 en te woon</p> <p>(1) (1) A, C Labour Officer Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 15 27</p> <p>Date Datum 20/10/72 27</p>							
<p>Permitted to be in the prescribed area of Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van</p> <p>JOHANNESBURG for the purpose of te wees met die doel om</p> <p>at Schoorlag and to reside tot 31/12/73 en te woon</p> <p>(1) (1) A, Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 44 34</p> <p>Date Datum 23/1/73 34</p>							
<p>Permitted to be in the prescribed area of Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van</p> <p>JOHANNESBURG for the purpose of te wees met die doel om</p> <p>at Schoorlag and to reside tot 31/12/74 en te woon</p> <p>(1) (1) A, Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 52 34</p> <p>Date Datum 31/1/74 34</p>							
RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. WOONADRES.							
<p>Permitted to be in the prescribed area of JOHAN- NESBURG in terms of section 10 (1) (a) of Act No. 25 of 1945.</p> <p>Kragtens artikel 10 (1) (a) van Wet No. 25 van 1945 toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van JOHANNESBURG te wees.</p> <p>(1) (c) A, Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 15 8</p> <p>Date Datum 27/10/72 8</p>							

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

B	C	D	E	F	G	H
<p>To report to Moet hom by at <u>G.W.S.</u> before annemdy voor <u>3/7/74</u> vir die doel van <u>W.S.</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Labour Officer Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>12/6/74</u> <u>197650</u> <u>62</u></p> <p>Permitted to remain in the prescribed area of Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van JOHANNESBURG te wees ter wyl hy in diens is van <u>Deater</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>19/6/74</u> <u>197650</u> <u>59</u></p> <p>To report to Moet hom by at <u>G.W.S.</u> before annemdy voor <u>18/11/74</u> vir die doel van <u>W.S.</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Labour Officer Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>28/10/74</u> <u>1978251</u> <u>52</u></p>						

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

B	C	D	E	F	G	H
<p>To report to Moet hom by at <u>80 Albert</u> before annemdy voor <u>18/11/74</u> vir die doel van <u>Indicatsieming</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>18/11/74</u> <u>1978251</u> <u>61</u> <u>9</u></p> <p>Permitted to remain in the prescribed area of Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied van JOHANNESBURG te wees ter wyl hy in diens is van <u>W. J. van der Merwe</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Municipal Labour Officer Munisipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>21/11/74</u> <u>1978251</u> <u>54</u> <u>9</u></p> <p>To report to Moet hom by at <u>G.W.S.</u> before annemdy voor <u>24/5/76</u> vir die doel van <u>W.S.</u></p> <p>(1) (1) <u>A</u> <u>[Signature]</u> Labour Officer Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG</p> <p>Date Datum <u>1/3/76</u> <u>1978251</u> <u>69</u></p>						

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

B C D E F G H

REPO

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

To report to Local Labour Bureau at 80 Albert Street, JOHANNESBURG before 12/4/26 for the purpose of placement in employment.

(1) (0) A Principal Labour Officer Municipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 68

Date 22/3/26 9

Permitted to remain in the prescribed area of JOHANNESBURG while employed by van Adriens Diers Diers

(1) (0) A Principal Labour Officer Municipale Arbeidsbeampte JOHANNESBURG 59

Date 9/4/26

7

6

B	C	D	E	F	G	H
<p>ADMINISTRATION. ADMINISTRASIE.</p>	<p>1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922</p>	<p>1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930 1931</p>	<p>1932 1933 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939 1940</p>	<p>1941 1942 1943 1944 1945 1946 1947 1948 1949</p>	<p>1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958</p>	<p>1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967</p>

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Registration of employment
Registrasie van indiensneming

Desta Pty Ltd
Box 7356
Bramley

ALLIED SHIPPERS
PTY LTD
P.O. BOX 7871
MARSHALLTOWN

10

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Compulsory Endorsements by employer.
Verpligte Inskrywings deur werkgever.

Monthly signature of employer. Maandelikse handtekening van werkgever.	Month. Maand.	Date of discharge and signature of employer. Datum van ontslag en handtekening van werkgever.
N. Visagie	Jun 74	
N. Visagie	Jul 74	
N. Visagie	Aug 74	
N. Visagie	Sep 74	
N. Visagie	Oct 74	8 Nov 1974 N. Visagie
J. Bottoman	Dec 74	
J. Bottoman	Jan 75	
J. Bottoman	Feb 75	
J. Bottoman	Mar 75	
J. Bottoman	Apr 75	
J. Bottoman	May 75	

11

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EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Registration of employment
Registrasie van indiensneming

12

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Compulsory Endorsements by employer.
Verpligte Inskrywings deur werkgever.

Monthly signature of employer. Maandelikse handtekening van werkgever.	Month. Maand.	Date of discharge and signature of employer. Datum van ontslag en handtekening van werkgever.
<i>J. Bottoma</i>	<i>Jan 75</i>	
<i>J. Bottoma</i>	<i>Jul 75</i>	
<i>J. Bottoma</i>	<i>Aug 75</i>	
<i>J. Bottoma</i>	<i>Sep 75</i>	
<i>D. Elliff</i>	<i>Oct 75</i>	
<i>D. Elliff</i>	<i>Nov 75</i>	
<i>D. Elliff</i>	<i>Dec 75</i>	
<i>D. Elliff</i>	<i>Jan 76</i>	
<i>D. Elliff</i>	<i>Feb 76</i>	
		<i>23 Feb 76</i> <i>D. Elliff</i>

13

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EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Registration of employment
Registrasie van indiensneming

ADVANCE LAUNDRIES LTD.
26 VICTORIA RD. LORENTZVILLE
P.O. BOX 2255 PHONE 24-7141
JOHANNESBURG

14

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Compulsory Endorsements by employer.
Verpligte Inskrywings deur werkgever.

Monthly signature of employer. Maandelikse handtekening van werkgever.	Month. Maand.	Date of discharge and signature of employer. Datum van ontslag en handtekening van werkgever.
Bezuidenhout	Apr 76	
Bezuidenhout	May 76	
Bezuidenhout	Jun 76	
Bezuidenhout	Jul 76	
Bezuidenhout	Aug 76	
Bezuidenhout	Sept 76	
Michaels	Oct 76	
Michaels	Nov 76	
Michaels	Dec 76	
Michaels	Jan 77	
Michaels	Feb 77	
Bezuidenhout	Mar 77	
Bezuidenhout	Apr 77	

15

C
D
E
F
G
H

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAAL BELASTING.

GP.S. B3045671 BA 54
P.N. I.N. 5601887

S.M. MONARENG

VOORLETTERS EN VAN INITIALS AND SURNAME
50 JAAR 1974 YEAR

GP.S. B1226578 BA 54
P.N. I.N. 5601887

GP.S. B384777 BA 54
P.N. I.N. 5601887

S.M. MONARENG

VOORLETTERS EN VAN INITIALS AND SURNAME
50 JAAR 1976 YEAR

GENERAL TAX R2.50
KODE PLEK UITGEREIK CODE PLACE ISSUED
DATUM 4/76 DATE

VORIGE KWITANSIE - PREVIOUS RECEIPT
No. B3226578 No.

KODE PLEK UITGEREIK CODE PLACE ISSUED
DATUM 8/75 DATE

ANTICORRUPTIONS OFFICE
128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200
APR 1976
MARKSTRAS 75
JOHANNESBURG
ALGEMENE BELASTING R2.50

BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.

JOHANNESBURG 168

F.P. 1974

23-10-1972

C
D
E
F
G
H

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.

23

D E F G H

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.

OPS. **C2446177** BA 56
P.N. **5601887**

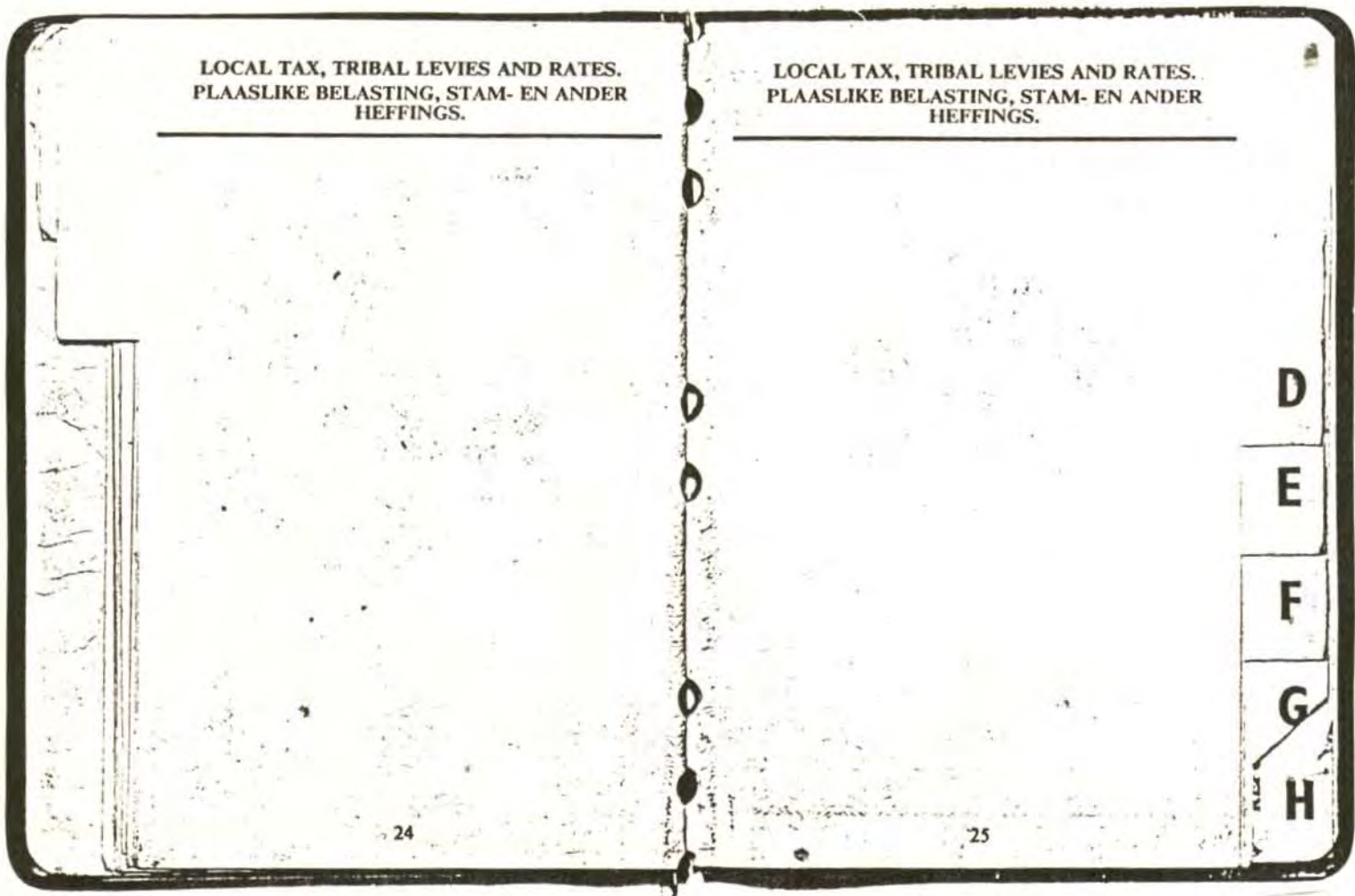
ALGEMENE BELASTING R2.50

D. J. M. van der
VOORLETTERS EN VAN
INITIALS AND SURNAME
1977 YEAR

JAAR **1977**
KODE PLEK UITGEEK
CODE PLACE ISSUED
DATUM **1/12** DATE
VORIGE KWITANSIE—PREVIOUS RECEIPT
35879 No.

BANTOESAKKekommissaris
PRIVAATSAK/PRIVATE
FERREIRASDOOR
19-1-1-1977
JOHANNESBURG
BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER

22



Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V), Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
 Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V), Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
 Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

CITE (L) 1540 NORTWESBURG
 M-11
 BANTU REGISTRATION EXAMINATION CENTRE
 BANTOEREGISTRASIE OORSOEKSENTRIUM
 Tel. 214011, 214012, 214013, 214014
 10-10-1974
 89720
 Medical Officer/Geneeskundige Beampte

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Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V), Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
 Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

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 Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

F G H

**DRIVER'S LICENCES.
BESTUURDERSLISENSIES.**

**REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA.**



30

**CODES AND CLASSES OF VEHICLES.
KODES EN KLASSE VOERTUIG.**

- 01 Motorcycle without sidecar, not exceeding 50 cm³.
Motorfiets sonder syspan, hoogstens 50 cm³.
- 02 Motorcycle without sidecar, exceeding 50 cm³.
Motorfiets sonder syspan, meer as 50 cm³.
- 03 Motorcycle with sidecar.
Motorfiets met syspan.
- 04 Motor tricycle.
Motordriewiel.
- 05 Tractor.
Trekker.
- 06 Motor vehicle propelled by electrical power.
Motorvoertuig deur elektriese krag aangedryf.
- 07 Special type of mobile agricultural or industrial equipment, etc.
Spesiale soort mobiele landbou- of nywerheidsuitrusting, ens.
- 08 Light motor vehicle.
Ligte motorvoertuig.
- 09 Medium motor vehicle.
Middel motorvoertuig.
- 010 Heavy motor vehicle.
Swaar motorvoertuig.
- 011 Extra heavy motor vehicle.
Ekstra swaar motorvoertuig.
- 012 Specially adapted vehicle for use by a physically disabled person. Spesiale ingerigte voertuig vir gebruik deur liggaamlik ongeskikte persoon.

31

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DRIVER'S LICENCES.

On an application for and the issue of a driver's licence this reference book must be handed to the issuing officer who will affix the appropriate driver's licence on this page.

BESTUURDERSLISENSIES.

By aansoek om en die uitreiking van 'n bestuurderslisensie moet hierdie bewysboek oorhandig word aan die uitreikende beamppte wat die toepaslike bestuurderslisensie op hierdie bladsy sal aanbring.

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G
H

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LICENCES TO POSSESS ARMS.

On an application for and the issue of a licence to possess an arm this reference book must be handed to the authorised officer who will affix the appropriate licence on this page.


LISENSIES OM WAPENS TE BESIT.


By aansoek om en die uitreiking van 'n lisensie om 'n wapen te besit, moet hierdie bewysboek oorhandig word aan die gemagtigde beampte wat die toepaslike lisensie op hierdie bladsy sal aanbring.

G H

23-10-1972

DIRECTOR
BANTU
REFERENCE
BUREAU
BANTOE-
BEWYSBURO





REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

I

M.A. du Toit

No. 5601887

SOTHO
BURGERSKAP
CITIZENSHIP

SURNAME
VAN
MONARENG

FIRST NAMES
JACOB MOJALEFA
VOORNAME

MALE
MANLIK

PERSONAL PARTICULARS
PERSOONLIKE BESONDERHEDE

LICENCES TO POSSESS ARMS.

On an application for and the issue of a licence to possess an arm this reference book must be handed to the authorised officer who will affix the appropriate licence on this page.

LISENSIES OM WAPENS TE BESIT.

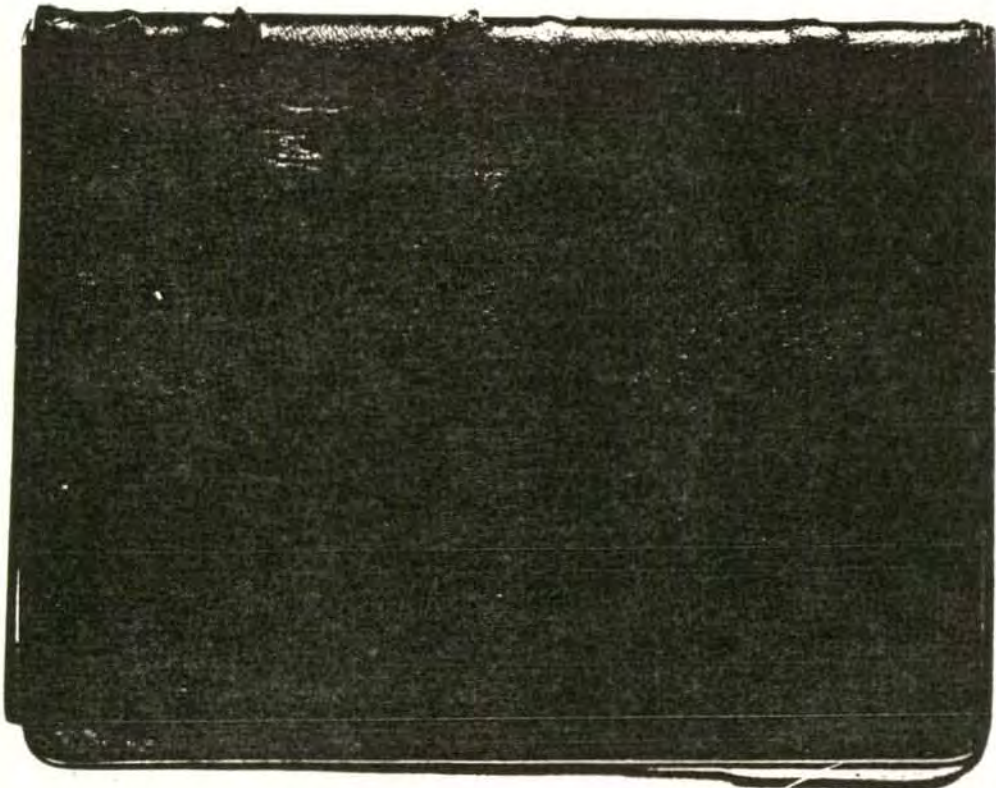
By aansoek om en die uitreiking van 'n lisensie om 'n wapen te besit, moet hierdie bewysboek oorhandig word aan die gemagtigde beampte wat die toepaslike lisensie op hierdie bladsy sal aanbring.

36

BEWYSSTUK JJ

BEWYSBOEK NR. 5801762 - JOHN LEBOGANG

VOORBLAD



A REFERENCE BOOK - BEWYSBOEK

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Bestuurderslisensies.

G. Licences to possess arms.

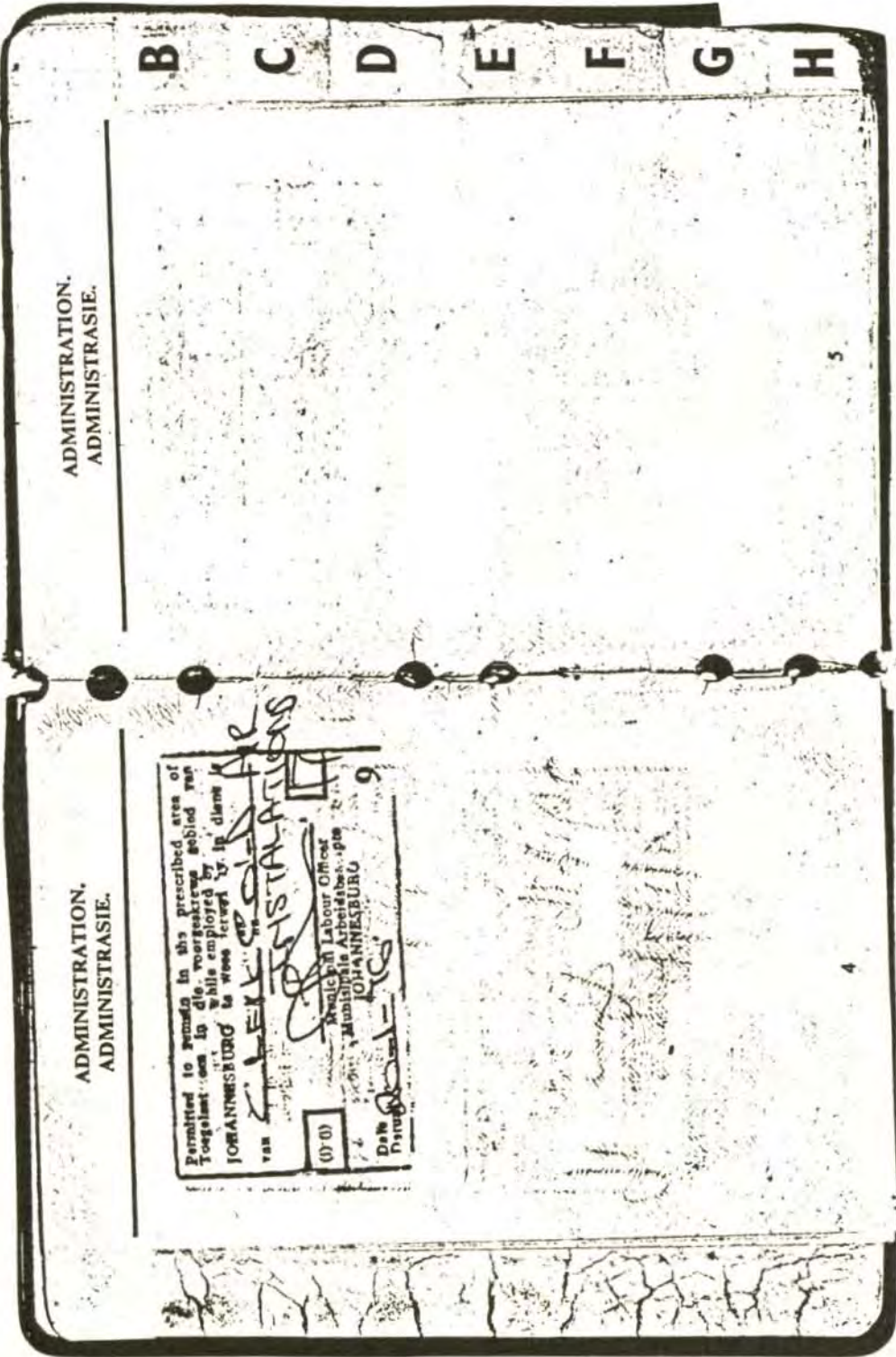
Lisensies om wapens te besit.

H. Personal particulars.

Persoonlike besonderhede.

Printed for the Government Printer, Pretoria, by
CAPE & TRANSVAAL PRINTERS LTD.
CAPE TOWN

Gedruk vir die Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, deur
KAP & TRANSVAAL DRYKERS B.P.O.
KAPSTAD



B C D E F G H

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

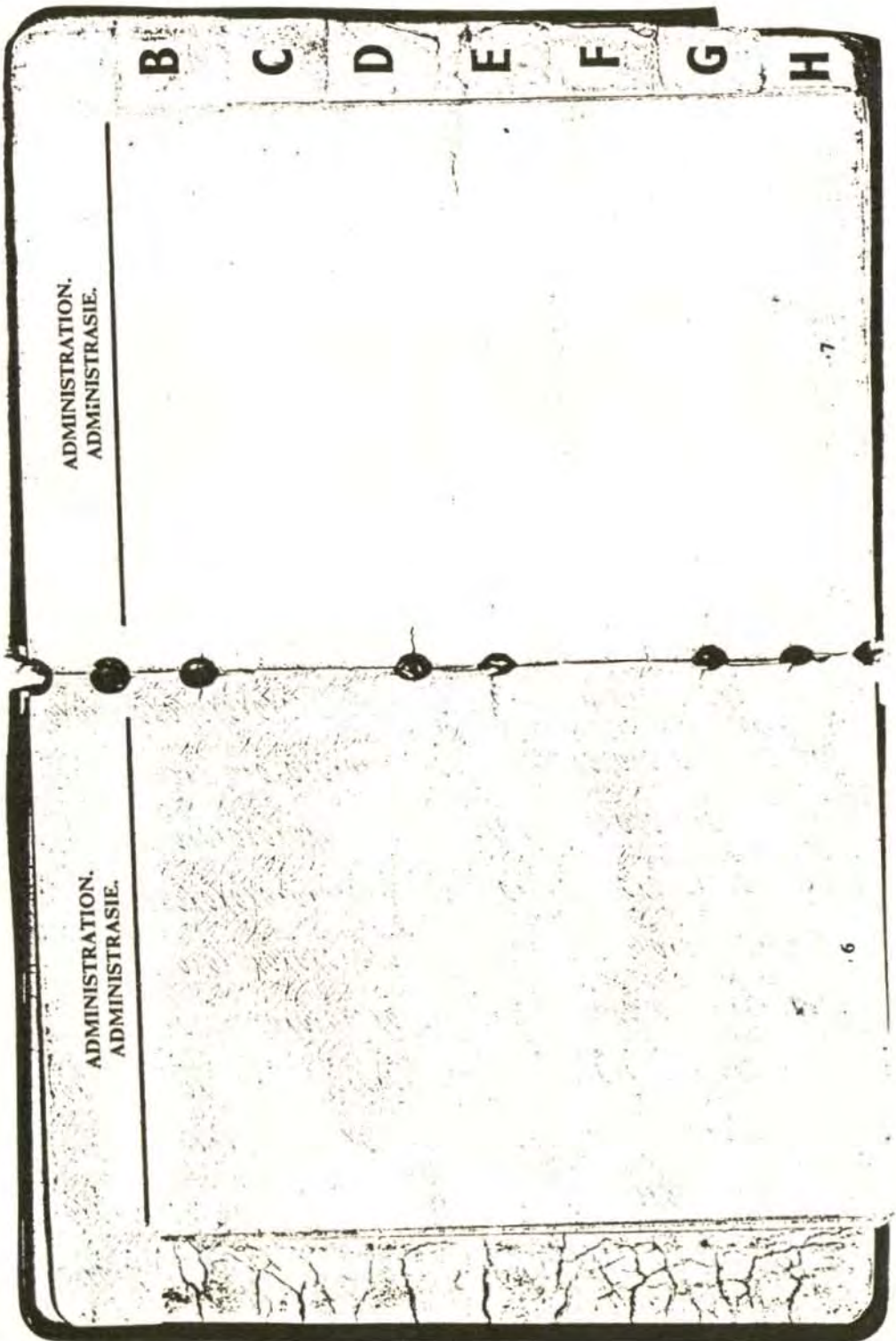
5

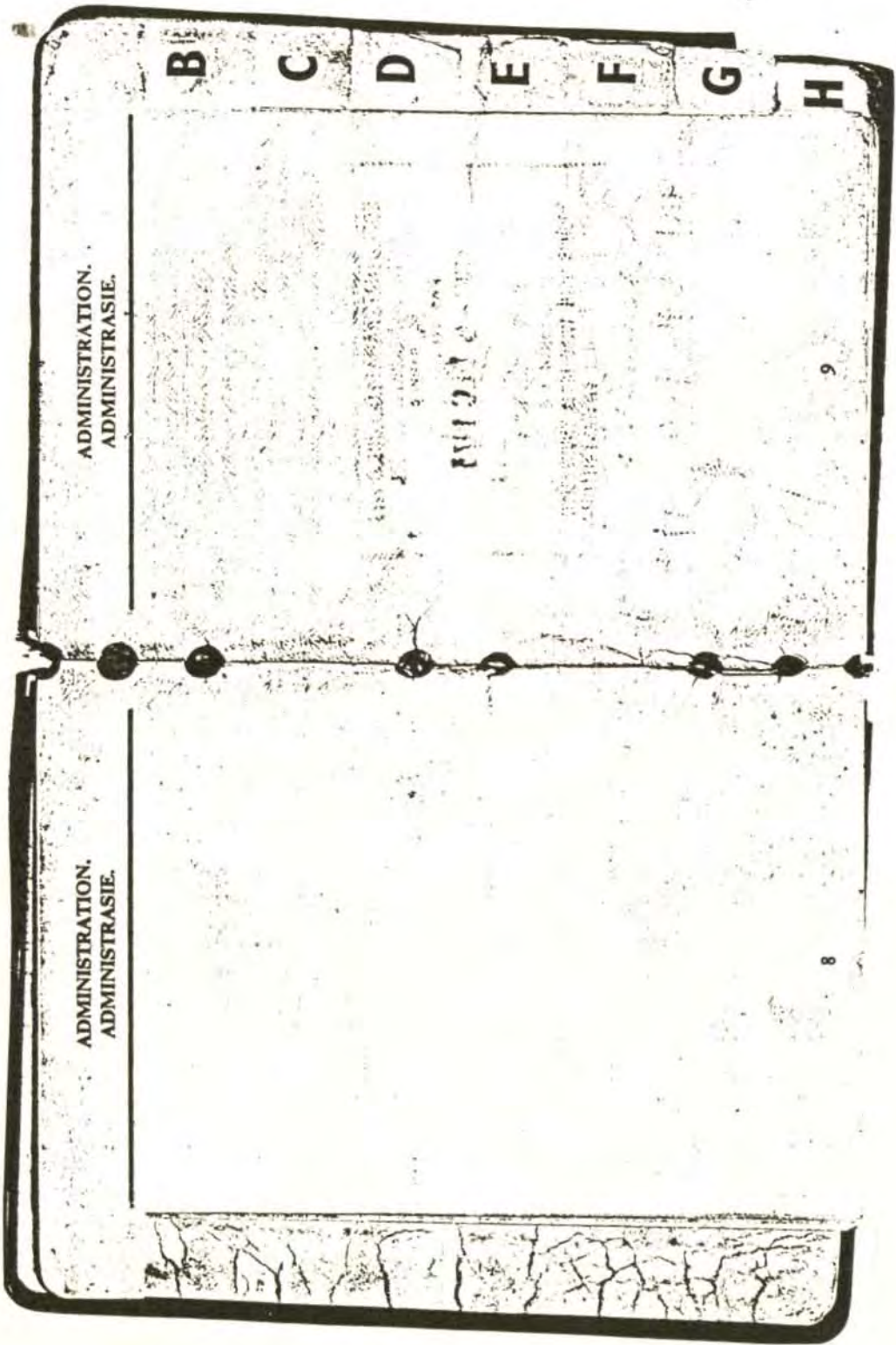
ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

Permitted to remain in the prescribed area of
Toegelaat om in die voorgeskrewe gebied te
JOHANNESBURG te wees terwyl hy in diens is
van ALEX. SPITALAS
INSTALLATIONS
Specialist Labour Officer
Municipal Arbeidsbeheer-ops
JOHANNESBURG
Date 1-1-68
Printed 1-1-68

9

4





ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

ADMINISTRATION.
ADMINISTRASIE.

9

8

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Registration of employment
Registrasie van indiensneming

COLD-AIR INSTALLATIONS (PTY.) LTD.
20 JAN 1976

12

EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING

Compulsory Endorsements by employer.
Verpligte Inskrywings deur werkgever.

Monthly signature of employer. Maandelikse handtekening van werkgever.	Month. Maand.	Date of discharge and signature of employer. Datum van ontslag en handtekening van werkgever.
	JAN '76	
	FEB '76	
	MAR '76	
	APR '76	
	MAY '76	
	JUN '76	
	JUL '76	
	AUG '76	
	SEP '76	
	OCT '76	
	NOV '76	
	DEC '76	
	JAN '77	

13

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**EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING**

**Registration of employment
Registrasie van Indiensneming**

18

**EMPLOYMENT
INDIENSNEMING**

**Compulsory Endorsements by employer.
Verpligte Inskrywings deur werkgever.**

**Monthly signature
of employer.
Maandelikse
handtekening van
werkgever.**

**Month.
Maand.**

**Date of discharge
and signature
of employer.
Datum van ontslag
en handtekening
van werkgever.**

19

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<p>GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX. ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.</p>	<p>13-8-1972</p> <p>MOLOPO 352/ F.P. 1974</p> <p>21</p>							
<p>GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX. ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.</p>	<p>TEMPORARY EXEMPTION FROM FIXED TAX GP-S-(F)-S</p> <p>0401438</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>S</td> <td>8</td> <td>0</td> <td>1</td> <td>7</td> <td>8</td> <td>2</td> </tr> </table> <p>IDENTITY NUMBER - IDENTITEITSNUMMER</p> <p>1974-1975</p> <p>PERIOD OF VALIDITY - TIJDPERK VAN GELDIGHEID</p> <p>S. VERREANG</p> <p>NAAM EN VAN-NAAM EN SURNAME</p> <p>B.A. 333</p> <p>TTDELIKE VRYSTELLING VAN VASGESTELDE BELASTING</p> <p>20</p> <p>BANTOES KANTOER VAN BANTOEBELASTING PRIVATFAKTOIR VAN BANTOEBELASTING 59-2-1971 P R E T O R I A BANTU AGENS COMMISSIONER</p>	S	8	0	1	7	8	2
S	8	0	1	7	8	2		

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.

58801762

87882475

22

D E F G H

GENERAL AND HOSPITAL TAX.
ALGEMENE EN HOSPITAALBELASTING.

GPS B7882475 BA 54

P.N. I.N. 58801762

GPS B7882476 BA 54

P.N. I.N. 58801762

J. LEBOGANG

ALGEMENE BELASTING R2.50

VOORLEZERS EN VAN
INITIALS AND SURNAME
JAAR 1977

KODE PLAAS UITGERIK
CODE PLACE ISSUED

DATUM 17/7/77 DATE

VOORIGE KWITANSIE - PREVIOUS RECEIPT

NO. 17/7/77

GENERAL TAX R2.50

BANKING CORPORATION
KOHATA
DATE 18/7/77
CODE PLACE ISSUED
BANTU AFFAIRS CO. LTD.

22

LOCAL TAX, TRIBAL LEVIES AND RATES.
PLAASLIKE BELASTING, STAM- EN ANDER
HEFFINGS.

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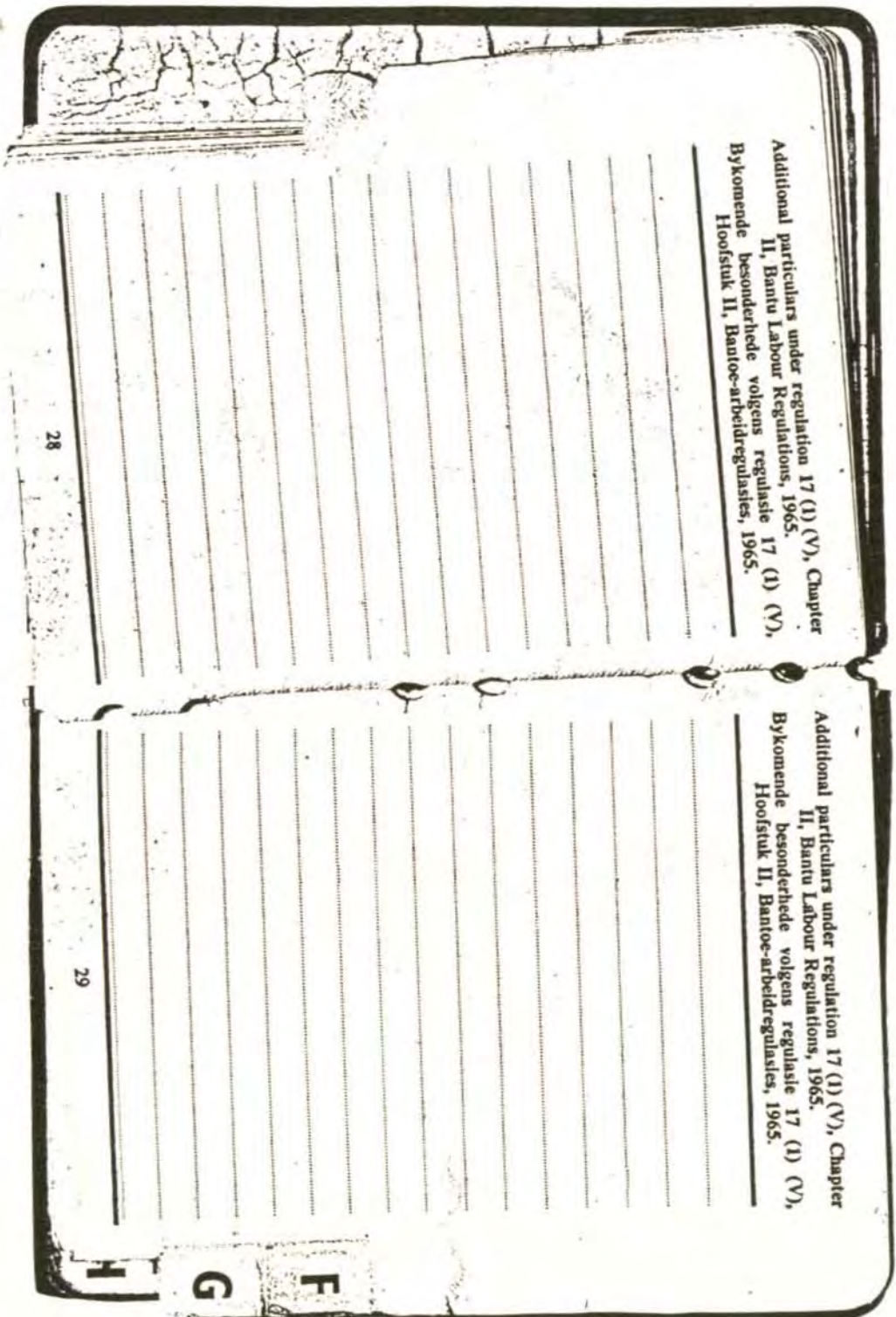
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Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V), Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

CITY OF STAD JOHANNESBURG	M - N
BANTU REGISTRATION EXAMINATION OFFICE	
214911	40 Albert St, Johannesburg.
18 NOV 1975	
Medically examined and certified	
Licenseholder's certificate no. 103	
Ref No. 215/03	
Medical Officer/Geneesheer/Dr. Burchell	

Additional particulars under regulation 17 (1) (V), Chapter II, Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965.
Bykomende besonderhede volgens regulasie 17 (1) (V), Hoofstuk II, Bantoe-arbeidregulasies, 1965.

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DRIVER'S LICENCES.
BESTUURDERSLISENSIES.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA.



CODES AND CLASSES OF VEHICLES.
KODES EN KLASSE VOERTUIE.

- 01 Motorcycle without sidecar, not exceeding 50 cm³.
Motorfiets sonder syspan, hoogstens 50 cm³.
- 02 Motorcycle without sidecar, exceeding 50 cm³.
Motorfiets sonder syspan, meer as 50 cm³.
- 03 Motorcycle with sidecar.
Motorfiets met syspan.
- 04 Motor tricycle.
Motordriewiel.
- 05 Tractor.
Trekker.
- 06 Motor vehicle propelled by electrical power.
Motorvoertuig deur elektriese krag aangedryf.
- 07 Special type of mobile agricultural or industrial equipment, etc.
Spesiale soort mobiele landbou- of nywerheidsuitrusting, ens.
- 08 Light motor vehicle.
Ligte motorvoertuig.
- 09 Medium motor vehicle.
Middel motorvoertuig.
- 010 Heavy motor vehicle.
Swaar motorvoertuig.
- 011 Extra heavy motor vehicle.
Ekstra swaar motorvoertuig.
- 012 Specially adapted vehicle for use by a physically disabled person. Spesiale ingerigte voertuig vir gebruik deur liggaamlik ongeskikte persoon.

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I 19-8-1972

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

 REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

**DIRECTOR,
BANTU
REFERENCE
BUREAU
BANTU
BEWYSBURG**

M. A. du Toit



**FIRST NAMES
VOORNAME**
JOHN

**SURNAME
VAN**
LEBOGANG

**PERSONAL PARTICULARS
PERSOONLIKE BESONDERHEDE**

**CITIZENSHIP
BURGERSKAP**
Tswana

MALE

No 5801762

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36

BEWYSSTUK KK

1.	OPERATION MAYIBUYE	1363 - 1375
2.	SECHABA VOL. 3 NO. 1, JAN., 1969	1376 - 1377
3.	SECHABA VOL. 2 NO. 1, JAN., 1968	1378 - 1382
4.	THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS OUR SONS	1383 - 1385
5.	ANC LETTER TO THE EDITOR	1386 - 1390
6.	THE ANC SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG	1391 - 1392
7.	SECHABA VOL. 5 NO. 12, VOL. 6 NO. 1 DECEMBER 1971 - JANUARY 1972	1393 - 1412
8.	SECHABA VOL. 10, 4TH QUARTER 1976	1413 - 1420(10)
9.	SECHABA VOL. 12, FIRST QUARTER 1978	1421 - 1422
10.	MK STRIKES AGAINST MPIMPIS	1423 - 1429
11.	SECHABA, VOL. 12 SECOND QUARTER 1978	1430 - 1435
12.	SECHABA, VOL. 13 NO. 1 JANUARY 1979	1436 - 1438
13.	SECHABA, MAY 1979	1439 - 1447
14.	SECHABA, JULY 1979	1448 - 1451
15.	SECHABA, SEPT. 1979	1452 - 1455
16.	SECHABA, JANUARY 1980	1456 - 1457
17.	SECHABA, APRIL 1980	1458 - 1460
18.	SECHABA, AUGUST 1980	1461 - 1462(20)
19.	SECHABA, SEPTEMBER 1980	1463 - 1465
20.	MAYIBUYE, NO. 4	1466
21.	SECHABA, SEPT. 1981	1467 - 1468

OPERATION MAYIBUYE

PART 1

The white state has thrown overboard every pretence of rule by democratic process. Armed to the teeth it has presented the people with only one choice and that is its overthrow by force and violence. It can now truly be said that very little, if any, scope exists for the smashing of white supremacy other than by means of mass revolutionary action, the main content of which is armed resistance leading to victory by military means. (10

The political events which have occurred in the last few years have convinced the overwhelming majority of the people that no mass struggle which is not backed up by armed resistance and military offensive operations, can hope to make a real impact. This can be seen from the general mood of the people and their readiness to undertake even desperate and suicidal violent campaigns of the Leballo type. It can also be gauged by their reluctance to participate in orthodox political struggle in which they expose themselves to massive retaliation without a prospect of hitting back. We are confident that the masses will respond in overwhelming numbers to a lead which holds out a real possibility of successful armed struggle. (20

Thus two important ingredients of a revolutionary situation are present:-

- a) A disillusionment with constitutional or semi-constitutional forms of struggle and a conviction that the road to victory is through force;
- b) A militancy and a readiness to respond to a lead which holds out a real possibility of successful (30 struggle.

OPERATION MAYIBUYE (cont.):

In the light of the existence of these ingredients the prosecution of military struggle depends for its success on two further factors:-

- a) The strength of the enemy. This must not be looked at statically but in the light of objective factors, which in a period of military struggle may well expose its brittleness and
- b) The existence of a clear leadership with material resources at its disposal to spark off and (10) sustain military operations.

The objective military conditions in which the movements finds itself makes the possibility of a general uprising leading to direct military struggle an unlikely one. Rather, as in Cuba, the general uprising must be sparked off by organised and well prepared guerilla operations during the course of which the masses of the people will be drawn in and armed.

We have no illusions about the difficulties which face us in launching and successfully prosecuting guerilla operations leading to military victory. Nor do we assume that such a (20) struggle will be over swiftly. We have taken into account and carefully weighed numerous factors and we mention some of them:

- a) We are faced with a powerfully armed modern state with tremendous industrial resources, which can, at least in the initial period, count on the support of three million whites. At the same time the state is isolated practically from the rest of the world, and if effective work is done, will have to rely in the main on its own resources. The very concentration of industry and power and the inter-dependence of the various localities operates (30) as both an advantage and a disadvantage for the enemy.

It/...

OPERATION MAY IBUYE (cont.):

It operates as a disadvantage because effective guerilla operations can within a relatively short period create far greater economic havoc and confusion than in a backward, decentralized country.

- b) The people are unarmed and lack personnel who have been trained in all aspects of military operations. A proper organisation of the almost unlimited assistance which we can obtain from friendly Governments will counter-balance its disadvantage. In the long run a guerilla struggle (10) relies on the enemy for its source of supply. But in order to make this possible an initial effective arming of the first group of guerilla bands is essential. It is also vital to place in the field persons trained in the art of war who will act as a nucleus of organisers and commanders of guerilla operations.
- c) The absence of friendly borders and long scale impregnable natural bases from which to operate are both disadvantages. But more important than these factors is the support of the people who in certain situations are better (20) protection than mountains and forests. In the rural areas which become the main theatre of guerilla operations in the initial phase, the overwhelming majority of the people will protect and safeguard the guerillas and this fact will to some measure negative the disadvantages. In any event we must not under-estimate the fact that there is terrain in many parts of South Africa, which although not classically impregnable is suitable for guerilla type operations. Boer guerillas with the support of their people operated in the plains of the Transvaal. Although (30) conditions have changed there is still a lesson to be

OPERATION MAYIBUYE (cont.):

learnt from this.

Although we must prepare for a protracted war we must not lose sight of the fact that the political isolation of South Africa from the world community of nations and particularly the active hostility towards it from almost the whole of the African Continent and the Socialist world may result in such massive assistance in various forms, that the state structure will collapse far sooner than we can at the moment envisage. Direct military intervention in South West Africa, an effective economic and military boycott, even armed international action at some more advanced stage of the struggle are real possibilities which will play an important role. In no other territory where guerilla operations have been undertaken has the international situation been such a vital factor operating against the enemy. We are not unaware that there are powerful external monopoly interests who will attempt to bolster up the white state. With effective work they can be isolated and neutralised. The events of the last few years have shown that the issue of racial discrimination cuts across world ideological conflict albeit that the West proceeds from opportunistic premises.

The following plan envisages a process which will place in the field, at a date fixed now, simultaneously in pre-selected areas armed guerilla bands who will find ready to join them local guerilla bands with arms and equipment at their disposal. It will further coincide with a massive propaganda campaign both inside and outside South Africa and a general call for unprecedented mass struggle throughout the land, both violent and non-violent. In the initial period when for a short while the military adv. will be ours the plan envisages

OPERATION MAYIBUYE (cont.):

a massive onslaught on pre-selected targets which will create maximum havoc and confusion in the enemy camp and which will inject into the masses of the people and other friendly forces a feeling of confidence that here at least is an army of liberation equipped and capable of leading them to victory. In this period the cornerstone of guerilla operations is "Shameless attack the weak and shamelessly flee from the strong".

We are convinced that this plan is capable of fulfilment. But only if the whole apparatus of the movement both here (10 and abroad is mobilised for its implementation and if every member now prepares to make unlimited sacrifice for the achievement of our goal. The time for small thinking is over because history leaves us no choice.

PART II/.....

PART II

OPERATION MAYIBUYE

AREAS

1. Port Elizabeth - Mzimkulu
 2. Port Shepstone - Swaziland
 3. North Western Transvaal, bordering respectively Bechuana-land & Limpopo
 4. North Western Cape - South West.
-

PART III

PLAN

(10

1. Simultaneous landing of 4 groups of 30 based on our present resources either by ship or air -- armed and properly equipped in such a way as to be self-sufficient in every respect for at least a month.
2. At the initial stages it is proposed that the 30 are split up into platoons of 10 each to operate more or less within a contiguous area and linking their activities with pre-arranged local groups.
3. Simultaneously with the landing of the groups of 30 and thereafter, there should be a supply of arms and other war material to arm the local populations which become inte-⁽²⁰grated with the guerilla units.
4. On landing, a detailed plan of attack on pre-selected targets with a view to taking the enemy by surprise, creating the maximum impact on the populace, creating as much chaos and confusion for the enemy as possible.
5. Choice of suitable areas will be based on the nature of the terrain, with a view to establishing temporary base areas from which our units can attack and to which they can retreat.
6. Before these operations take place political authority

(30

will/....

will have been set up in secrecy in a friendly territory with a view to supervising the struggle both in its internal and external aspects. It is visualised that this authority will in due course of time develop into a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

7. This Political Authority should trim its machinery so that simultaneously with the commencement of operations it will throw out massive propaganda to win world support for our struggle, more particularly:-
- a) A complete enforcement of boycott, (10
 - b) Enlisting the support of the international trade union movement to refuse handling war materials and other goods intended for the South African Government,
 - c) Raising a storm at the United Nations which should be urged to intervene militarily in South West Africa.
 - d) Raising of large scale credits for the prosecution of the struggle,
 - e) Arranging for radio facilities for daily transmission to the world and to the people of South Africa, (20
 - f) If possible the Political Authority should arrange for the initial onslaught to bombard the country or certain areas with a flood of leaflets by plane announcing the commencement of our armed struggle as well as our aims, and calling upon the population to rise against the Government.

PART IV

INTERNAL ORGANISATION

In preparation for the commencement of operations when our external team lands, intensive as well as extensive work (30 will have been done. For instance, guerilla units will have been/....

been set up in the main areas mapped out in Part I above as well as in the other areas away from the immediate scene of operation.

Progressively sabotage activity throughout the country will be stepped up before these operations. Political pressure too, in the meanwhile will be stepped up in conjunction with the sabotage activity.

In furtherance of the general ideas set out above the plan for internal organisation is along the following pattern:-

1. Our target is that on arrival the external forces should find at least 7 000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerilla army in the initial onslaught. These will be allocated as follows:

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| a) Eastern Cape - Transkei | 2 000 |
| b) Natal - Zululand | 2 000 |
| c) North-Western Transvaal | 2 000 |
| d) North-Western Cape | 1 000 |

2. To realise our target in each of the main areas it is proposed that each of the four areas should have an overall command whose task it will be to divide its area into (20 regions, which in turn will be allocated a figure in proportion to their relative importance.

3. The preparation for equipping the initial force envisaged in 1 above will take place in three stages, thus:

a) By importation of military supply at two levels:

(i) Build up of firearms, ammunition and explosives by maintaining a regular flow over a period of time.

(ii) By landing additional supplies simultaneously with the arrival of our external force. (30

b) Acquisition and accumulation internally of firearms,

ammunition/....

ammunition and explosives at all levels of our organisations.

- c) Collection and accumulation of other military supplies such as food, medicines, communication equipment, etc.
4. It is proposed that auxilliary guerilla/sabotage units in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerillas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerillas. (10)
5. It is proposed that in areas falling outside the four main guerilla areas M.K. units should be set up to act in support of the activities in the guerilla areas, and to harass the enemy.
6. In order to draw in the masses of the population the political wing should arouse the people to participate in the struggle that are designed to create an upheaval throughout the country.

PART V

DETAILED PLAN OF IMPLEMENTATION

(20)

In order to implement the plans set out above - in Parts I to III - we establish Departments which are to be charged with duties to study and submit detailed reports and plans in respect of each of their Departments with the following terms of reference:-

1. Intelligence Department

This Committee will be required to study and report on the following:

- a) The exact extent of each area,
- b) The portions of the country that are naturally suited for our operations and their location within each

(30)

area/....

area,

- c) Points along the coast which would be suitable for landing of men and supplies and how these are going to be transferred from the point of landing to the area of operations.
- d) The situation of enemy forces in each area, thus:-
 - (i) the military and the police as well as their strength
 - (ii) military and police camps, and towns, and the distance between them, (10
 - (iii) system of all forms of communication in the area,
 - (iv) the location of trading stations and chiefs and headmen's kraals,
 - (v) air fields and air strips in the areas.
- e) Selection of targets to be tackled in initial phase of guerilla operations with a view to causing maximum damage to the enemy as well as preventing the quick deployment of reinforcements.

In its study the Committee should bear in mind the following main targets: (20

- (i) strategic road, railways and other communications
 - (ii) power stations
 - (iii) police, stations, camps and military forces
 - (iv) major industrial installations
 - (v) irredeemable Government stooges
- f) A study of climatic conditions in relation to seasons, as well as diseases common to the area.
 - g) The population distribution in the areas as well as the main crops. (30
 - h) Rivers and dams

(i) And generally all other relevant matters.

2. External Planning Committee which shall be charged with the following tasks:-

- a) Obtaining of arms, ammunition and explosives and other equipment
- b) In co-operation with our internal machinery, making arrangements for their despatch of items in 1 above into the country.
- c) Obtaining of transport by land, sea and air for the landing of our task force and for the continued supply of military equipment.

3. POLITICAL AUTHORITY

We make a strong recommendation that the joint sponsoring organisations should immediately set about creating a political machinery for the direction of the revolutionary struggle as set out in Nos. 6, 7 and 8 of Part II and to set up a special committee to direct guerilla political education.

4. Transport Committee

This Committee is assigned the following duties:- (20

- a) The organisation of transport facilities for our trainees
- b) To organise transport for the re-entry of our trainees
- c) To undertake any transport duties assigned to them from time to time.

5. Logistics Department - Technical and Supply Committee

Its functions are:-

- a) To manufacture and build up a stock of arms, ammunition and explosives from internal sources, (30
- b) To organise reception, distribution and storage of supplies/.....

supplies from external sources.

- c) To organise the training of personnel in the use of equipment referred to in (a) and (b) above.
- d) Obtaining of all other relevant supplies necessary to prosecute an armed struggle, to wit, inter alia, medical supplies, clothing, food, etc., and the storage of these at strategic points.
- e) Acquiring equipment to facilitate communications.
- f) To undertake all duties and functions that fall under the Department of Logistics. (10

PART VI

MISCELLANEOUS

1. Immediate Duties of the National High Command in Relation to the Guerilla Areas

- a) To map out regions in each area with a view to organising Regional and District Commands and MK units.
- b) To achieve this we strongly recommend the employment of 10 full time organisers in each area.
- c) The organisers shall be directly responsible to the National High Command.
- d) The NHC is directed to recruit and arrange for the (20 external training of at least 300 men in the next two months.

2. Personnel

- a) Intelligence Alex Secundus Otto
- b) External Planning Committee Johnson, Thabo and Joseph together with a senior ANC rep. as well as co-opted personnel seconded to us by friendly Govts. (30
- c) Transport Committee Percy secundus Mbata

d)/....

d) Logistics Dept. Bri-bri secundus Frank

3. Special Directives to Heads of Departments

The Heads of Departments are required to submit not later than the 30th May, 1963, plans detailing:-

- a) The structural organisation of their Department.
- b) The type and number of personnel they require to be allocated to them and their duties and functions.
- c) The funds required for their work both for immediate long term purposes.
- d) Schedule of time required to enable them to fulfil(10 given targets and what these are.
- e) Other matters relating to the efficient execution of the Departments' Plans.

4. Organisation of Areas, Organisers and Setting up of proper MK Machinery

Rathau and James for this task.

SECHABA/.....

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GUERRILLAS DEEP INSIDE ZIMBABWE

Page 3

An eye-witness account of what is going on in Zimbabwe

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Items showing the insanity of racism in its last bastion

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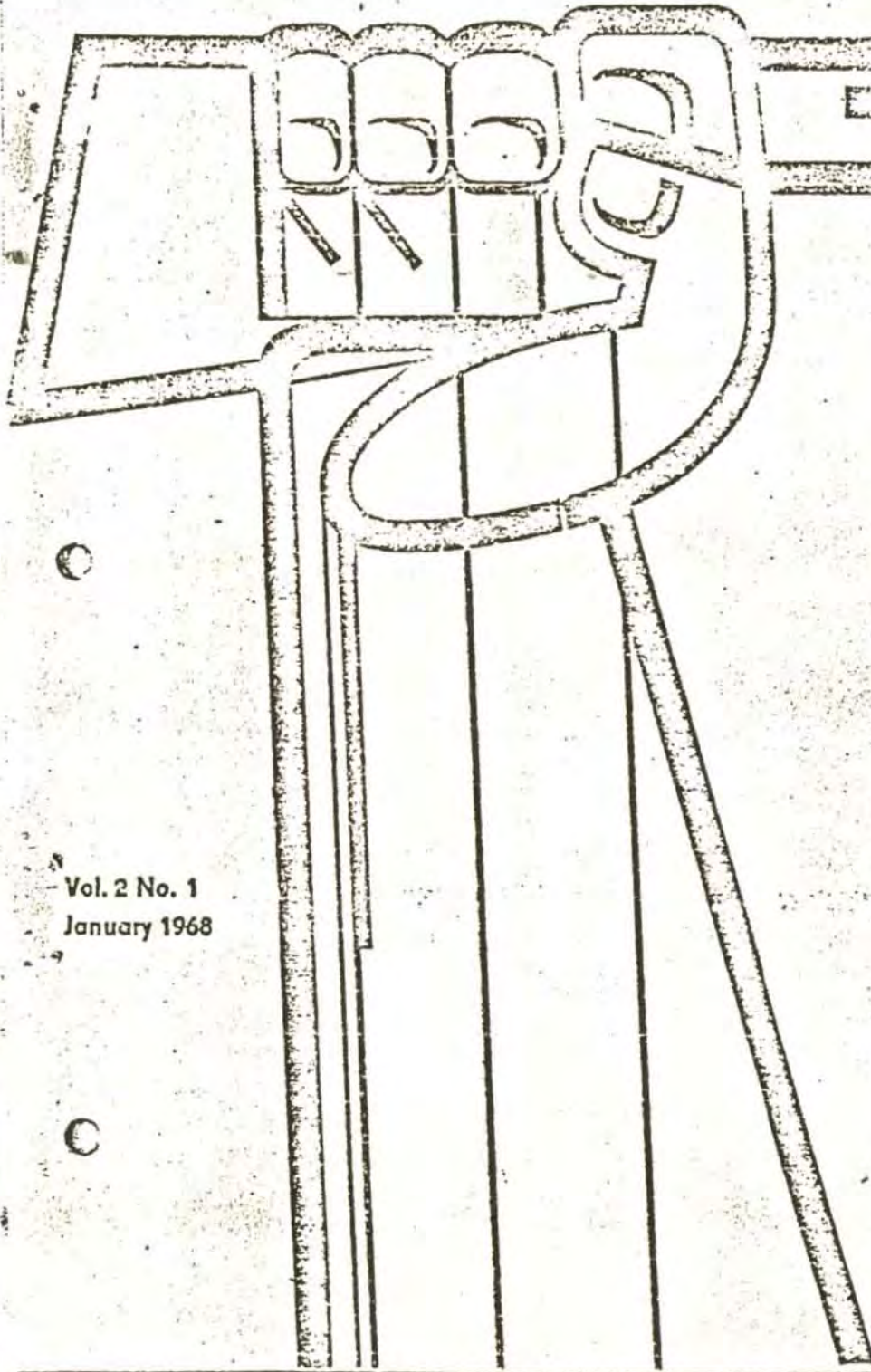
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Items showing the insanity of racism in its last bastion

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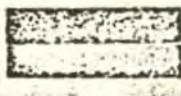


CALL TO REVOLUTION

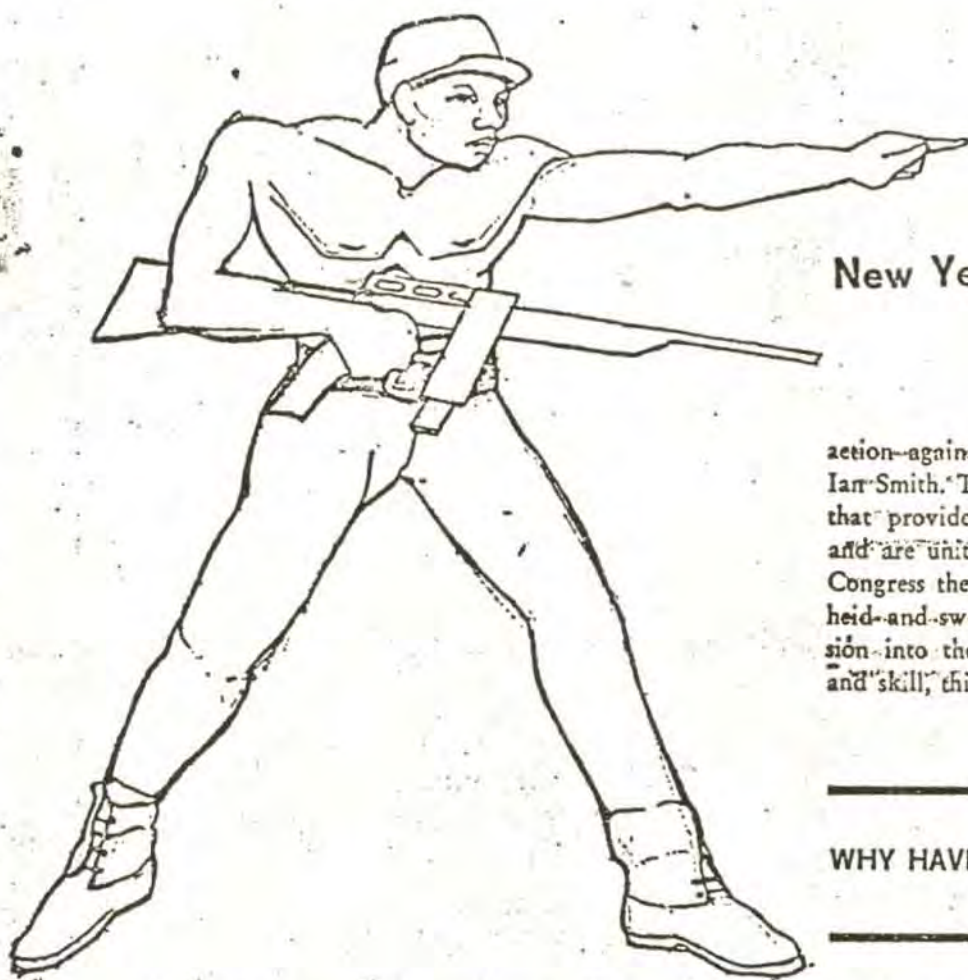
A New Year message from O. R. TAMBO

Vol. 2 No. 1
January 1968

Official Organ
of the African National Congress
of South Africa



Sechaboa



CALL

New Year message from O. R. TAMBO

action against the racist and puppet armies of Vorster and Ian Smith. The battles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have proved that provided our people are armed with modern weapons and are united under the leadership of the African National Congress they will undoubtedly defeat the armies of apartheid and sweep the system of racial segregation and oppression into the dustbin of history. With unity, determination and skill, this can and will be accomplished.

For centuries the White oppressors of our country have lived by the sword. Now they shall perish by the sword. For decades White supremacy has been maintained by the gun. Now freedom shall be achieved by means of the gun. Our aims are clear. Our policy is enshrined in the Freedom Charter, a historic document. There can be no turning back. The sound of gunfire can be heard from the banks of the Zambesi River. Very soon the sounds shall be heard inside the Republic itself. The tide of revolution will grow and develop until it covers the whole of Southern Africa. There can be no compromise with the fascists. Our struggle will not cease until apartheid and oppression have been smashed and freedom comes to all the people of South Africa.

VITAL NEW PHASE

The long struggle for freedom in our country has entered a vital new phase. Fully conscious of its responsibilities our national organization, the African National Congress, has decided to call on all the African people and their allies of other races to take up arms against the hated apartheid regime which oppresses and exploits our people.

Already units of our liberation army — Umkhonto We Sizwe — and those of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, are in

WHY HAVE WE TAKEN UP ARMS?

We have not embarked on our present struggle lightly. We know that the revolution in South Africa will be a long and bitter one calling for maximum sacrifices from all lovers of freedom. Yet our national organization with full support of the vast majority of the nation has chosen this path as essential if we are to lead our country out of the nightmare of White oppression.

The founders of our nation — Seme, Makgatho, Montsion, Mangena, Mapikela, Plaatje, Dube and others — taught us that the African people were conquered because the Europeans had the guns and were better organised. In addition, our forefathers fought separately and divided. In this way the Whites were able to defeat our peoples one by one. Therefore we had to concentrate first on removing the divisions among ourselves and creating a single African nation owing allegiance to one organization — the African National Congress.

Throughout the last 55 years the ANC has sacrificed everything in the cause of African unity. In addition our people fought in many different ways against oppression and for freedom.

The White government of South Africa treated all the demands and struggles of our people with contempt, because they had armed might on their side. All peaceful methods of drawing attention to our grievances were ruthlessly abolished. The methods used to crush the national strike of May 1961 showed that the White minority was determined to maintain itself in power by force.

It was then clear that the African and other oppressed people could not hope to achieve their freedom except by organis-

It will require all our political skill and leadership to build a powerful movement of all revolutionary forces to support the armed struggles, based on unity, first of all, of the African people, and then of their allies among the Indian, Coloured and White lovers of freedom.

All those who hate apartheid and the system of racial oppression that has been practised in our country for so long, must work closely together under the leadership of the African National Congress in the armed revolution until victory is won.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

Revolution calls for supreme vigilance, organization and capacity to sacrifice. The movement needs men and women willing to fight and to perform all the tasks of war. In the political sphere we need organisers, propagandists and activists who will spread the message of struggle all over the country, in towns, rural areas and farms. Men and Women, Students, Workers, Peasants, religious people — all must join the struggle and find a place in it.

Special responsibility in the revolution will rest on our splendid youth who have already shown that they are capable of great deeds. The armed struggle will require that our young men and women prepare themselves to learn the arts and skills of war and then to fight with arms in hand for freedom. This will be a great challenge to the Youth, on whom the nation depends for victory in the revolution.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REVOLUTION

The task of the African National Congress is to organise and lead the struggle for freedom in South Africa. But we must not forget for a moment that Africans in other parts of Africa — in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, South West Africa, Guinea-Bissau — are engaged in the same struggle, confronting the same enemies. The African National Congress is working closely with other freedom movements in the struggle against colonialism and White minority rule.

Of historic importance is the fighting alliance between the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. The people of Zimbabwe and South Africa have always had close ties. In both countries the majority of the people are kept down by a White minority. It is natural for the oppressed people in both countries to fight together against the common enemy. Everything must be done to consolidate and strengthen the freedom alliance of the ANC and ZAPU, who represent the masses of the peoples in both countries respectively. This alliance is fundamental for our ultimate victory.



A Biographical Note

OLIVER TAMBO

Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the ANC, was born in 1917 of a peasant family in the district of Bizana, Pondoland, South Africa. He attended school at St Peters, in Johannesburg, and graduated in Physics and Mathematics at Fort Hare University College in 1941.

From 1943 to 1947 he taught at his old school, St Peters; in 1948 he left teaching and studied law. In 1952 he formed the first African law partnership with Nelson Mandela.

From his student days O.R. Tambo was a militant. He led two strikes at Fort Hare, and in 1944 founded the ANC Youth League. He led the fight for a militant policy in the ANC together with Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others.

In 1956 he was among the 156 people charged with High Treason. After the collapse of the case against him he resumed the fight against the pass laws.

During the state of emergency in 1960 Oliver Tambo escaped the police round-up and was ordered by the ANC to proceed outside the country to organise international solidarity.

Apart from the position of Deputy-President, O.R. Tambo has been Secretary-General of the ANC. Since the death of Chief Lutuli he has been Acting President-General of the African National Congress.

It will require all our political skill and leadership to build a powerful movement of all revolutionary forces to support the armed struggles, based on unity, first of all, of the African people, and then of their allies among the Indian, Coloured and White lovers of freedom.

All those who hate apartheid and the system of racial oppression that has been practised in our country for so long, must work closely together under the leadership of the African National Congress in the armed revolution until victory is won.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

Revolution calls for supreme vigilance, organization and capacity to sacrifice. The movement needs men and women willing to fight and to perform all the tasks of war. In the political sphere we need organisers, propagandists and activists who will spread the message of struggle all over the country, in towns, rural areas and farms. Men and Women, Students, Workers, Peasants, religious people — all must join the struggle and find a place in it.

Special responsibility in the revolution will rest on our splendid youth who have already shown that they are capable of great deeds. The armed struggle will require that our young men and women prepare themselves to learn the arts and skills of war and then to fight with arms in hand for freedom. This will be a great challenge to the Youth, on whom the nation depends for victory in the revolution.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REVOLUTION

The task of the African National Congress is to organise and lead the struggle for freedom in South Africa. But we must not forget for a moment that Africans in other parts of Africa — in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, South West Africa, Guinea-Bissau — are engaged in the same struggle, confronting the same enemies. The African National Congress is working closely with other freedom movements in the struggle against colonialism and White minority rule.

Of historic importance is the fighting alliance between the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. The people of Zimbabwe and South Africa have always had close ties. In both countries the majority of the people are kept down by a White minority. It is natural for the oppressed people in both countries to fight together against the common enemy. Everything must be done to consolidate and strengthen the freedom alliance of the ANC and ZAPU, who represent the masses of the peoples in both countries respectively. This alliance is fundamental for our ultimate victory.



A Biographical Note

OLIVER TAMBO

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WHOLE WORLD SUPPORTS US

There is hardly anybody who can be found to support apartheid except those who profit by the exploitation that goes with it. All progressive mankind condemns and abhors apartheid.

The African states know that they cannot really be free until this monster has been eliminated from the continent. The Afro-Asian states at the United Nations and elsewhere have played a leading role in exposing the evils of apartheid and initiating measures to isolate the South African White rulers in the political, military, economic and social spheres.

All the Socialist countries actively support our cause. Millions of common people who hate oppression of others in the imperialist countries have always stood on our side in the struggle for freedom.

Even the big financial interests that are trading partners of South Africa in Japan, United States, Britain, France and West Germany who benefit from our ruthless exploitation, are too ashamed to support apartheid openly. South Africa has become the "leper of the world," and our planet will be a cleaner place after apartheid has been destroyed.

Now the task is to mobilise all the sympathy of the world into a mighty solidarity movement in support of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. The people of the world must be told why we have taken up arms and what we fight for. All the pressures that have hitherto been applied against South Africa must be greatly intensified. The White minority regimes must feel the indignation of the world at their continuing defiance of progressive opinion. Not only must the White supremacists be isolated but full material assistance must be afforded to the freedom fighters in the battlefield.

(O) FREEDOM OR DEATH

We in the African National Congress do not imagine that the defeat of imperialism in Southern Africa will be quick or easy. We realise it will be longdrawn and bloody. But we are confident of the final outcome. As our forces drive deeper into the south, we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats.

The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa!

Towards this victory we will fight to the bitter end.

Our battle cry is and shall continue to be:

VICTORY OR DEATH! WE SHALL WIN!

Long Live The Armed Struggle of The People For Freedom!

Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla Ke A Rona!

THEY ARE PRISONERS OF WAR!

An ANC PRESS RELEASE

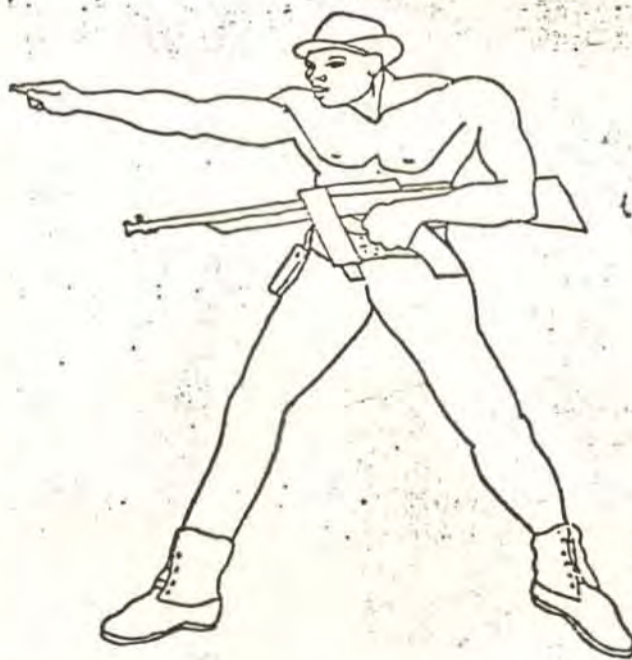
"The African National Congress of South Africa condemns the death sentence passed by Mr Justice Lewis on seven militants of ZAPU and the ANC (SA) who took part in the war to liberate Rhodesia and South Africa.

"Their trial was a travesty of justice and the sentence passed is intended to stop the mounting struggle for national liberation in Rhodesia and South Africa. But there is no force in the world that could ever prevent oppressed people from fighting for their freedom and national independence.

"We call upon the Smith rebel regime to release our seven comrades-in-arms now facing the gallows. Furthermore, we call upon Britain to intervene and stop the execution of these freedom-fighters. These men are prisoners-of-war captured in battle, and must be treated as such.

"If Britain and the rebel Smith regime fail to act in accordance with our demand, if they murder prisoners-of-war, then they must also assume full responsibility for the reprisals which our militants will take.

"Africa and the world must take action to save the lives of the seven militants now condemned to death in Rhodesia, and to ensure that they are treated as prisoners-of-war!"



THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS, OUR SONS

WHAT IS GUERRILLA WARFARE?

At Morogoro, for the first time at a conference of the African National Congress, the delegates included Umkhonto we Sizwe fighting men who have been in action against the enemy. They have fought the enemy in the field, in Zimbabwe, the place the whites call Rhodesia. They fought with gun in hand, and they saw the enemy run more than once. They will fight again, and again, and in the end we will defeat the enemy. Not in one battle, but in many. Not overnight, but in our time. Not in the place or the way the enemy decides, but the way we decide. For this is guerilla warfare, and since this is the way we will struggle for our freedom in South Africa, the people of our country must know the skills of guerilla warfare, use them, master them, and be victorious through them.

How can the African freedom movement beat the armed terror of White apartheid, you might ask, with the military machine of the Defence Force, the Police, the Armed Reserves, the Special Branch?

Guerilla warfare is the answer, because guerilla warfare is the weapon of the oppressed against the armed might of a powerful enemy.

It is long drawn-out war. The guerilla strikes when the enemy is unprepared, and where the enemy is weak. These will not be battles of armies face to face, but hundreds of surprise attacks by freedom-fighters who will hit where the enemy is weak, retreat when he lights back, take cover to re-organise, and prepare to launch the next surprise attack. Guerilla fighters are not armies in uniform, but fighters of the people, who melt into the people or the countryside when the enemy searches for them, and are hidden by the people, because they fight for the cause of freedom of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to know the weakness of the enemy, and the strength of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to be true to the sufferings and the needs of the people, for he is of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to ambush the enemy when he is not looking.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to capture guns from the enemy.

The skill of the freedom fighter is not to be seen and known by the enemy as a freedom fighter, but to fight from secret places in unexpected ways.

The guerilla war will start in the countryside. Not everywhere at once, but here, and there, and then somewhere else. There will be freedom fighters with guns. Beside them must be the freedom-fighters of the village, the farm, the reserve, later even the town, who will strengthen the men with the guns with their own methods against the enemy.

WE MUST KNOW THE ENEMY BETTER THAN HE KNOWS US. WE MUST WATCH FOR HIS WEAK POINTS, AND TURN THEM AGAINST HIM. WE MUST BE VIGILANT AGAINST HIS AGENTS, HIS GOOD BOYS, HIS SPIES, THE TRAITORS IN OUR RANKS, SO THEY CAN NEVER BETRAY OUR PLANS. WE MUST DISCOVER THE PLANS OF THE ENEMY SO THE FREEDOM-FIGHTER WILL KNOW THEM IN TIME. WE MUST WIN THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE OPPRESSED NON-WHITE MASSES—AFRICAN, INDIAN AND COLOURED.

The oppressors are few, their army and their police force, their commissioners and their spies cannot be everywhere at once. But the people are many and the people are everywhere, and the freedom-fighters are of the people, and must be protected by the people. This is the way it is done. This is the way guerilla warfare has won. In Vietnam. In Cuba. And in Africa, in Mozambique and Angola, to the north of South Africa, where the freedom-fighters are punishing the Portuguese colonial army in the field. The Portuguese forces bomb; the freedom-fighters have scattered for cover. The enemy rushes fresh troops to the field; the freedom fighters blow up the railway and the road. The enemy lays new plans for attacks but the plans are carried to the freedom fighters, for they have ears and eyes everywhere.

Guerilla warfare is peoples' war against the oppressor, and our freedom-fighters are everywhere, not only among the fighting men.

Guerilla warfare succeeds because it scatters the enemy and the more he scatters, the more he loses strength.

Already Vorster's men are fighting in Rhodesia and helping the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola. This is not a sign of greater strength but of coming weakness. Apartheid rules by terror and armed might, but such armies cannot be everywhere at once, and the guerillas can, for they are of the people, and the people are everywhere.

YOU, TOO, ARE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS. EVERYWHERE WE MUST PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE. FORM UNDERGROUND UNITS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. IN THE RESERVES, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, IN THE TOWNS, IN THE FACTORIES, IN THE TOWNSHIPS, AMONG THE STUDENTS AND THE YOUTH. WE NEED UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE ORGANISATION; WE NEED NEW FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM, NEW WAYS OF STRUGGLE SO THAT WE MAY STRIKE WHEN WE ARE READY. DOWN WITH APARTHEID TERROR! FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS; OUR SONS



THEY FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE

**THE ENEMY
CALL THEM
TERRORISTS!**

In all history whenever men have fought for freedom they have been called names: in Algeria they were called terrorists; in Vietnam they were called bandits; in Kenya they were called criminal gangs, and in Southern Africa—in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and in South Africa itself—those who refuse to say "Ja baas" are also called names, by the enemy.

THEY ARE CALLED: TERRORISTS - SABOTEURS - AGITATORS - ABAGROGRI - ABASHOKHOBEZI. THEY TRY TO DESTROY US BY SWEAR-WORDS BECAUSE THEY FEAR WHAT WE REALLY ARE--FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

Nov 1967

THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS, OUR SONS, (cont.):

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Nov 1969.

17

THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

19



Oliver Tambo



Nelson Mandela

THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

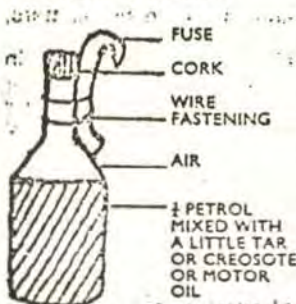
Recently, at Morogoro in Tanzania, members of the African National Congress and units of Umkhonto we Sizwe based outside South Africa met in conference. The conference studied the enemy, his strength and his weakness. It examined the struggle, its record and achievements, and its targets for the future. It decided that: (1) The Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress will intensify the armed struggle and the mobilisation of the masses of our people in support of our revolution for freedom. Our people must study and master the method of guerilla warfare which enables oppressed people to fight and defeat huge imperialist armies. (2) The alliance with ZAPU, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, will be strengthened. Smith is allied with Vorster, and apartheid has spread to Rhodesia. The freedom fighters of Zimbabwe are fighting our enemy, and we theirs, for white domination in Southern Africa is the enemy of all the African people of the sub-continent. Unity is strength, unity in armed struggle means victory for the African freedom movement. (3) Inside South Africa patriots must mobilise for the resistance against apartheid and in preparation for armed struggle. We must build secret and underground units of the ANC. We must build them strong, but safe from the Special Branch, and the informer. (4) We must prepare for the sharpening of the struggle. We must store weapons. We must watch the enemy, note his habits and his movements so that we can catch him unawares. (5) We must intensify the international campaign against South Africa's apartheid regime because this helps to weaken our enemy. (6) We must rally Africans,

Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites for the overthrow of apartheid and the building of a new society of equality and democracy for all. We are united on policy. We must be united in struggle. Freedom is a matter of struggle.

"These are the orders", said Acting President-General Oliver Tambo "to our people, to our youth, to our army, to every soldier. These are the orders to our leaders. Close ranks. Wage relentless war against disruptors and enemy agents. Defend the revolution against enemy lies and enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes. Be vigilant. The enemy is vigilant. Beware the wedge-driver—men who creep from ear to ear, driving wedges among us. We must face the enemy united for our unity is what the enemy fears. He fears our members for we are many and he is few. He seeks to divide us in order to weaken us. But we, the people, must make our numerical superiority count and that is why we must stand united, and face the enemy as one. THIS IS THE WAY TO WIN OUR FREEDOM".

SOME THINGS A FREEDOM FIGHTER SHOULD KNOW

How to make a Molotov Cocktail



This is the simplest weapon for use against enemy personnel, vehicles and buildings. Fill a bottle three-quarters full with petrol mixed with a little tar or motor oil or creosote. Be sure to leave an air space between the petrol and the neck of the bottle. Cork the bottle with old rag or cotton waste, soaked in oil or petrol. Light with match and when bottle is thrown and smashed the petrol ignites and the tar or creosote or motor oil helps the petrol to stick to the side of the vehicle. (Creosote and tar is the best for this purpose.) Alternatively put an ordinary cork in the bottle and fasten a three-inch length of fuse to the neck of the bottle with wire as in diagram. The fuse can be a length of sashcord, rope or flannel soaked in a solution of saltpeter and water (KNO₃) and dried. Or you can also use a fuse consisting of flannel or rag soaked in oil or petrol. Light the fuse and throw the bottle.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Dear Editor,

The following is a complete transcription of the African National Congress freedom broadcasts which were heard today in the cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

In addition, a massive distribution of leaflets took place throughout the country by various means including leaflet bombs. A copy of the leaflet is enclosed.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(10

VOICE/....

ANNEXURE TO LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

VOICE: This is the African National Congress. This is the African National Congress. This is the Voice of Freedom. The ANC speaks to You! Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuya! (In pen: (Control). Power is ours.)

SINGING OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM (NKOSI SIKELE AFRIKA and MOREDA DOLOKE)

VOICE: The time has come. This Government of Slavery, this Government of oppression, this Apartheid monster must be removed from power and crushed by the People! It must be (10 removed by force! They will never stop the pass raids, the arrests, the beatings, the killings they will continue to drive us out of our homes like dogs and send us to rot in the so-called Bantu homelands, they will continue to pay us miserable slave wages, and treat us as their beasts of burden until the day we beat them up and crush white rule! This land of ours was taken away by bloodshed. We will regain it by bloodshed. Sons and daughters of Afrika, you in your millions who have toiled to make this country rich, the ANC calls upon you 0- Never submit to white oppression - Never give up the Free- (20 dom struggle - find ways of organising those around you - the African National Congress calls you to be ready - to be ready for war! You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy, his spies and informers, and organise those around you. We are many, they are few. Our Coloured and Indian brothers must do the same. You must organise your people to fight the ghettos and all the racial laws and in support of the armed struggle. We say to the enemy that we will not be bluffed by your toy parliaments like Natansians, like the (30 Coloured Council and like the Indian Council. We want freedom

now! REAL FREEDOM! But the whites will not give it to us. We have to take it. We have to take it by violence. We fight a guerilla war. A guerilla war is not a war of big armies. We have no big army. We organise ourselves into small groups. We attack the enemy suddenly when he is not expecting us. We kill them and we take their guns and we disappear. Our brave young men have shown the way in their heroic battles in Rhodesia. Today they fight in Rhodesia, tomorrow they will fight in South Africa. All over the young men are showing the way. They are fighting the white racist armies in Angola, in Mocambique, in Rhodesia. Today they fight in Rhodesia, tomorrow they will fight in South Africa. The African National Congress calls upon you to prepare for the guerilla war, the war of liberation. The ANC calls upon you to help our young men, our freedom fighters. We organise ourselves into small groups, we carry guns, suddenly we attack the enemy, we kill them and we take their weapons and we hide away. The forests, the mountains, the countryside, the People - hide the young men. Everyone of you can help in this fight. Everyone can be a freedom fighter. In your factory, in your school, on the land, in your church - wherever you are amongst the People - you must find a way of organising those around you. If you work carefully you will be able to cheat the enemy and his spies and informers. You must be prepared. You must be ready to sacrifice. We refuse to live on our knees. We refuse to say "Ja Baas"; We must prepare to rise against the white oppressor. Nelson Mandela said he was prepared to die for the freedom of our people. What do you say my dear young brother, my dear young sister? Sons of Sekhukuni, Sons of Shaka, Sons of Hintsa, Sons of Mshoeshoe .. the time has come. Freedom lovers of South Africa the time to fight has come. This is the message the African National

Congress brings to you. You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you. The enemy fears our organised might. We are many, the whites are few. We must find ways to organise our people. They pay us low wages because our skins are black, whilst the whites live in luxury. At work, in the factories, the mines, the docks, the offices, the kitchens, the fields, the railways, the roads, we demand equal pay for equal work now! They charge us high rents, high taxes, high fares on the trains (10 and buses, we must organise in the townships and in the streets and on the buses, we must demand a better life NOW! They give our children second class education. We demand proper education that will enable our young people to be equal to other young people in the world. Our young people must be taught how to fly jet aeroplanes and how to fly the sputnicks. In the school, our young people must organise to resist Bantu Education. We demand free and equal education for all our children NOW! The whites have taken away the land of our people in the countryside, and have forced them to give up their cattle. We must resist (20 the Matanzima stooges, we must resist the Bantu Authorities Act in the countryside. We want our land back. Our young men with guns will fight for it in the countryside. They will deal with the stooges and informers, the police and the white soldiers. Our people in the countryside must be told of their coming. They must hide and feed our freedom fighters, they must make their path easy and the enemy's path hard. The African National Congress calls upon our people to prepare for guerilla warfare, the Peoples' War of Liberation. NOW! Guerilla war has brought victory to the people of Algeria, to the people (30 of Cuba, to the people of Vietnam. Those people did not have

big armies. They were like us. Guerilla fighters organise themselves in small groups. Suddenly when the enemy is not expecting them, they attack. They kill and grab the guns and disappear. You sons and daughters of the soil, you must consider yourselves as soldiers in the guerilla war. There are many ways to be a freedom fighter. You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you. We are many, they are few. The African National Congress calls on all the oppressed people to organise and (10 struggle and prepare to fight in the towns and in the countryside. Our brave men of Umkonto we Sizwe have shown the way. They fought heroically in Zimbabwe. They will fight in South Africa. You must start to find places where you can hide the weapons you might come across. You must have secret addresses of your reliable friends who will agree to hide you or your weapons or other freedom fighters. You must be ready for sacrifice. You must start now to find hiding places. The countryside, the bush, the forest, the mountain - these will also become your secret addresses. The time has come. The African (20 National Congress calls upon you to organise and to prepare. Death to racialism. MAYIBUYE! Afrika! Amandla! Ke Bako. Zemkiakomo magwela ndini! Ayi Hlome!

SINGING OF FREEDOM SONGS.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG

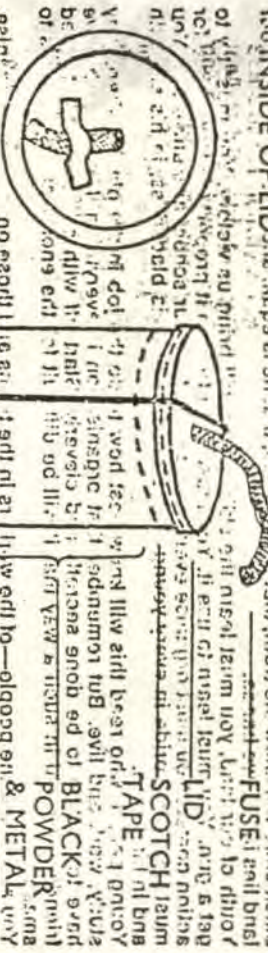
SOME THINGS A FREEDOM FIGHTER SHOULD KNOW

How to make a Stoppable Hand Grenade

Use a tin can with a fitting lid as a container. Fill the can with black powder and sharp metal fragments and nails. About 4 parts powder to 1 part metal. Any explosive powder can be used, including quite simply the powder from fire-crackers. Make a small hole in the lid of the can. Pass a piece of fuse through the hole and make sure, if it is not already there, that it is in contact with the powder. Tap the can down so that it cannot come loose. Press the lid of the can firmly into place and seal with sticky-tape. Tie a piece of wire around the tin, from top to bottom, so that the lid cannot be knocked off. When the hand grenade is thrown, the fuse and throw at the enemy. On exploding the metal fragments cut the enemy down. The effect is fire-stead when the enemy is standing close together, and when he is taken by surprise. Make sure you are behind cover when the hand grenade explodes.

Black Powder—This is made of 75 parts saltpetre (potassium of nitrate), 15 parts charcoal and 10 parts sulphur. Separately grind these parts down to powder form. Mix thoroughly together into a paste with water. Dry out. Gently grind the mixture to powder again, avoiding friction. The powder is very sensitive to flame.

The Fuse—This is made from an ordinary fire-cracker, as long as it will burn for 3 seconds before it detonates. You can quite simply use the fuse from an ordinary fire-cracker, as long as it will burn for 3 seconds before it detonates. You can produce your own fuse by soaking a length of cotton cord for an hour in a solution of water and saltpetre. A teaspoon of saltpetre to one cup of water will do. The cord should be dried out in a hot oven to dry and heat the burning fuse. Cut fuse to lengths required, dried and of uniform length. Dip end of cord in oil or grease to make it burn more evenly.



DOWN BY SCOTCH TAPE

FASTENING

WIRE

POWDER

METAL FRAGMENT

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SAYS TO VORSTEDT AND HIS GANG

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YOUR DAYS ARE COMING TO AN END!

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.

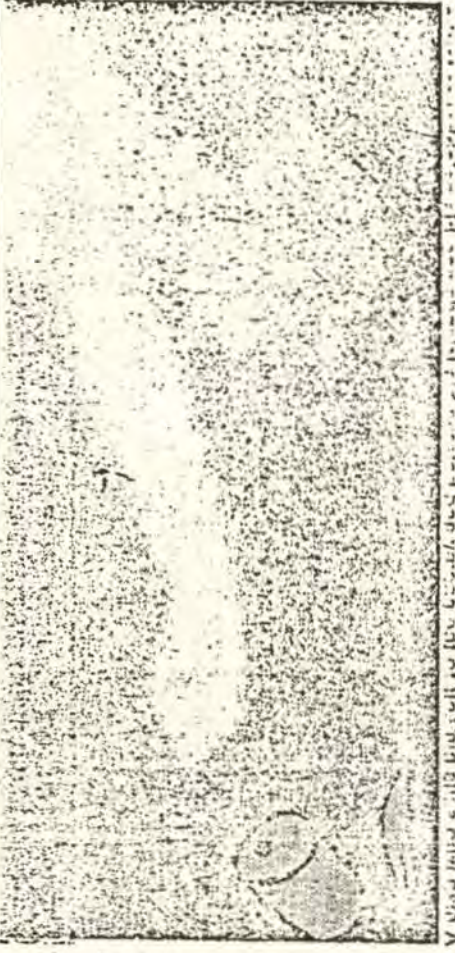
You have the cheek to say that in our own country black is foreign whilst every while immigrant who has never before breathed the air of Africa can come here and become our lord and master.

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 have stolen from our forefathers.

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 killed this century and maimed more people than at any time in history.

WE LAUGH IN YOUR FACES AT ALL THIS NONSENSE AND TOGETHER WITH OUR COLOURS AND INDIAN BROTHERS WE SAY: "MOVE OVER OR YOU WILL BE PUSHED".



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