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86

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NO.1 INKULULEKO — FREEDOM JULY 1971.

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A PAPER IS A WEAPON

The publication of the first issue of INKULULULEKO - FREEDOM as a regular underground journal of our Central Committee represents a big step forward for our Party.

In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser. A grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application to our conditions not only provides the true guidelines for action but also reinforces the conviction that the ending of all forms of exploitation - economic, racial and political - is both historically necessary and inevitable.

Around such a revolutionary organ there must grow a bond between all units and advanced representatives of the liberation and working class movements It must become a spur to those who are still seeking a path of struggle and the thread which directs them to revolutionary commitment, organisation and action.

INKULU LEKO - FREEDOM continues in the great tradition of our Party's journal and newspapers, like "The International", "Umsebenzi", and "Inkululeko and fighting organs like the "Guardian", "Liberation", "Fighting Talk" and others which have throughout our history played an indispensable role in furthering the revolutionary tasks which face our people.

The ideas which will fill the pages of this journal are hated by the enemy because they are liberating ideas. The enemy will hound you and persecute you if they catch you spreading it. But your battle cannot be won without risks and without sacrifice. Of course you must be careful in the way you use it and if you work cleverly you can outwit the enemy and his agents and informers.

"INKULULEKO - FREEDOM" IS YOUR PAPER ! SPREAD IT EVERYWHERE !
ORGANISE AND EDUCATE FOR THE REVOLUTION !

WE CELEBRATE OUR FIFTIETH YEAR

Fifty years have passed since our party - the oldest Communist Party on the African continent - was born on 30 July, 1921. We look back on those years with pride and they inspire us to face the future with confidence.

In its first manifesto our party pledged itself to struggle despite "any sacrifices it may be called upon to undergo, to hasten the time when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessities and amenities of life, the comfort and culture, the honour and

the power, shall be to him who toils, not to him who exploits; when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers".

This pledge has been honoured."

Beginning with the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, the world Communist movement has made great strides and already a third of the world's peoples are building a socialist society free from exploitation. The South African Communist Party is a part of the army of Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world.

In our own country the white man as boss still rules over the Black servant with an iron fist. But the struggles of the last fifty years in which our Party has played such an important role, has brought nearer the time when White supremacy will be absolutely crushed and the Black man will be able to walk upright in his own land.

FOREIGN CONQUEST

The path of struggle has been difficult and continues to be so. The foreign settler came to our country and with the Bible in one hand, the rifle in the other and money in his pocket, destroyed our way of life, robbed us of our land and cattle, and made us into chattels. South Africa became part of the world system of imperialism. Like all the other colonies in Latin America, Asia and the rest of Africa the indigenous people were first conquered by force of arms, separated from the ownership of all the economic wealth and turned into reservoirs of cheap labour to be exploited in the mines, factories and plantations owned by the centres of imperialism.

The invaders' path was not made easy. For centuries the African people shed their blood in armed combat in defence of their birthright. Names like Shaka, Dingane, Moshoeshoe, Makana, Ngqika, Sekhukhuni and others fill the pages of our history as great military and political leaders who refused to bend their backs. The Bambata rebellion in the opening years of this century was the closing chapter in this heric resistance to conquest.

The ruling class set about creating the South Africa which we see about us and which is described in the Programme of our Party in the following way:

> " South Africa is not a colony but an independent state. Yet the masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom. The conceding of independence to South Africa by Britain in 1910, was not a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism. It was designed in the interests of imperialism. Power was transferred not into the hands of the white minority alone. The evils of colonialism, insofar as the Non-White majority was concerned, were perpetuated and re-inforced. A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing white nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them."

RESISTANCE

But the people did not remain dormant. New ways had to be found to meet the challenge and to win back our country. In 1912 the great national movement of the African people - the African National Congress - was formed to create a unity of the Black people to meet the unity of the oppressor. It laid the

basis for the national awakening of all sections of the African people. At about the same time the pioneers of the Communist movement began to lay the basis for the creation of a workers' organisation which - inspired by the great socialist teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin - saw natinal oppression as having its roots in the world capitalist and imperislist system of which South Africa becam a part.

These two great movements represented the two main aspects of South African reality - class exploitation and national oppression - and each of them have played a vital role in carrying out the tasks which face our people.

ALLIANCE

The links which have been forced between the various sections of the oppressed people (African, Indian and Coloured) and trade union and working class organisation were forged not in the classroom but in struggle. We Communists regard it as our central aim to promote the further unity of the national democratic movement for the liberation of our country as a step towards socialism. We also believe that the spreading of a socialist outlook can be a source of great strength in eradicating forever national oppression which has at its root economic and class exploitation.

We support with all our strength the policy of struggle which has been forced upon the people - the policy of preparing and undertaking the revolutionary overthrow of the White regime by force of arms.

WE CONTINUE UNDERGROUND

Our Party, the first political organisation to be outlawed, was driven underground in 1950. In the 21 years of its illegal existence it has added to its proud record of defiance and struggle. Communists have always been found where the enemy has been challenged. They are counted amongst those who have been hounded, tortured and hanged, amongst those who fill the political jails of our country and amongst those who have given their lives in armed combat. But whatever the sacrifices history has proved that our great Party cannot be destroyed. We are indestructible as the working class whose political instument we are - a class which, as the founder of Communism Karl Marx, said, "has nothing to lose but its chains" and which together with the working people on the land is the most revolutionary force.

The terror tactics of the Nationalist Government have only succeeded in forging a new weapon against them. Today the liberation movement is poised for a new round of struggle. The opening battles of guerrilla warfare were fought by the military organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe, together with their brothers in Zimbabwe as long ago as 1967. Inside the country both the ANC and the Communist Party continue to function, organising and preparing the people for the final overthrow of White supremacy.

THE FIGHT FOR A NEW WORLD

In the 50 years since our Party was established the face of the world has changed. The first workers' state - the Soviet Union - has become the pivot around which is being built a world system of socialism which stands foursquare behind the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation everywhere. Although the former imperialst masters of Africa in alliance with the Vorster-Smith-Caetano axis continue their attempts to reverse the

gain of the African revolution, great strides have been made towards independence.

Our brother fighters in Mocambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, are proving in practice that a people's armed struggle is unconquerable whatever the resources of the enemy. And in Vietnam the biggest and strongest imperialist nation is being taught that the days of foreign domination by armed force are numbered.

On this our fiftieth anniversary the Central Committee and our whole Party salutes those who are constructing socialism and fighting imperialism. We reaffirm our confidence in the principles of Communism and internationalism, of victory for our people and for the working class and pledge

* to intensify our efforts - whatever the sacrifices - to help liberate the mass of our oppressed people from race domination and to bring about an independent South Africa free from all forms of exploitation.

* unqualified support for the armed revolutionary cadres of the whole movement to spread theareas of armed combat to the heart of our country.

* the intensification of our efforts to build our Party as the Marxist-Leninst vanguard of the working class and to fortify it in the face of police terror.

* the strengthening still further of the unity of all true patriotic forces as expressed in the alliance headed by the African National Congress.

WE CALL UPON THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY AND ESPECIALLY THE WORKERS AND OPPRESSED AFRICAN, COLOURED AND INDIAN PEOPLE TO UNITE THEIR RANKS TO RESIST TYRRANICAL DOMINATION IN EVERY SPHERE AND BY EVERY MEANS AND TO WORK FOR THE CONQUEST OF POWER BY THE PEOPLE.

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM AND TRUE INTERNATIONALISM !

LONG LIVE THE ALLIANCE OF PATRIOTIC FORCES !

LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY !

OUR HISTORY

A SHORT OUTLINE

1921 - 1930

Although the Communist Party began as an off-shoot of the white-dominated labour and trade union movement, from the outset it was founded on the basis of non-racialism, and was for many years the foremost if not the only advocate of equal rights for all South Africans, irrespective of race, creed or colour. The leaders of the Communist Party in its early days - men like W.H. (Bill) Andrews, David Ivon Jones and S.P. Bunting - realised that only the effective organisation of the African masses in struggle could create the force necessary to overthrow White domination and imperialism. During the 1920s, the party more and more turned its attention to the African workers,

[illegible]night classes where African workers learned to read and write, started the first African trade unions, launched country-wide campaigns against the pass laws.

These are some of the men who joined the Communist Party in those days :

Moses Kotane, already a member of the African Bakers' Union and the African National Congress, joined the Communist Party through the night school in Johannesburg and was to become the Party's leading functionary, organiser and spokesman during the ensuing 40 years.

J.B.Marks, later President of the African Mineworkers' Union and today National Chairman of the Communist Party.

Albert Nzula, the first African Secretary of the Party.

E.T.Mofutsanyana, editor of the party paper "Inkululeko".

Trade unionist Gana Makabeni, J. Nkosi, T.W.Thibedi, and many others; Coloured leaders such as Kimmy La Guma and John Gomas joined the Party during the 1920s.

Wherever the masses were involved in struggle, there the Party was to be found. It joined with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and the African National Congress in campaigns against the hated pass laws - the Party leader, Johannes Nkosi, was murdered by the police when he addressed a meeting against the pass laws in Durban on Dingaan's Day, 1930.

1930 - 1950

The Communist Party helped to organise the masses of unemployed, White and Non-White, in the depression years of the early thirties. It formed the core of the opposition to the rise of fascism which marked the years before the outbreak of the second world war. It was part of the united front which joined at the All-African Convention in 1936 to oppose the passage of Gen. Hertzog's Bills through Parliament depriving the Africans of their vote and their access to the land. During the Second World War, the Communist Party helped mobilise the South African people in the fight to curb the Vorsters and other South African fascists at home and to destroy the forces of Nazism in the world at large.

By the end of the war, the Party membership which numbered only a few hundred in 1921, had increased more than tenfold, organised under committees in all the main centres of the country. Nor was the work of the Party confined to the Africans. Groups of activists from other sections of the oppressed peoples had joined the Party. Under the influence of Communists and other revolutionaries, the nature of the liberatory organisations themselves had also been radicalised, the old bourgeois leaderships being replaced by militants who were ready to embark on more radical forms of struggle. The names of Communists like Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, had become household words because of their selfless dedication to the cause of national liberation.

The post-war years saw the greatest upsurge of the oppressed people of South Africa since Union was formed in 1910 in campaigns like the 1946 strike of 100,000 African Mineworkers and the mass Indian Campaign of 1946-1950 against residential segregation. The character and national composition of the membership changed. Whereas in 1921 90% of the membership of the Party had been White, by 1950 they comprised a small percentage.

1950 — 1971

When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the Party was seen to be the leading force in the ranks of the extra-Parliamentary opposition, the one whose policy was most dangerous to apartheid. This was why the Communist Party was singled out as the first political organisation to be banned by the Malan regime in 1950 - a full ten years before the Sharpeville shooting and the emergency which led to the banning of the African National Congress and other liberatory organisations.

Within a short time our Party reformed its ranks, and created a network of illegal organisation throughout the country. The new underground Party continued to play a vital part in all the mass struggle of the 50s and 60s in campaigns like the Defiance Campaign of 1952-3; the Congress of the People of 1955 which adopted the Freedom Charter; the political strikes, bus and potato boycotts; the rebellion of the peasantry in the Transvaal, Natal and the Transkei; the mass resistance of the African women to the extension to them of the pass laws.

In all these struggles the links between the Party and the national liberation organisations were forged ever stronger, despite the fact that the Party was forced to work underground and its membership was subjected to the most vicious repression, bans, restrictions, savage jail sentences and even the death penalty. In its programme, "The Road to South African Freedom" adopted at an underground conference in 1962, the Party gave the working people of South Africa a deep Marxist-Leninst analysis of the country and a true guide for victory in the national democratic revolution.

In 1963 the enemy uncovered the underground centre of Rivonia and launched and even more vicious attack against the Party and the whole movement. The price paid by many Party members was high - men like Bram Fisher, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and other Communists jailed for life together with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other Congressmen. Trade Unionists like Vuysili Mini and others were sentenced to death and excecuted for "sabotage" or "terrorism".

Our Party saw very early on that the enemy onslaught against the people and their organisations called for the new tactic of getting ready for armed struggle and we record with pride the role which we played in preparing the ground for the establishment of the peoples' armed force - Umkhonto we Sizwe.

For 50 years the Party has kept alive the flame of resistance in the hearts of the people. Today, as ever, we march in the front ranks of

of the struggle for reedom. We are amongst you and together we will win our freedom.

OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS

The recent meeting of our Central Committee marked an important stage in the history of our Party.

The meeting correctly devoted itself, in the main, to a through-going scrutiny of some of the mistakes made in the past and the lapses which showed themselves in our work. This was done not in order to relive the past but to equip the Party with guidelines for the future. This is way - the Marxist-Leninst way -through balanced criticism of the past to the advanve of the future. Some of the successes recorded were impressive and many of our failures have been damaging. The predominant emphasis was on the elimination of those defects in our methods, our policies and our style of work which past practice has exposed as obstacles to future practice.

The task which stood out like a beacon above all other tasks was to reconstitute the Party as our main contribution to the furthering of the revolution.

The basic framework for the discussions at the meeting remained the 1962 Party Programme. Its main analysis retains substantial validity although the events and developments of the last 8 years and the experience gained at all levels of struggle - international, Africa and internal- may well require an updating of some of its sections and even a reconsideration of others. It is for this reason that the meeting directed the Central Committee to inaugurate a broad discussion within the Party with a view to producing a new documentwhich will supplement and, where necessary, bring up to date our 1962 Programme.

The meeting recognised that we are an inseparable part of the world working class movement, the world anti-imperialist forces and, more specifically, those on our continent. Our struggle is inconceivable in isolation from this reality. In playing our part internationally we are therefore acting not just in solidarity with the socialist world and the anti-imperialist forces; we are acting in solidarity with our own people. The meeting accepted that we cannot stand aside from those issues which have divided the socialist world and which have caused so much damage to the struggle against imperialism and to our own struggle. It further felt the need to take a more profound look at our own continent and, as its most experienced and oldest Marxist-Leninist Party, make a more effective contribution to thespreading of Marxism-Leninism and to a deeper understanding of Africa's problems. Because in the last resort we face a common fate, The meeting was conscious of the need to create closer bonds between all the liberation forces in our continent.

The meeting heard a detailed re prt on our activities of the past few years in the all-important sphere of internal reconstruction and propaganda. It reviewed throughly the steps which are necessary to consolidate and extend these efforts in a way consistent with security needs. Broad guidelines for the expansion of our internal organisation were placed

before the meeting. It paid attention to the possibilities of exploiting legal and semi-legal methods of advancing the cause of the liberation movement.

The meeting further dealt with the many-sided problems connected with the armed struggle and the beginning of armed activity inside our own country. It saw the achievement of what we are working for as the culmination of a many-sided process whose initial steps include political reconstruction, mass political leadership in town and country by means of organisation, propaganda, education, agitation and so on, and the beginning of armed act

A topic which appropriately occupied a prime place in our reports, the dra resolutions and the group comments, was the leading role of the Party and its relationships with the national movement.

The meeting was given a finance report and elected a new Central Committee by a procedure similar to the one adopted at the 1962 conference. Moses Ko was re-elected as General Secretary and J.B.Marks as Chairman.

The meeting was a further sign of the basic vitality of our movement which have survived so many of the wounding blows which the enemy has dealt it. T fascist government has always regarded our Party as its most uncompromisin and dangerous foe. This is an honour we have earned and a tradition which we cherish. It is this spirit that we refresh and renew the challenge whic history, our class and our people demand of us.

In our next issue we will deal in more detail with some of the important decisions of our Central Committee meeting.

50TH ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

From Communist and Workers' Parties of :

Soviet Union
Germany
Korea
Cbechoslovakia
Mongolia
Bulgaria
Poland
Rumania
Syria
India
Japan
Israel
Jordan
Canada
Great Britain
Guyana
New Zealand
France
Malta
Cyprus
Spain
Finland
Venezuela
Hungary.

According to my knowledge there is Co-
Co-Peration between the Communist Party of South
Africa and the African National Congress. Every
South African who goes abroad is a Potential
recruit to the Ranks of the African National
Congress and the Communist Party irrespective of his
race and colour. I joined the Party because
of my stay in London at my relatives place-
Mr. Essop Pahad who and during 1969 I had
disclosed a form friendship with Stephnie Kemp
who was a member of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of South Africa.

Regarding the Radio Peking, Radio Moscow
and Radio Tanzania broadcasts - the latter
one was advertised in one of the pamphlets of the
ANC distributed few in the Country..

The pamphlets are printed in England. To
my knowledge the record distributed was also
made in some Studio in London..

At two ANC meetings of the ANC-youth branch
which I attended in 1968 (around March and June)
the slogan AMANDLA NGAWETHU was shouted - this
slogan in essence is tantamount to that of an
oath.

I was given the sum of Five Hundred Rand
by Jack Hodgson prior to my departure for South
Africa to purchase & duplicating machinery and stationery for
distribution purposes. I, however, did not buy any
printing machinery but used the School's
duplicating machine for the Cyclostyling of 'INKULULEKO'.
The draft copy of the newsletter was sent to me
by post and I thereafter typed to print the
necessary stencils - as the size of the stencil was
to be of a uniform nature. And it was typed by
me, with my own UNDERWOOD PORTABLE T/Writer with a red

cover, this machine has been taken into
possession by the Police:
DISTRIBUTION OF PAMPHLETS BY ME.
On the first occasion was in Sometime in
August 1970. The posting on this occasion
was done by me and Salaam Essop from the
Jeppe Street Post Office after 8pm. About two to see
were posted by us simultaneously. Soon after
the distribution Comments of the distribution were
being heard and also advertised by the
daily papers. I think ANC (U.K.) headquarters in
London send me a letter of Congratulations through
Jack Hodgson. The addresses on the first
the occasion was typed out by
Khatija Chotia and was typed onto the envelopes using
my typewriter. I paid her R3-00 for her work. She
was given the envelopes and was not told for
what purposes they were for. The list of the envelope
names was sent with the new packet Containing the
second pamphlets. The pamphlets were on the 5
occasion Send inside under a box Containing Darjeeling
to me at Cresswood 1,000 pamphlets were sent in the box.
After having received the printed envelopes
I then personally put them into the envelopes, bought
the stamps and posted about 400 to 500. Together with the
assistance of Salaam Essop. (Salaam Essop only assisted
in posting).
The second occasion when I received
pamphlets through my father's post-box 446, Reception
the early part of 1971. This time the pamphlets
were Concealed under a box of chocolates
and there were about 500 x I personally printed
to P.O. Box 446, Reception
twelve Four 250 and and posted these also
from Jeppe Post Office after 8pm.
On the third occasion I received a draft copy of
'INKULULEKO' and was invited to Cyclostyle

reading and typing I spent approximately this morning approximately in size I Pasted the text onto the Stencils (8 stencils used) and duplicated these one afternoon in late July at using the Schools duplicating machine The envelopes were given to me to be addressed to Miss Agesta Bulbulia of Cayers Commercial College who was Completely not aware of what was to be placed inside the envelope. She typed some 300 to 400 addresses from the address list Issued with the Packet. This time two different Size brown envelopes were used and I Paid her for about R3 for her work. The placing of the newspapers inside the envelopes was done by me at home in the night and Posted by me from Jeppe street Post Office at night. The Classifying of distribution of the Paper was to come out by the end of the July 1971 thus marking the 50th Anniversary of the birth of the Communist Party of South Africa. and I think Some were Posted by me from Roodepoort.

The first & Second batch of leaflets were titled as: Sons & Daughters of Africa. and 'What the ANC Says to Boys & his Young.

The Third one was under the Heading:-

INKULULEKO

Official Organ of the Communist Party of S. Africa.

16
15

Andries Moodley

I Came to know the above Person through my Cousin Bahuja Desai, who had Posted to me his Phone number of his Place of work & Phoned Andries on Some time after July 1970 and arranged to meet him at the Corner of Becker and Market Streets in Johannesburg. There after I met him

for a few times at this place on Leng where we had general discussions on politics. At one of these meetings I had showed him the draft guidelines of the organisational structure of the Party with its main and sub groups operating internally within the Country. Soon after this he was to leave Jhb. and in the new year was to settle in Durban. I strongly recommended his name to H/Quarters and the latter approved. But I did not inform him of my recommendation to the H/Quarters but took the initiative upon myself. During my visit/holiday to Durban in the first two weeks of January I contacted Andres by phone and arranged to meet him at his place. I went down to Andres' place and had a general talk with him, found myself to give him and Sash Cooper, (Andres' friend) a lift upto Johannesburg on the day when I was leaving for home. I had also given him on one of these occasions two books on Marxism — namely that is Marxism and Marxism versus Positivistic Philosophy. Afterwards In Durban I had also given to Andres the my friend Yaqoob Parachias's (Coopa's friend's name) flat number in the Centre of Durban where on which he could contact on a social basis.

By about April I had not heard from him and decided to write to his wife enquiring very clearly in the letter that he should contact me. (Explaining him as to) and why how he has not done so. I did not receive a reply from Andres to this letter and did not again hear from him.

YAKOOB VARACHIA.

The above person comes also from the same town as I do — Roodepoort, thus I know him and his family well, my relationship with him has always been of a non-political nature with Andres. During my holiday in Durban I visited

Yakoob three to four times yearly on a social basis. He studied at the Textile Engineering College in Leicester during the period 1967 - 1969. and returned to South africa soon immediately thereafter. He is at present an engineer of textile knitting machines in his fathers factory - Durbanvale Hosiery Mnfrg. Co. - Durban.

Soon after I arrived from London and in my first despatches to my Contact Hashim I mentioned some names and referred to them as prospective candidates for the party. Here I must emphasise that pair all the names were written without any prior Political discussion or soundings with him last week I wrote down the State of each with Political leanings most of them I was not aware of but wrote their names down because I had known them in the past (or came to know them through a third person, Esq. Fatima Wadee) Persons such as: Hassen Jhavera I had known him at College in 1961 to 1965 but has met him once only after I had come back from London. He has to the best of my knowledge or had no Connections whatsoever with the Commiet Party both internally and externally. The same can be said of the following by persons :-

1. Dilshad Jhetham
2. Shireen Breff
3. Kantilal Vallabh
4. Kantilal Naik
5. Fatima Wadee
6. Omar Vawda
7. YUSUF (CHOBB) GARDA.
8. Khaliq Chothia.

and others

The persons that I approached to recruit was the following three :-

1. Saleem Essop - he was only on one occasion involved with the Practical aspect of our work

and that was at the time of our first
Posing of the Pamphlets in August 1970. I did
however have theoretical discussions on
Marxism with him and but there were no
Organised meetings whatsoever.

2. Indres Moodley showed interest until January
1970 but I lost Complete Contact with him
from that time onwards.

3. Baby a Ramanda Desai never had ~~the~~ ever
shown any desire to work as a member of the
Party and I dismissed her right from the
outset. At present She is abroad with her
husband (Conservative) who is on a Scientific Course Send
by the firm: J. P. Coats of Osipi - the
Course lasts for three months they should
be returning to South Africa by January

My Aunty Mrs. Amina Desai. 13·2 10/6

I must point out that my Aunty was at no
time approached by me to become a
member of the Party or to do any Political
work for me. It was I who abused all
the privileges which she bestowed upon me,
Such as the Car use of her Car and
living her house without her knowledge
for the efforts I made to further the growth
of the Communist Party.

I had no documents or Records relating 14
to the Party left with Fatima Essop Sisters
Fatima Essop.

Miss Khan a Cautious and Miss Asgar of 11·5
Ballwin the two persons I asked to
Draw the Pay envelopes addressed were in

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68

22

way. I was aware for what purpose they were typing the envelopes. They were in no way connected with the attempts made by me to develop the underground organs of the party.

I am associated with the Dynamo Soccer Club, and am their acting secretary. The main purpose of my association has been motivated by the desire to exercise influence and control the activities of the club. However, it must be pointed out that my association with this club dates back prior to my departure abroad in 1966.

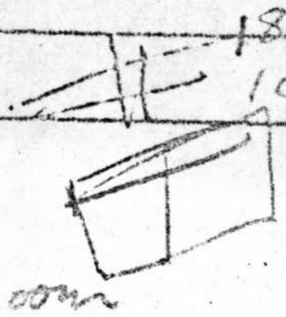
Q. Who assisted you to distribute the pamphlets on 13/8/70 in Dublin and Cape Town? And in S.A. on 14/8/70?

A. No one assisted me.

Q. What is the title name that was used on this occasion.

A. My pseudonym was used in possession of false passport.

I have no connection with other centres.



voorgestel 8 groter voorkoon

7.02

K 1-1/22. 100

Received : 2/2/12/1970.

a) Approve recommendations of Alfred.

b) Would like a full report on the various persons you recommendaded earlier in the year. How many now in the main group? How is it working? "hat outside contact you have established (mass work)? Provide a summary of your present position. Problems and perspectives for work other than those mentioned in last letter.

c) Approve suggestion to invest in an electric duplicator.

d) Will be sending me details of timing devices.

e) Approve of any safe method to work amongst Africans. In the case of Cornelius, to be left to my own judgement whether it is advisable from a security point of view. If any doubt not to go ahead. Same applies to Stephen.

f) Thanks for news of 'Searchlight'.

g) Another present due soon. No time fixed for distribution. Post contents as soon as practicable.

h) New address : 16 Frognal, London N.W.3.

i) Received my : 1/10/11/70 -- self-criticism approv.

Ex 4 1123: 101

BRIEWE DEUR TIMOL:

GREETINGS : A/J/1/24/4/70.

My first report deals with 'ORGANISATION' (what has been done sine I got back). My future reports which will follow shortly will deal with other aspects of work and observations.

A. PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROPAGANDA MATERIAL :

(1) Techical equipment organised for production (cyclo-styling) of any amount of leaflets. Have complied a mailing list of ± 8,000 people (mostly of Africans) living throughout the country.

(2) Great need for political literature. Vacuum must be filled specially for students and youth who are groping for for 'THEORETICAL' understanding of our struggle. Following literature required (draft copies) :

(a) Propaganda/Agitational for general public - e.g. messages from our leaders regularly -

(b) Theoretical - e.g. "Strategy and tactics of ANC" - Articles written by J/Slovo, J/Mathews and others - Art. Cl of Historical Nature etc. for distrib. to select people on our list, students, etc. - also progressive sociological/ anthrop. Literature required, scientific justification of our common humanity exploding myth of genetic superiority of 'White Race' ! Generation growing deprived of such progressive literature. Unesco reports can do. These articles intend publishing in monthly 'Student Newsletter !' (Incidentally, Salisbury Island students in state of unrest, degrees no longer to be conferred by Unisa but autonomous body 'University of Indians' from next year.
(continued)

(c) Material of religious nature (Hindu, Moslem) required. Presently religious activity quite rife. Growing organised discontent felt amongst Moslems against G. areas affecting 'Mosques'. Literature by

religious .../2

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102

religious leaders justifying our struggle, as was the case in India, can be most helpful.

(d) Marxist-Leninst literature now absolutely essential, e.g. E. Burns 'Intr. to Marxism'!

Question of 'Newspaper for Indians' feasible once I have two to three sub-groups working on it. Have spoken to following persons who are interested :-

(1) Ruwaida Desai - B.A. Grad. Salisbury Ist. Lives in Rdpt. Marriage in June, settling in Durban. Politically very sound.

(2) 'Chubb' Garda - (B.A. Grad.) Lives in 14th Street Vrededp. - good for N/Paper work.

(3) Hassen Jooma - teacher - lives in Pretoria - active in religious affairs - my college colleague honest democrat - V. good material for further develop.

(4) K.C. Naik - (BSc. Grad.) teacher, reliable - went to America '69 on research scholarship.

Above 3 recommended for showing interest in news paper work - with exception of Miss. Desai who could be recruited to our movement. In next letter short list of potential recruits will be send = please send names of chemicals for developing formulae, A & B and how to use convential signs. Greetings.

ENDS.

----oOo----

A/J/2/12/5/70.

In this report I deal with the general political situation in our country. Many changes have taken place over the past years. These changes have affected all racial groups and has created necessary conditions for developing our struggle on a much higher level. On the one hand, the rapid developm. of the productive forces, controlled by the Big Mining, industrial state monopolies has spurred economic development of country. But it has also sharpened contradictions in the country. Outmoded prod.

relations ...../3

relations reinforced by a coercive political system brings about untold sufferings on our people. Recent survey shows 68% families in Soweto live below poverty datum line. Increaces in prices of consumer goods (maise, coal) and services (train fares up by 30c p.m. bus fares by 1c per trip compulsory education tax imposed). Random survey of 835 Indian (cont.) households in Durban showed that in '69 betw. 50% - 60% had incomes below R73 p.m. the min. monthly living costs for family of seven. Similar sample of 818 Cape Coloured families in town showed Av. family inc. was R52 p.m. and Av. month. Exp. R51 with more than 49% on food - Vicious polit. laws enacted recently. Contradictions aggravating in our societies - evidence of heightened degree of polit. consciousness amongst all sect1. of oppressed population. I am convinced our strategy of protracted struggle will be met with growing response from urban proletariat. Spontaneous recent stone throwings at police in Tvl. & Cape symptomatic of charged polt. situation. Events in Lesotho, struggles in (cont.) Indo-China / M. East, fully publicised here contributes in raising our people's consciousness - far-sighted members of ruling class raising alarm. Predict gloomy future for economy, discuss how to avoid future Ind. strikes, gravely disturbed about white labour shortage. Commis. of police admits P/force under great pressure, cannot attend to all social crimes ∴ priority given to manning country's borders. Convinced that regular co-ordinated 'sparks' in our cities will cause real panic and put pressure on enemy. Sending you soon through post at your address D/copy of selected passages taken from Lenin's "what is to be done". Comment on suitability for our pub./ distrib. purposes, include your suggestions criticisms, etc. Greetings to all - to Thabo and Anne especially.

----oOo----

...../4

H2.10

A/J/3/4/7/'70.

Many thanks for your letter containing formulas etc. I have obtained necessary chemicals from Protea Laboratories, future supplies is assured. Your message received clearly, with following exception - P.11 bottom portion and P. 12 top part. Firstly, I shall deal with some points raised by you.

(1) PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT : There are 2 duplicating machines available for my use. Both are in JHB. The owner's are apolitical - and their machines are used for business purposes. Names of owners are :

(a) MRS. CAJEE of Cajee's Commercial College, Market Street,

(b) MR. BOORANY, of Dress Centre also Market St.,

I have studied the set-up at both places and can assure you that one can get things done without arousing suspision. I use their machines for duplicating school work and the owners leave me alone when I am busy.

(2) LIST OF 8,000 : Not based on telephone directory. Obtained from

(a) MAIL ORDER CO. (b) Newspapers and magazines.

Classified according to regional/town distribution. Analysis shows ± 60% live in urban areas of country and the remainder in rural districts including the 'homelands'. Age group unknown. Aiming to compile a much more detailed list in the course of time. Meanwhile this 'blind' list can be used for sending out literature to the persons - mainly of propaganda and agitational nature.

(3) I/NEWSPAPER : Much work is required to be done in this direction. At the moment I am confronted with a problem which the C.C. (Central Committee) can help solve. It is a 'problem of choice' as regards to the nature and substance of the paper. In this respect three choices are open to us :-

(a) An 'illegal paper' - with all the trappings of illegality involved, in terms of policy, content, production etc. A paper reflecting problems affecting all facets of

Indian ...../5

Indian life, criticising and condemning Govt. policies and openly advocating a policy of resistance.

(b) A 'legal n/paper' - is favoured by persons mentioned in my first report. A paper devoid of political comment. No criticisms, no guidance, merely reporting of events and featuring secondary issues.

(c) A 'semi-legal' organ as was suggested by Yusuf at our last meeting. Combining (a) and (b) is feasible but cannot be and enduring proposition. Sooner than later it will be exposed to attacks. Enemy is sensitive to any new form of organised activity by non-whites. To illustrate my point. Recently we have organised a social club for youth (25 members so far) living in the West Rand. The club is situated in Krugersdorp but since it's opening we have been subjected to regular raids by the S.B. and police. Some members have been interrogated by the police.

4. STUDENT N/LETTER :

Intention is to publish this immediately on a monthly basis. The idea is to make this a theoretical journal. Open distribution is not envisaged but on a secret and selective basis. For example, an introduction to Marxism is contemplated through its Columns. Furthermore articles on various aspects related to our struggle is essential. The main purpose of this medium will be to make <u>our students</u> (distribution not to be restricted to Indians only) conscious of :-

Firstly : our past struggles, including the various phases of those struggles,

Secondly: to make them see in the present conditions a continuity on a much higher level and under different conditions.

Thirdly : to prepare them Theoretically so that as conscious persons they can parti-

cipate ...../6

cipate in fulfilling our historic tasks and not be duped by the oversympathetic reformists in the guise of the progs. Churchmen and the over active united states I. services.
(To be continued - next letter)

CONTINUED : A/J/3B/26/7/70 :

(5) SECURITY : I can safely state that I am not under any S.B. observation. My mail is not tempered with. When I arrived back, I was however visited by a local Indian connected with the S.B. the call, I was told at the time of the visit, was of a routine nature. Such checks are observed on all persons coming from abroad. However another incident was a bit more intriguing. Some six weeks after my arrival two persons visited 'Quarter Khota's' shop in JHB. wanting to see me and asking for my phone no. or addressin Rdpt. They claimed that they were told to contact me by my friends in London (which friends - they did not mention to 'Quarter') - and that they were on their way back to London after spending their holidays in Durban. However, they never came to see me and that was the last that I heard of them.

(6) POLITICAL LITERATURE : It will be 'okay' to sent literature to the undermentioned persons. Their addresses have been obtained indirectly thereby eliminating the possibility of them to suspect that I may have had a hand in them obtaining the literature. All of them are potential recruits.

(a) MR. YUNUS FATEL,
24 - 13th St.,
VREDEDORP, JHB.
(2nd Yr. Engineering student - Wits)

(b) MISS. FATIMA WADEE,
Box 177,
HEIDELBERG, TVL.
(BSc Graduate - presently teaching)

(c) MR. M.S. ESSOP,
10 Smal St.,
ROODEPOORT.
(2nd Yr. Medical student Wits.)

(d) MISS. D. THETAM,
Box 3244,
DURBAN.
(BSc student at Salisbury Island)

(e) ...../7

(e) MISS. S. AREFF,
Box 4418,
DURBAN.
(BSc student at
Salisbury Island)

(f) MISS. K. CHOTIA,
17 Wanderers Ave.,
NEWCLARE, JHB.
(Office worker active
in 'Coloured' labour
party politics)

(g) MR. OMAR VAWDA,
6 Ravine Road,
Isipingo Beach,
DURBAN.
(BSc Graduate,
worker)

GENERAL = Incidentally a matric pupil brough tto school today six recent copies of 'Moscow News' which he claims he receives frequently without any interference by postal and custom officials.

ENDS.

----oOo----

A/J/4/17/8/'70.

Many thanks for your three letters which I received from Monday 10th onwards. Today, I also received your 'present' intact, with no sign of any interference. The leaflets are being posted as instructed.

Congratulations on last week's succesful publicity campaign. The impact has been tremendous. The distribution has generated great excitement and discussion amongst all sections of the population. Such type of activity, if sustained on a frequent and growing level will enhance tremendously the growth and revolutionary consciousness of our people. C.C. can depend on us playing our part in furthering the development of this process.

Much obliged to you for sending informationg on Augmented C.C. meeting your remarks on necessity and importance for creating an Internal Apparatus is noted. Highly appreciate your effort in sending out detailed guidelines for internal organisation. The guidelines are most approriate and shall be steadfastly applied during the process of developing our internal apparatus.

Most of your messages (more) received have been legible, with the following exception :-

(a) Letter dated 1/8/ - Page (1) blank.
(b) Heal's report P.12 - beginning of YD's message unclear.

I have ...../8

I have not received from you a list of names and addresses for postal distrib.

RECRUITING : C.C. will no doubt endorse my view that no unwise or 'poor' selection be made of persons (2) to work, specially within the main group. Much attention is being given towards finding quality persons capable of organising and developing an internal apparatus. In studying possible cadres for M. Unit, I have been motivated by the criteria that such person show potential for embracing our Communist ideology and not merely stop at liberal or petty-bourgeois democratic politics. At the moment I recommend one person, who in my view admirably satisfies this criteria. He is MAHOMED SALEEM ESSOP, who lives at 10 Small St., Rdpt. and is a 2nd year medical student at Wits. He is secretary of the Univ. Students Bursary Committee. I have had several discussions with him and he has impressed me in so far that he is highly conscious of political life around here and in his readiness to play a positive role in bringing about changes within the country. Your answer to this recommendation is awaited.

ENDS.

-----oOo-----

NEW SERIES : A/J/1/10/11/'70 :

(1) Thank you for your recent letter. I am eagerly awaiting the 'present'. Your instructions will be carried out accordingly.

(2) I must confess my inefficiency and lack of discipline in not maintaining regular contract. There is also no reason or justification to blame this inadequacy on the petty family problems besetting me at the moment.

(3) Despite these difficulties, presented by life in our close communal societies, we are surviving and managing to do out little bit. Not much has been done, yet there is so much to be done. In order to accomplish our revolutionary tasks

it is ...../9

109

it is of primary importance to improve my style and tempo of work, to fulfill our duties with the devotion and absolute dedication which are basic requisites for achieving our noble historic ideals. (continued P.2.)

(4) I wish to recommend INDRES MOODLEY, to work with us in the main group. He is a science graduate from 'Salisbury Island', lives in Lenz and works at S.C.S. Pharmaceutical Labs. in JHB. His permanent home is in Durban. I have had several discussions with him and am confident that he will prove to be a devoted comrade in furthering our struggle.

(5) Regarding the newsletter we have reached a temporary stalemate. At present we are confronted with three requirements still to be realised :-

(a) The regular production of Indigenous Literature/ Newsreports by Local Contributors. We are in the process of organising permanent groups, both here and in Durban, who will responsible in handling this matter.

(b) The Acquisition of suitable printing equipment. In this respect, I feel that in order to satisfy our immediate needs, our purpose can best be served by an electronic duplicating machine which is easy to handle, rather then a machine which is bulky and complicated. (cont.) I have such a machine in mind and can send you necessary particulars if you so desire. However, as a longterm objective a printing plant under our control is our aim and to realise this we shall have to keep our eyes open for any such opportunity which may present itself.

(6) We have selected several suitable places on the Reef where future 'bombs' could be placed. These are points where masses of our people congregate daily, as station entrances, busstops, lunch-time meeting places, pass offices, specific routes taken by workers to and fro from work.

X NB

7. ...../10

(7) Will it possible for you to send details/diagram of timing method used in pamphlet distribution.

(8) To what extent should we work amongst Africans? The reason for this question is that I know CORNELIUS intimately now for the past ten years. He lives in Dobsonville township and works in Rdpt. as a clerk. In the late sixties he was in the local branch of the A.N.C. and (continued) regulary attended our weekly youth congress study-circle meetings. I have had a few discreet talks with him recently and apparently he does not seem to have attracted much attention from the police. It is my view that he his politically aware and genuinely desires to play an active role, but at the moment he is at a 'loose end' and somewhat bewildered at our past setbacks. I am also casually in contact with young STEPHEN who works at the 'American Mission Press' in Rdpt. who is conscious of our oppression and hardships.

(9) 'SEARCHLIGHT' the newsletter which you are sending is having the desired effect. Amongst the youth there is lively discussion on its contents.

ENDS.

-----oOo-----

A/J/1/16/3/'71 (NEW SERIES)

This will characteristically be a very short note - mainly for the purpose of acknowledgedging recent communication.

(1) Many thanks for your special letter dated the 3rd and also the parcel received some weeks ago.

(2) (a) You could send out the proposed draft (stencils) and they will be prepared as intructed.
(b) SUGGESTION: It may be better, if, rather then sending out the stencils, you could send only the text. We can then, either have this printed (subject to our by then possessing a printing machine) or have the text prepared on electric stencils. In this case a 'master'

copy ...../11

copy or copies is prepared by you - this master is then electrically (continued) on a stencil. One stencil can the duplicate a maximum of ± 2,000 copies. The 'scanner' machine for stencil preparing is accessible to us. Original photo's/diagrams/or photostat copies prepared on a master copy can also be reproduced on the stencil.

(3) There is a wide variety of tape recorders available to us - both in the cassette and spool types and reasonably priced. I shall send you all informantion on these as soon as possible.

(4) We are also making every reasonable effort of laying hands on the documents requested by you.

Regards to all.

ENDS.

-----oOo-----

BRIEWE DEUR STEPHANIE.

NR. 1 GEDATEER 19 MEI 1970 :

Ex 442 1124. 112

Dear Ahmed,

It was a great treat to hear from you after such a long interval. Many, many thanks for your interesting and newsy letter. I was so relieved to learn that all goes well with you and that you are setling in to your home environment once more. I was facinated about the changes that have taken place in such a relatively short space of time. There have been a number of photographs of the great metropolis of Johannesburg on the television recently. What with your election, cricket and student demos you have been much in the news. I must say the scene looks more like New York these days than somewhere in "Darkest Africa". It certainly looks like a very interesting and lively city.

Finally our long grey dreary winter is over. Spring has arrived. As dramatically as always. It is warm and soft, the greens are so very green. The trees are all splendidly decked in pink and white blossom, the smell of the lilac and may flower is indiscribable, tulips and wall flowers are everywhere in banks of vivid colour. Tonight is clear and bright, every star is clearly visible and a bright moon is shining in at the window. This is such a rare sight here, that one simply wants to gaze and gaze at this wonder, in case it never happens again. When it is like this I do so resent having to go to work. I feel I should be allowed to take every sunny day off and go up the river or just toll around in one of the beautiful parks, and get drenched with sunshine.

Alas, I am too discerptired and can only hope that next week end, being Whitsun bank holiday will continue fine so that I can, with a clear conscience make the most of it. It always seems so absurd to write to someone in South Africa and rave about the weather here. But then we never get blase - it

never ...../2

never lasts long enough, so naturally we appreciate those brief moments of blissful sunshine and each year when Spring begins it is as if a miracle has occurred, and I feel like a brand new person again!

Norma and Bob have had a baby boy and are very proud parents indeed. Norma copes very well, in fact they are both quite unflappable and seem very happy with the new offspring. They send you regards and best wishes.

I have been working very hard, but do manage a few breaks. We had a very good party on Saturday night at Bills. You would have loved it - especially all the fantactic gear everyone wore. Bill was the star turn. His hair is now below his shoulders - he wore red velvet pants, a purple satin shirt with bell sleeves and ruffles, a huge silver chain necklace and marvellous shoes with great big buckles. What woman has a hope of competing with that? And he was, as ever, the perfect host. It was great fun and we all had a marvellous time. The only thing that could have made it quite perfect was your presence. We missed you there and many of your old friends asked about you and were pleased to hear that we were in touch again.

Last night we went to see a very good film - Women in Love - I shouldn't think it will ever be shown on your screens. A very X film but extremely sensitively presented. There was one beautiful scene with two men having a friendly wrestling match in the nude in a lavish room in front of a great log fire. Alan Bates was one of the actors in the scene. There were of course, also nude sequences between men and women, so it had something for everyone! Seriously though, it was first rate and magnificently acted. Perhaps it will still be on when you next come on a visit.

Have you any plans about coming this way in the forseeable future? No, of course this is a stupid question. It would be too much to hope for so soon.

Everyone here is thinking about the summer holidays. In fact this thinking commences right af-

ter ...../3

ter Xmas - on Boxing Day to be exact. I have now looked through thousands of holiday brochures - they're all so damned enticing but the prices just manage to knock out the French Riviera, Italy and just about every other place where the sun always shines and the vino is cheap. As usual, I will manage to get away at the eleventh hour as I always do. As usual too, it will be where the sun only shines intemittently and where the vino is not so cheap. But who knows, I could pull a football pool win out of the bag or even a premium bond! Then I promise to join you in sunny South Africa .....

I certainly have rambled on, just as I used to do when you were sitting beside me. It was good to "chat" to you once more. Keep well, keep writing.

Regards to all.

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

J/S/1/17/5/70

Dear Stephen,

The Central Committee sends it's heartfelt congratulations to you on the progress you are making in the difficults mission which you have accepted. Your letter was indeed inspiring in its dedication to our work and the steps you have taken to implement the tasks. We are confident that you will go about them with all necessary care and that you will ensure all necessary security.

(1) PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT :

Please let us know in more detail how you have solved this problem. This may help us to give advice to other contacts with similar missions.

(2) LIST OF 8,000 :

Please give us a general breakdown of the composition of the list. Is it based on telephone directory? If possible state the proportion of youth, workers, rural people etc.

(3) POLITICAL LITERATURE :

(a) Do you think it is wise if you provide us with

one or ...../4

H24 115

one or more "clean" addresses to which some of the more general and relatively innocuous stuff can be posted openly (but remember each person you approach for this purpose must suspect you are an activist of some sort).

(b) We are preparing a selection of the more "dangerous material which you requested and you will be advised in good time on the method we will use to get it to you.

(c) We are taking steps to obtain the Moslem material in India and hope to arrange for it to be sent direct from there to appropriate persons and bodies.

(4) INDIAN NEWSPAPER OR NEWSLETTER :

Your have the go-ahead to begin production and distribution as soon as you judge that this can be done with maximum security and you have the necessary reliable forces to work with. Please give us some idea of what you have in mind on content, format, imprint and method of distribution, a message from Dadoo to be inserted in the firstissue will be forwarded to you in a few days time.

(5) SUB GROUPS :

(a) We have no objection to the names you propose. The method of working with them should conform to (OU) the lines of our final talk over coffee.

(b) MISS DESAI : When you talk of recruitment to "our movement" we assume you mean the party. We will inform you of our decision soon.

(c) We look forward to your short list of potential recruits.

(6) If you wish to write to Ruth Longone please do not discuss any form of politics. She has been given similar advice. Please give us more details of a matter you mentioned in a letter to her (posted by someone in London) which suggests that you may have been visited by a suspicious character soon after your return home.

(7) Monthly ...../5

1104.
116

(7) MONTHLY STUDENTS NEWSLETTER :

You also mention this in passing. Please give more details as to intentions. Is this an immediate or a future plan. Will it interfere with our first priority? (The Indian newsletter).

(8) CONVENTIONAL SIGNALS AND FORMULAS :

CONVENTIONAL SIGNALS :

(a) Letters with no secret text will have the date written thus : "23-12-69".

(b) Letters with secret text on back of innocent text using formula "A" will conclude with "REGARDS TO ALL".

(c) Letters with secret text on back of innocent text, using formula "B", will have a postscript on the innocent side of letter.

(d) Letters with secret message, using formula "C" will have the date written thus : "23/12/69".

(e) All letters with secret messages will be numbered in the hidden text i.e. J/S/2/6/12/69 indicates that his is the 2nd letter from J to S, posted on 6th Dec. 1969.

(f) All secret messages will conclude with the word "ENDS".

(g) A postcard may be used to acknowledge receipt of a message.

(h) A book code will be used when chemicals for formula are not available or in circumstances which make it difficult to use them a colon will indicate page, a semi-colon will indicate line on page and a comma will indicate the letter in the line. 10: 7; 2, 5, 10, would indicate page ten, line seven, letters 2, 5 and 10. All chapter titles and sub titles will count as lines. The lines will count from top to bottom and the letters from left to right. The book to be used will be : ROMAN BRITAIN, by I.A. RICHMOND, the Pelican history of England : 1. Provisions for transfer of money. Current a/c Barclays D.C.& O.

FORMULA "A" dry method carbon Z. Book provided.

Use ...../6

117

Use medium soft pencil (HB - HB2), print in block letters, using only down strokes. Steam for from one to two minutes.
Developer : Immediately prior to processing steam for 30 seconds. Mix one third eggspoon Dithysone (DIPHENYLTHIOCARBAZONE) (C6H 5N.N.CS. NH. NH. C6H5256.34) and one quarter eggspoon Carbonote of soda in two ounces distilled water. Bring to boil, wipe over secret text with a tampon of cotton wool.

FORMULA "B" WET METHOD :

INK : One half eggspoon Hydroquinone disolved in one tablespoon distilled water : write with stylys shaped piece of non resinous wood (or specially prepared pen), printing in block letters, using only down strokes. Steam for from one to two minutes.

DEVELOPER : One level teaspoon silver nitrate disolved in two tablespoons distelled water. Wipe over same with secret text. Message requires time to emerge clearly.

FORMULA "C" WET METHOD :

INK : Two drops blood disolved in two and a half-tablespoons distilled water. Write etc. as for formula "B". Steam for from one to two minutes.

DEVELOPERS : 1ST DEVELOPER :

One level teaspoon O-Tolidine (NMH2 C6 H3(CH3) C6H3 (CH3). NH2 = 212.30). Disolved in two tablespoons acetic acid (essence of vinegar). Add two-three drops (or more) ammonium Hydrogen (strong ammonia solution) to clarify the solution dry with a tampon of cotton wool to side with secret ..... developer. Hydrogen ..... side (....vols). Apply to side ..... secret text when dry ..... ist developer.

PLASTIC DISOLVER : METHYL-ETHYL-KETONE.

Plastic : Thermo plastic high pressure 90° to 100° = Ether of cellulose and component.

I.D. Card .../7

I.D. Card. Thickness = 0.5 mm. 0.1 mm. is the thickness of the paper.

GUN POWDER :

BY WEIGHT : 75% Potasium Nitrate (salt petre)
15% Charcoal.
10% Sulphur.

BY VOLUME : 75% Salt Petre.
30% Charcoal.
20% Sulphur.

..... the chemicals - .....
...../Dithzone let .....
immediately and ..... make arrangement to get some to you. ENDS.

(Stippellyn toon aan gedeeltes wat absoluut onleesbaar is)

---oOo---

23rd July, 1970

My dear Ahmed,

It was a very great pleasure to hear from you - I am so happy to know that you had not forgotten me and think of me often.

I too, miss you very much and remember all the happy times we had together. I feel your absence, particularly when the weather is fine and the sun shining - all those long and interesting walks we took together through the many beautiful parks and commons. But then I feel it too, when you are not beside me at the cinema and at concerts at the theatre, or just watching the television.

At present, the Empire Games are on and I know how much you would have enjoyed watching these excellent athlets performing - that is life I guess. Its so good mooring about the past - I now look forward to.

It was so awkward trying to do up zips or fasten straps - even eating became a major effort.

But ...../8

But everyone was most sympathetic and helpfulm which naturally made it a lot easier to bear.

Bob and Norma were so happy to get your congratulations and good wishes. They had the boy christened in the St. Stepen's Church - to which I went and he was as good as gold through the whole boring affair. He is quite the most adorable little chap - going to look exactly like his dad and very good as well.

When he is a little older I have offered to do a bit of baby-sitting so that they can get out occasionally. You know that Bob would positively <u>die</u> if he couldn't go to Bach or Beethoven concerts at least once a month. He is practically prepared to forego everything else but that. So I will ensure that Norma doesn't lose her beloved while he is still so young.

I spent a couple of days in Essex with Joan and Valda at their cottage. The weather was lousy but it was very pleasant and relaxed and as I was excused from most of the chores like washing up or cooking, it was a real break for me. We went for a lot of long walks, listened to music, read and just generally loafed around. They are easy people to live with and it was exactly what I needed to unwind after the accident.

I now feel very fit and ready for my holiday in three weeks time.

We were all very sorry to hear about your bad dose of flu - you and thousands of others! I read somewhere about the dreadful weather you have been having and do hope that it has improved and that the epidemic is over. Are you now quite recovered?

I went to a marvellous concert in St. Paul's Cathedral during the City of London Festival - Sheetz in the Round - early 16th Century music with quaint old instruments, four bands, wird and trumpets and such like and four choirs who kept changing position so that you heard a tremendous variety of sounds coming from different parts of their wonderfully accoocosticed church with a slight echo from the dome. It was a unique musical experience, something

quite ..../9

A24.
120

quite different from the ordinary and beautifully performed, the voices particularly, sounding as if they were coming straight out of heaven.

I tried to get in for "Oh Calcutta" which has been getting much publicity - more nude and risque than "Hair" etc. But no hope under about 50/- on the lowest black market prices. So I will sit it out till the tourists all return to their homes and the prices drop accordingly. As it is so populor it will probably be on for the next year or so. It is on at a furry little theatre called the Roundhouse - opened after you left. It was originally an old engine room for some station junction or other. It is not at all Swish or modern - rather like a huge circus tent (but not canvas) but it has a very friendly atmosphere. They have all sorts of way out things there - pop concerts, etc. and it attracts the young people who feel they can come dressed as they damned well please and feel at home. This is where you really see the "scene" here. So much for the drop in decodence that you anticipated.

Well my dear, I have been rambling on at great length with not very much exciting to say. But then it hasn't exactly been a very scintillating time for me. I will have to catch up fast on those lost weeks.

Keep writing and I promise to keep you informed of all the news.

With fondest good wishes and regards to all.

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

JH/SB/3/23/7/70.

(1) Received your post card 29-6-70 we hope you are now well.

(2) Please prepare immediately 1,000 envelopes, wide selection from your 8,000 for a pending distribution. You will be given due note of the date.

(3) Did ..../10

(3) Did we give you a list of names and addresses for postal distribution? If so please give the page numbers appearing on the list.

(4) On the first eleven pages of the heals catalogue if you have difficulty with some of the chemicals - particularly dithizone, let us know immediately and we will make some arrangements to get some to you.

(2) PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT :

Congratulations on progress. We note your information and endorse your proposal to go ahead with these facilities. We must rely on your judgement whether they are absolutely safe. We hope you will continue to search for facilities over which we have absolute control.

(3) List of 8,000. Thanks for information.

(4) Indian Newspaper ! This has been discussed more fully (more) in the light of your further comments. We prefer your first alternative i.e. an illegal paper - with all the trappings of illegality involved in terms of policy, content, production, etc. - a paper reflecting problems affecting all facets of Indian life and openly advocating a policy of resistance. It does not follow, that initially, such a newspaper should in so many words espouse the programme of the Liberation Movement.

(a) It should promote "support for our African allies" rather than open association with ANC. The latter can come later.

(b) It should begin to explain thoroughly the reasons for, and the need to understand, the move towards a policy of violence rather than an immediate call to support M.K.

(c) Above all, it should emphasise the need for organisation and resistance (even short of violence) around the immediate issues facing the Indian people. Insofar as it is possible we must put our policy in a "clever" way so that

the ...../11

A24. 1-2 X

the enemy will not find it easy to pin a charge based on the contents.

We must remember that (more) for may years there has been minimal organised activity of any sort amongst the Indian people and it becomes necessary to bring them into the stream again by well-thought out stages. It is especially necessary to emphasise the common plight of all the black people while not neglecting the special factors applying to the Indian group. You can obtain a general clue as to the balance from Y. D.'s message for the first issue, already sent to you. X

We agree that such a newspaper will be immediately exposed to enemy attacks and it is therefore vital that from the outset, its production and distribution must be organised with maximum security and on the basis of complete illegality.

(5) SOCIAL CLUB : Have you personally been visited by S.B. in connection with it? We earnestly hope that you are not prominently involved.

(6) STUDENT NEWSLETTER : Your outline appears to go beyond the purpose of mobilising students around their current plight and is really the beginning of a theoretical journal for advanced potential cadres (more) from all walks of life (including students). This is in itself a worthwhile idea and is worth pursuing. It could be the forerunner of a party internal organ.

If this idea appeals, then even though its main circulation may be directed to students, it should also find its way to advanced elements from other groups and its title should not commit it to being merely a student journal.

We will make our final comment on this question when you complete the promised outline of its character in your next letter.

Regards from all who know you and carry on your valuable and good work. ENDS.

----oOo----

11 AUG 123

1 AUGUSTUS 1970.

Dear Ahmed,

As I was away for a few days, I only received your previous letter after I had written to you. You now know that my hand is O.K. once more. Thank you for being so concerned. I am still not able to use it 100% so I hope you will have no difficulty reading my scrowl - never much good anyway. It was extremely painful for some time - I feared I would never ever, be able to use it again, but far sooner then I anticipated, it started to mend. I felt like the original woman with 2 left thumbs, the time when you will return to this country and we can pick up the threads agai again.

I am enclosing two copies of the Heal catologues which you asked for, in case one of the other teachers would like to look at it too. They do have a wonderful selection of children's toys and books - very difficult to choose, I should think. I am sending it airmail, as I took so long to collect it. Don't reprimand me about the cost - you know that I am just naturally extravagant - especially where you are concerned.

Please write very soon - my fondest regards to you and please give regards to all.

Yours,

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

Bladsy 1 is absoluut onleesbaar.

Bladsy 2 : "is a report of an augmented meeting of the party. Please process.

(5) We apologise for delay in sending Y.D. message. It appears on last pages of catalogue after diagram.

Acknowledge receipt.

ENDS.

----oOo----

H/24.
124

10 AUGUSTUS 1970.

My dearest Ahmed,

Paul has asked me to let you know that he and Mary have broken up - she has gone to live with Alan. As you can imagine he has taken a terrible knock and is quite shattered by events. It really is too bad - his wife and his best friend.

He is too upset to write to anyone at present and we are all trying to give him support and succour. I know how much he would appreciate a letter from you at this time - even just to know that his friends are all standing by him.

He can't even imagine, when or how it all began. They say the partner is always the last to know. Not that any of us really noticed it happening - what a sorry mess. I think she has made a terrible mistake, but that is life, I guess.

I am rushing off to the theatre and want to post this on my way.

Regards to all,

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

5/10/7/70.

Under separate cover you will receive a "present" containing 1,000 leaflets. Please post on or after 13th August even if there has already been publicity about propaganda drive. X

The "present" also contains a letter to cover you if the parcel is opened, etc. X

The present is a box of fortnum and manson's darjeeling tea.

ENDS.

———oOo———

Nov 125

26 AUGUSTUS 1970.

Dear Ahmed,

As you can see I have invested in a typewriter and am learning to type. I am really teaching myself from a manuel although I do go to a class once a week. I think it is merely a matter of practice. At the moment it is very, very slow work but it is new enough to me to still be a novelty and not yet boring. So I hope you don't mind the somewhat more impersonal communication!

Thank you for your last two letters. I was away on a brief holiday and was glad to find two letters awaiting me on my return. The holiday wasn't much to speak about - one gets blasè about going to Europe every year! But in any case this was merely a hop across the Channel so to speak, and a week at the French coast. In fact the weather this summer has been so fine here in England that it was almost unnecessary to waste sunshine time by travelling.

It is sad about Paul and Mary. I guess one almost hopes that an illusion of passionate love (even someone else(s) won't be shattered. But there it is. I see Paul occasionally and he does not seem to be taking it too badly. Of Mary I have not heard anything in weeks. When you get used to seeing two particular people together, it is very difficult then getting used to seeing them with new people. They are both young and these things are part of being young, are they not?!

There is building going on in the road outside my window and that combined with the concentration of not making a typing mistake is almost too much for my fragile personality. It seems as if summer is (oh dear) used to dig up the whole of London. Everywhere I go there are men digging in the roads. And one never quite sees afterwards what they have achieved except another bump in the road.

Anyway, Ahmed, I hope you are keeping well and give my regards to all,

Affectionately,

Stephanie.

Kodeskrif ...../15

H24.126

26.8.70.

7/7/8/70.

(1) We acknowledge yours of A/J/26/7/70. Thank you for your report on you security position. We hope you continue to guard this without a moment's let up. The addresses you have supplied will be used for general U.N. type material and similar items, but you say some of them are potential recruits. These should obviously not get even borderline items. We therefore await your further clarification.

(2) We further acknowledge your A/J/4/17/8/70.

(a) We are gratified by the inspiring report of the impact of our drive. We hope your part of it went smoothly. We would also welcome any new ideas and innovations which we should work on in this respect e.g. good places for leaflet bombs and broadcasts. etc.

(b) The first 7 lines at the top of page 2 of your letter is illegible. Ironically we can vaguely make out a reference to part of our previous message being illegible. Please repeat.
We accept your recommendation of Essop. We assume you have investigated all facets of this comrade, if he is the same Essop referred to in your list of addresses to receive literature, then our point (above) is once again emphasized.

(c) We would appreciate a report on progress in the various publication project.

Keep up the good work and the fine revolutionary ardour which you display.

ENDS.

----oOo----

127

29 OKTOBER 1970.

My dear Ahmed,

I can see now why we English talk so much of the weather. There is something very beautiful about the Englich seasons. Right now it is autums here - the light is soft and the trees are in flames. There are a row of trees outside my window and with each season they are different. And always their beauty takes me by surprise. Anyway winter should be tolerable now that the long coats are firmly established !

Perhaps you know that there is a municipal workers strike on here - has been for some weeks with no end in sight. So we are treated daily by long discussions on radio and television about the state of the nation's sewerage. Large plastic bags in black, green and pink are issued and the pavements are covered with huge mounds of these bags. It seems, though, that everyone except the Councils agree that these men are paid too little. There are 1,600 Councils in Britain and although something like 100 have already agreed to pay an extra 55/- it doesn't help much while the other 1,500 hold out.

Even such benefits as Britain has seem to be going by the board - the 2/6 prescription charge is going up to 4/-, and later even higher and school milk is being abolished. So much for the Welfare State !

Actually I started this off intending to write you a long, long letter but suddenly I remembered that I am supposed to be at the dentist in 15 minutes, and I know if I don't post this now the long,long letter will not get written - so do be satisfied for the moment with just a "hello" and I'll try to compensate for my negligence next time.

Regards to all,

Affectionately,

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

New series C/A/1/28/10/70.

(1) No acknowledgement yet of our 7/27/8/70.

(2) ...../17

(2) A "present" will reach you by surpa mail towards the end of November. It contains a leaflet which is to be posted to the address list contained in the 'present". It is addressed to youth and you should use your discretion as to the number to be put in each envelope. You should proceed to carry out the task as soon as possible, but if it is during the school or university vacation those to be addressed to educational institution should be delayed until commencement of the new term.

Best regards.

ENDS.

----oOo----

2 DESEMBER 1970

My dear Ahmed,

Thanks very much for your letter. Or I should say letters because one has just arrived and I haven't even read it properly yet.

Your typing it very good, not full of mistakes like mine. I get too impatient and then I don't go slow enough. But I find now that I prefer to type than to write. And that is the mark of a real typist. Do you use all your fingers? I do - but mind you I have a friend who types with four fingers only and at about three times my speed and with a quarter of the errors. But it does mean that you needn't watch the keyboard all the time.

So Christmas is nearly upon us. This year has just flown by. But then one says that at the end of every year, not so? It is crazy thinking of you sweltering over Xmas while we sit here and hope for a lot of snow. I think I'll buy a Christmas tree this year and put all those lovely coloured balls all over it. An aunt of mine is coming to spend a few days with us and she has three young kids. It is nice to make a bit of a fuss just for the children's sakes.

I must ...../18

11 d4. (29

I must stop to listen to the midday news. Although my radio bettery is running down and I can't even hear properly but nevertheless go through the ritual of listening to all the kidnappings (a German diplomat in Spain now), pending strikes (a one day general strike next week) and other disasters. Ah well, so that's that - nothing unpredictable in today's news.

As I was saying, I think Christmas is nice to celebrate when there are children around. I can still remember the lovely Christmas tree we used to have when I was small. I'm not so keen on the presents bit, though. It becomes too much of an obligation and the gesture is lost amongst the commercial value of the acquisitions gained from various sources.

We don't have a public holiday at New Year. You have both the 1st and 2nd off, don't you? I suppose seeing as how the weather is generally lousy here round then, there is not much point in having a holiday. But instead we should have a public holiday for Mid-Summer's Day or something like that, I think.

I haven't heard from Thabo and Jen for ages. Last I saw them was about two and a half months ago and they asked if I ever hear from you. Since then not a word. And you know they moved and are no longer on the phone so they are very cut off really. They live a long way away in South London now so I guess it is difficult for them to make the journey North.

Paul and Susie have just had a baby. The most adorable little boy. He has marvellous midnight blue eyes but apparently babies' eyes change colour in the first three or four months. Anyway, they are thrilled and I think Susie is just grateful she is no longer pregnant! Till next time! It's the first time I have really been in contact with such a small baby - and they really are small at that age. Susie says she gets a bit bored with him - he does nothing but sleep and suck! Paul pretend not to be very interested in all the talk about baby food and nappie etc. But I caught him telling Jason that <u>he</u>,

Paul .../19

Paul, has started the baby on solids now (unusually early at one month). But I mustn't bore you with all this baby talk, hey?

Did I tell you I have taken a week's holiday. Donald came down from Scotland for a week and insisted I take the week off to go rushing round London with him - and of course I gave in. Somehow one always gives in to Donald. He is such an enthusiast that it is irresistable (my spelling is atrocious today). I'll probably regret it later when I want to have a summer holiday and I find I have only two weeks.

So keep well, give my regards to all.

Affectionately,

S.

C2/2/12/70.

(1) Thank you for your long one 1/10/11/70. It is always good to hear from you. We warm to your frank self-criticism and we hope your personal problems are being solved.

(2) We approve your recommendations of indres as we presume you have satisfied yourself absolutely as to suitability and security.

(3) We would like a full report on the various persons you recommended earlier in the year. How many are now in the main groëp? How is it working? What outside contact have you established (mass work)? etc. in other words we would like a complete summary of your present position, problems and persistence for work (other than those you mentioned in your last letter)

(4) We approve your suggestion to invest in an electric duplicating machine.

(5) We will send you instructions on timing methods at a later stage.

(6) We of course approve any safe methods you can establish of working amongst Africans. In the case of Cornelius we have to leave it to you

to ...../20

to judge whether it is advisable from a security point of view. If there is any doubt do not go ahead. The same applies to Stephen.

(7) Tanks for heartening news "Searchlight". A new issue should come out soon.

(8) After the "present" we referred to in our last letter you should be getting another one. The list of addresses will be contained in the "present". No time has been fixed so you should post contents as soon as practicable after receipt.

(9) Please use new address to us as follows :
MRS. S. SEGALL,
16 FROGNAL,
LONDON N.W.3.

Best regards from all the comrades.
ENDS.

---oOo---

28 DESEMBER 1970.

Dear Ahmed,

So 1970 is nearly at an end. I wonder if, on looking back, you consider that it was a good year for you? I must say it was pretty uneventful for me. I can't think of anything that made it any different from 1969.

It snowed here on Christmas day and I went to watch the children toboganning (I'm sure isn't how you spell it!) on Hampstead Heath. The wind was very icy but the Heath looks so wonderful in the snow that it is worth braving the cold. Today was an unofficial holiday which meant I couldn't find any bread anywhere and generally my food stocks were low after the long weekend. I'll be glad to get back to work and some sort of routine. One gets a bit tired of one's own decadence - getting up at 11.30 a.m.!

I hope you are well and enjoying life. And I wish you everything of the best for 1971.

Regards to all, Yours,

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

C/3/29/12/70.

Received your uncoded letter of 26.11.1970.

(a) In this letter as well as a previous one you signed your real name. Please avoid and sign Stephen.

(b) Please also do not mention the names of Thabo and Jenny in the open text.

(c) Greetings for 1971 which is a crucial year for us. We are confident that you will continue to make your invaluable contribution to our revolution.

Amandla !

ENDS.

---oOo---

7 MARCH 1971.

Dear Ahmed,

I had to come here for a few days some research I am doing, so, although this is not a proper "full-length" letter, it is just a little interim "hello and how are you". And I hope you will answer the latter question as soon as you can.

It is really a disability not having a postal service. It is not so bad within the country itself because at least most of the phones are automatic and therefore still in use but it is amazing how isolated one feels for having no contact with the world at large. So I have been very glad to get away for these few days. And I like to feel you are missing my letters as much as I miss yours and that this will be as welcome as it is unexpected.

This is such a beautiful city. I hope you one day have the opportunity of seeing it. Mind you most of the capitals of Europe have a certain grace and beauty particularly as most of them are built on rivers. Somehow the river in London doesn't form such an integral part of the city as does the Seine in Paris or the Danube in Vienna. Possibly because London is so much larger that even a large river like the Thames is dwarfed by the city.

It will ...../22

1.4.
133

It will be nice hearing from you again so write as soon as you hear the strike is over.

Meanwhile, regards to all and keep well.

Stephanie.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

SPECIAL 3/3/71.

(1). The outstanding militancy of the postal workers has cut us off from you for to long, hence the resort to this method. Please write immediately you hear the mail is going through.

(2) It is our intention to circulate a cyclostyled party newspaper to coincide with our 50th anniversary on July 30th 1971. If we prepare the stencils will you be in a position by then to cyclostyle and post to selected addresses?

(3) We urgently need information on all types of the smallest tape recorders and/or players available commercially in your city, please report soon.

(4) Also urgently needed are documents of the following type : (a) refernece books (b) tax receipts and exemptions (c) any other travel documents especially for Africans (what does an African get if he wishes to travel for a short while to and from one of the ex-protectorates?) (d) any other internal documents which blacks need for travel and survival.

If, by hook and by crook, you should lay your hands on any of these (and we know this is a tall order) please insert them in a "present" of the sort we send you.

(5) Please also as early as possible give up to date report of progress in the creationg of contacts, unit or units.

(6) For your information the reports of the resignations of O.R. Tambo and J.B. Marks are a complete fabrication.

ENDS.

---oOo---

What is this mentioned i.e, not in any of Ethubus.

...../23

4.1
134

My dear Ahmed,

Thanks for your last letter. It is good to know you are well, despite the departure of summer.

I must say it is lovely here now that the weather is so much warmer. I go for long walks in the evenings and watch all the beautiful people in their spring clothes. The evenings are so long that it is quite disruptive. And then the light comes pouring in at my window as early as 5 o'clock in the mornings. So I don't get much sleep these days.

I had a lovely trip to Paris. What a beautiful city it is. I don't know why I continue to live in London which is so grey in comparison with Paris. The Seine too is so much more manageable a rive than the Thames. One cannot be in Paris and fail to notice the river and its beauty.

My plans for working in Paris are still in the very early stages but I did have some useful discussions with a couple of the academics there and one in particular who holds quite a senior position seemed very interested in what I had to offer. However it will still be some time before I know whether the wheels have even begun to move. Meanwhile I have a job here at the British Museaum just to keep body and soul together. I love going there actually. It is very tranquil.

Write again soon - I do enjoy your letters even though my own leave much to be desired..

Regards to all.

Steph.

KODESKRIF : KEERKANT VAN BRIEF :

5/5/71 :

Urgently require information as to why you consider your brother should not return to S.A. Mota considers it desirable he should do so in the near future. Reply immediately.

ENDS.

---oOo---

.....24

Ex "RR" H25.135

AUGMENTED MEETING

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 be welcome. It is now more than ever necessary that 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 ...../2

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 main unit 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 evolved 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 Headquarters 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.

(7) ...../3

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137

(7) The main unit should work carefully and securely for the creation of sub units 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 sub uhit nor shall his connection with the organisation be known to any person other than Headquarters and the other two members of his main unit - in other words the approach and recruiting to a sub unit must be carried out by the other two members of the main unit.

(c) A sub unit shall consist of not more than three people.

(d) The sub-unit shall be in contact with the main unit through one of its comrades appointed for this purpose by the main unit. No member of the sub unit other than this appointee shall know the identity of the contact from the main unit.

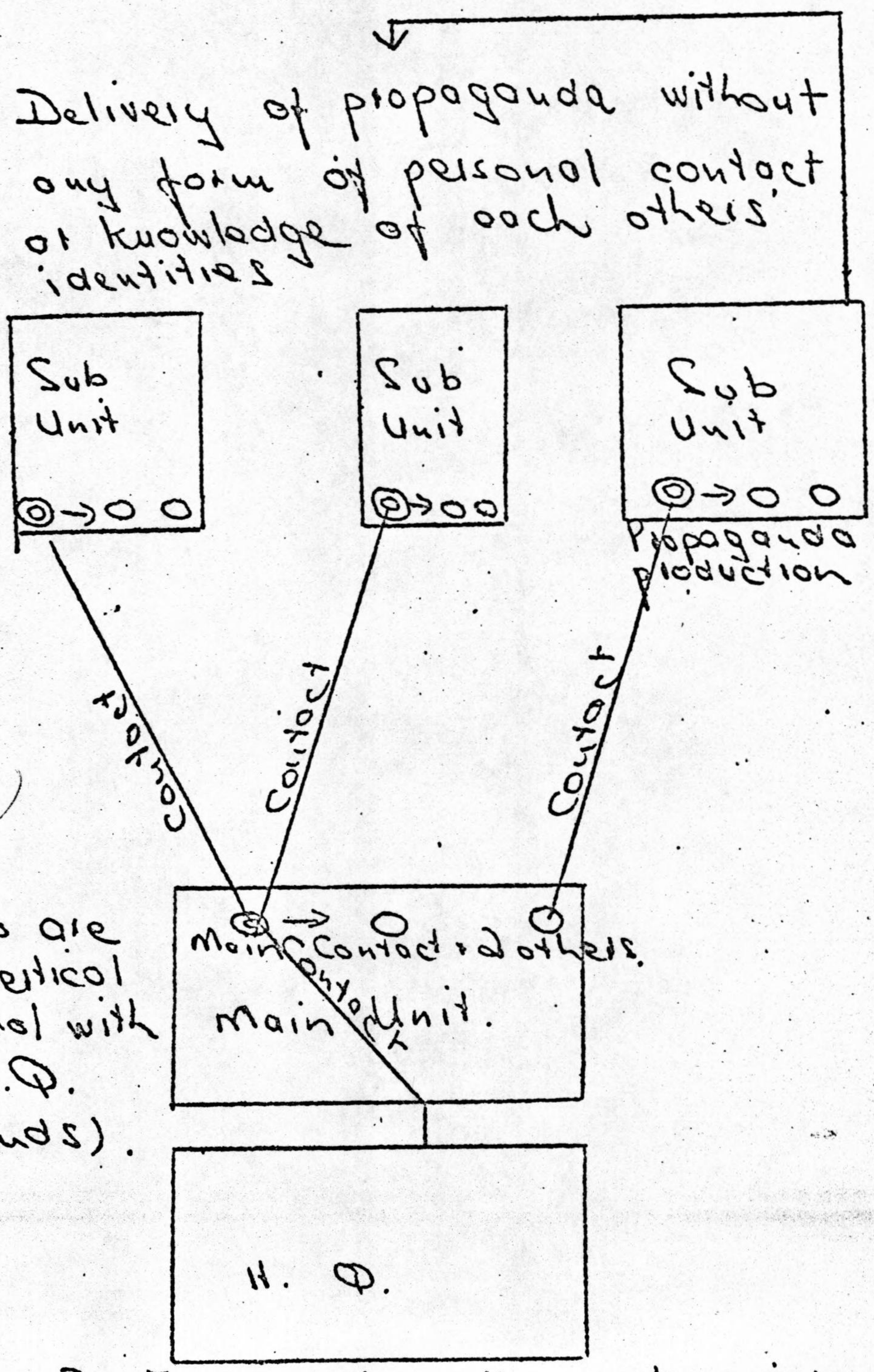
(e) Specific and safe contingency arrangements must be worked out to re-establish (more) communication in the event of a break-down in the contact system between the main unit and the sub unit.

(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

exclusively ...../4

H.Q. 139

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.



N.B. Each main unit operates independently and has no knowledge whatever of other main units X

Seems to be from another document ? 25 140

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.

We are ...../7

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141

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 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.

Purpose of Code Systems :

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

(i) 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;

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

Code Systems for the Main Unit.

a) 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 numbe 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 regula... In fact it is advisable that members should one another on their content.

...2/.

j) The suitability of any system should be thoroughly 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 partic 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.

....3/.

EXAMPLE OF A CODE SYSTEM :

'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.

.../4/.

c) 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;

c) The owner is absolutely unaware of real uses of machine, but is aware that we are in some form of legal printing work;

...5/.

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;
c) Temporary obtaining of premises for the sole purpose of 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.

....6/.

C. Means of Payment for the machine.

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 suspici... 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 OWN 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'

a) Circumstances may prevent the formation of a sub-group comprising of three persons. In such a case we then allow flexibility in the number of persons which consti+. 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.

b) In the initial stages it may be advisable that there 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

.../S/.

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

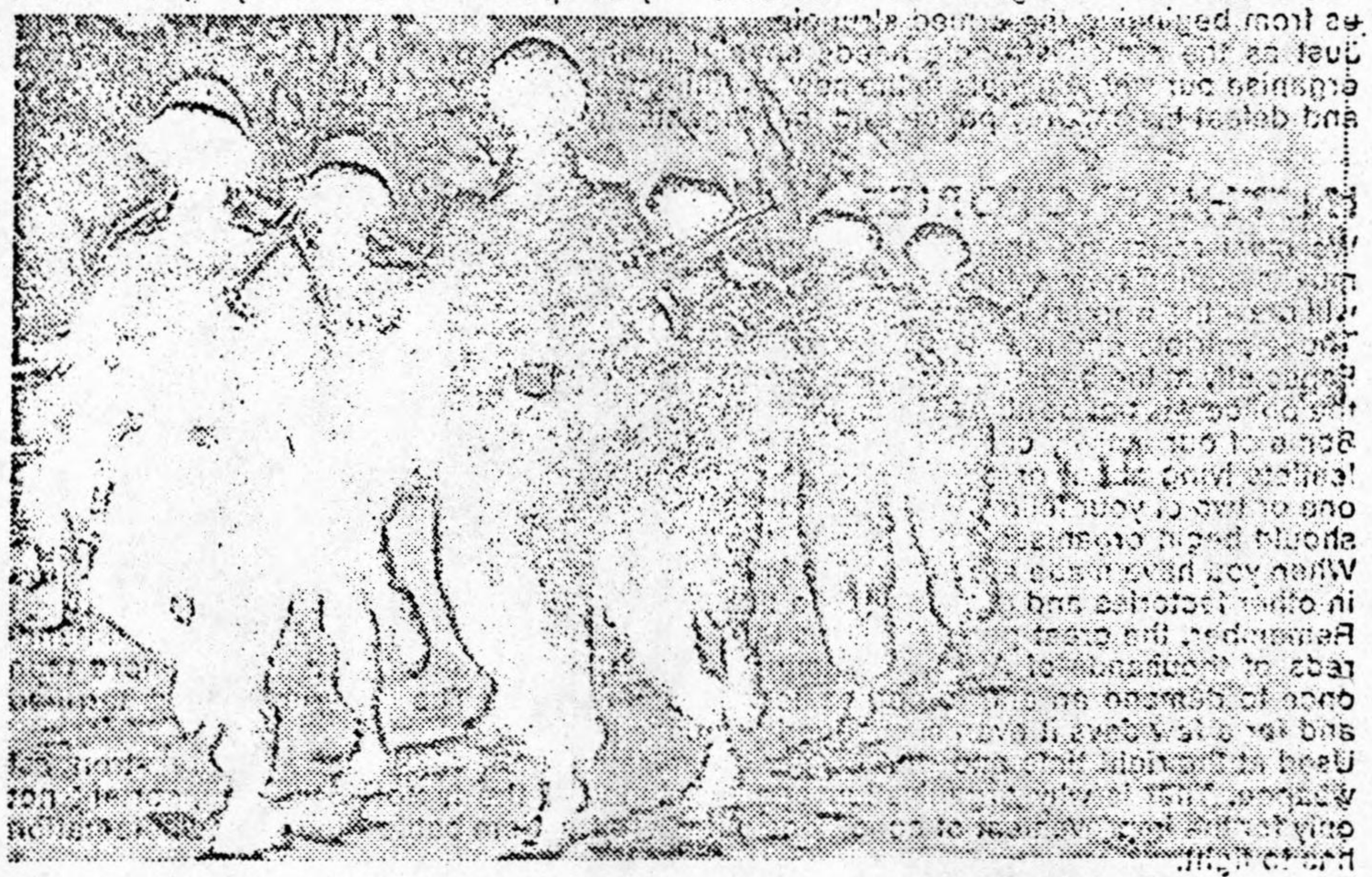
d) In the event of amember of sub-group being detained the whole sub-group is to be abolished.

Hoo.

Ex "FF" 150

"B"

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SAYS TO VORSTER AND HIS GANG:



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 white 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 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 COLOURED AND INDIAN BROTHERS WE SAY: "MOVE OVER OR YOU WILL BE PUSHED".

WE WILL TAKE BACK OUR COUNTRY!

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, Moçambique, 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 equipment.

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 leaflets lying about or putting up a slogan when no-one is looking. Get 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.

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

ON THE LAND

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.

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, 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 But even from the beginning inspire the peo organised way and raise their fighting spirit an 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 w out any signs of resistance. We must answer thi 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 to have a second place in our country foreve 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 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 ho study, work and live. But remember that orga 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

WHAT ABOUT AGENTS AN

A man who sells himself to the enemy and betra police is like a poisonous snake which must 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 th to take back our land. Our mass actions in the and encourage those who fight the enemy with our armed freedom fighters will inspire and defiance at our rulers. Together, these two stre will end oppression forever in our own country.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS C
EVERYWHERE TO WIN BA

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

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Working 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.

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.

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.

WHAT 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" 2

SONS & DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA!

You have eyes and ears. When you look and when you listen to what is happening all over you suddenly realise that you have been left behind. You are alone. Every oppressed person you have heard about is free or is fighting everyday by all means. But the ones you admire best are those who are fighting with guns in hand. The African National Congress is going to put guns into your hands. And you are going to have the pleasure of hitting back at last. You will avenge the massacres of Bullhoek, of Witzieshoek, of Sharpeville. Some of your comrades, your own South African freedom fighters, have already tasted battle and put the enemy into flight in Rhodesia.

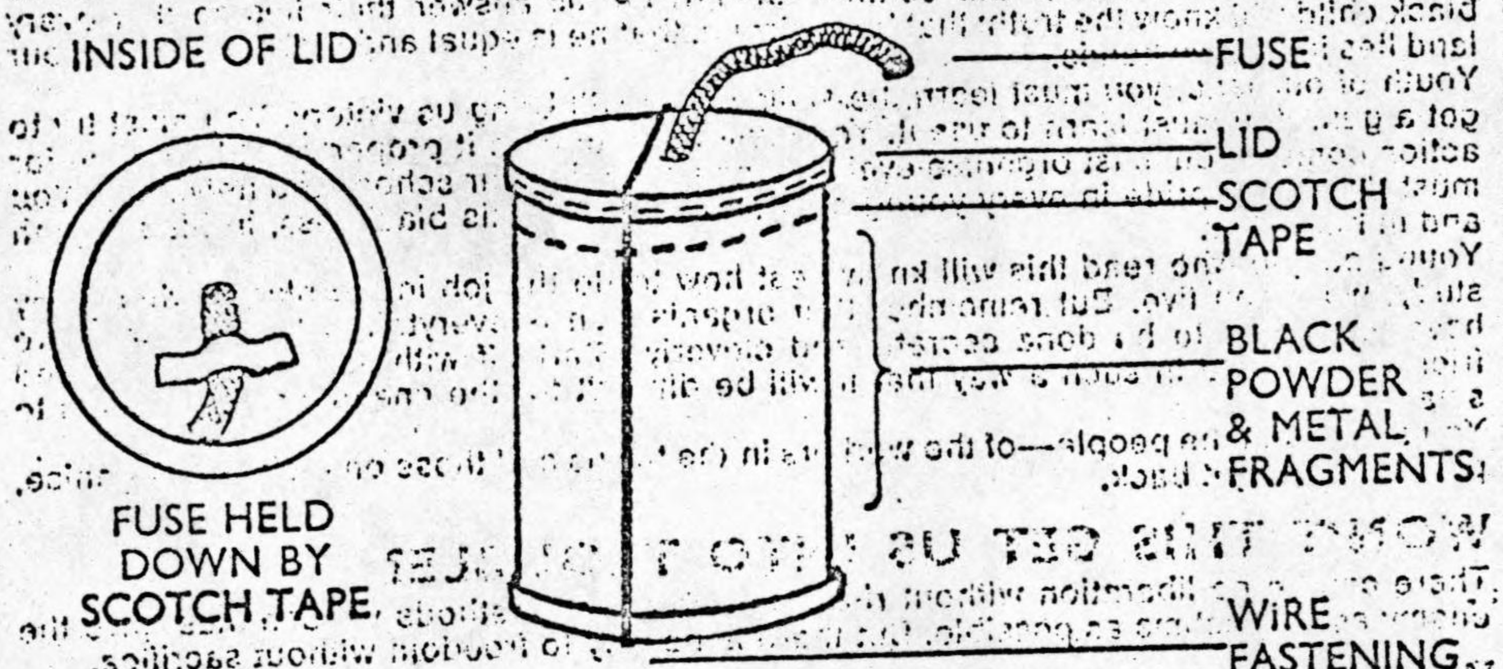
You have hearts, and in your heart of hearts every one of our YOUTH—every African, Coloured and Indian Youth knows that one day he must do something about this hateful injustice, this blatant race discrimination, this brutal oppression and exploitation.

SOME THINGS A FREEDOM FIGHTER SHOULD KNOW

How to make a Simple 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 that it is in contact with the powder. Tape the fuse down so that it cannot come loose.
Press the lid of the can firmly into place and seal with sticky-tape.
Tightly twist 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. Light the fuse and throw at the enemy. On exploding the metal fragments cut the enemy down. The effect is greatest 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
Black powder is easy to make. It consists 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
You can quite simply use the fuse from an ordinary fire-cracker, as long as it will burn for 3 seconds before detonating the hand grenade.
You can produce your own fuse by soaking a length of cotton cord for an hour in a solution of water and saltpetre. 4 teaspoons of saltpetre to one cup of water.
Allow to dry and test the burning rate. Cut fuse to length required.



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 Bantu 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 boss wants you to be nothing more than a hewer of wood for him and a nanny.

You want to plough a piece of your own god-given land. He grabs it for himself so that for your living you must depend on the miserable wages he gives you for working on the mines.

You love to play sport and you have an ear for music, 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.

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 forget. You have heard of the disastrous defeat Dingaan gave them. Using simple weapons King Dingaan, gave his order to his brave warriors:

"Bulal 'Abathakathi'"—(Kill the evil men)

And they were indeed, evil men—those slave-owning colonialists who had vowed that there could be no equality between black and white people neither in church nor in the state. These were the evil men who had robbed the Africans of their land.

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 catch you without a weapon in your hand.

Dingaan used the well known military principle of DECEPTION and SURPRISE to crush the enemy.

Is it 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 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 Isandlwana. In the Cape our people resisted the White colonialist invaders for almost a hundred years in a series of wars. In the Northern Transvaal, Sekhukuni 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 warfare.

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 Babla 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 Vietnam 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 we cannot go wrong.

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.