

**TSOHI TSOHI! BAHESO! KAJENO RE NTOENG!**

Bana bathuri entso kajeno rantsong. Lona ma-Afrika le tseba hantle lebaka le etang hore ranka lithunya re loane. Molantsa ona oosa ho Lekhotla la Sechaba (African National Congress), eona eotang e lehetse leka mohla o le mong.

Makhono aotsitse letsete la rona. A qhalile malapa a rona. Ba ipokeletse ka matloelo ohle a letse la rona. Rona re robela makokoo ka mosobetsi, oala le bolama. Re lula ka mpeng ea letsete khoeli tse robong mono o le mong ho nyolla khausa, taemane, mathala, le uranium, Lefura lena le nontsa maburu le ho ralichelele ba mafate a mang. Ba reka libata likanono le litlana tsa mafuta ho bolaea rona.

Lifactory, mapolising a maburu, liporong tsa strene, kae le kae mosobetsi o boima, o kosi, o mobe oenang moputso o etsa ka rona. Makhono ona a supa ka monona.

Malo a rona ka mehlomafata. Baeka bona ba lula li-upstairs, ba ikhopholelele lijarene tsa toana. Bana ba rona ba bana litoko, choro ke e bona empa re eonela ho e parala. Chalote sa khafo no re a honyong le leroo leo re le etang ka masoho, e naha bana ba makhono thoto malala.

Ke litlamo re kophela baheso. Makhono a bolale ho nate moholo, banka letsete la rona, ehl ba reletse makhoba. Banna, basali le baroetsana le bahlanana ba letse lierono ka lipasa. Lipasa li reqhalitse metse. Basali ka bahloholahi, bana ke likhutsana. Kajeno letsete la rona le buso ke mosele le sethunya.

**KE KHALE RE SOTLEHA, NAKO IIPHULE EA HORE RE BUSETSE MOLAMU SEFATENG.**

Khale re busana le bona hantle ka mekhoa e mengata ea khoto.

**KARABO EA MUSO OA MABURU E ILE EA RENG!**

Re bolaloa, ra lahlela lieronting, ra etsesetsa melo e mecha e thata. Lekhotla la Sechaba (African National Congress) la kotsa. Basapele ba rona bo Hini, Maba, Khayingo, Songco le ba bang ba bolana, Mandala, Sizulu, Mbeki, Fihlaba, Motsaaleli, Hlangeni, Fischer, Kathrada le ba bang ba lahlela lieronting hore ba shoa teng.

**MABURU A IKHESELETSE HO RE BOLAEA A RE QETE.**

**KE TSOANELO HORE RE LOANE.**

Ma-India le ma-Coloured a eme le rona, hoba le bona kajeno ba bona hantle hore makhono ke lona mali tsa motso ohle tseng mososa.

Muso o thalitse makhono ka hore ke sechaba se khetlo-koeng ho phahamela litlaba tse ling; empa kajeno ba letsete rabo ba robala ka tsebe ele ngoe, ka hore basetsa hantle hore ma-Afrika o tsete thooa, ke puso ona ea nyenyeliso ea litlamo. Ha 'bake ba ipotse hore ke bogohlo bo joang bona bolikang ba linonyana-mamati, lifetere le litheke li koetsa li slaviloe ka liketane li-revolver li ka tsa masama.

Congress a eletsa makhono ohle hore a nke lehaso lenkiloang ka boBram Fischer le boDennis Goldberg, ho tabata le ma-Afrika ho loanela tokoloho mako e sile teng.

**NTOA E GALILE**

Ka mona ka Rhodesia matole a Lerumo la Sechaba (Umkhonto We Sizwe) le buso ba ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), ba bolale masole a Vorster le Smith. Ba thola litlana ba hapa libata. Ntoa e galile. Kajeno ke Rhodesia, hosta e taba South Africa. E raba mona le mane. Ho tloha joale Lerumo la Sechaba le ota buso ka sethunya. Apartheid ea Vorster le Smith le Keey li ota qeto ka sethunya.

**HA RE KENENG NTOENG MA-AFIKA**

Motho ka mong, monna, motali, ngoana, bohle-bohle re na le mosobetsi o re slavileng noeng ona ea ho geta apartheid ka lerumo le ho itokolla. Ka makhono oo masole a Lerumo la Sechaba a ileng a thalla ka masole a Smith ka mona ka Rhodesia: Vorster le Keey ba kenya ho tsho e ileng ea ba etsa hore ba seke ba romela masole feela ka potlako ho tsho Smith, empa ba le eke maburu mapolising hore ba nke lithunya ba bolana, ba tsore masole a rona ho ba thibela ho khutela hae.

Masole a rona a kene. A mona, a mane. Bana batla filia le ho unena. Kemiseho ho etsa ka moo ba o laelng ka teng. Usetse le bona. Nako ea ho bus e fitile. Nako ea mahlabaho e thile. Rhodesia koana re ba jellelele le masole a Smith.

**MATIA KE ARONA!!!  
AMANDA NGWETHU!!!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!**



**ILIZWI LOMBUTHO  
WE SIZWE LITHI—  
PHAMBILI! LOLANI  
IZIKHALI!**

Boonyana neentombi tse tseba lakovechu, izwi lokublab' emkhosi silbelisa kuni sizwe esi Nsondu. Ma-Afrika yone imithetho ekhohlakaleyo yama-Bulu lita eina. Ama-Digusha alichiyile ihle tshu. Athombe umhlaba wethu; ayibuthile imfuyo yethu; amaliko nezithetho zethu ayacekiwa ngaba-Phlopho; ayayibawulele imfundo yabancwana bathu; kanti uRulumente wama-Digusha usebenzisa imfuyo zethu akhawulele imfundo yabancwana baBelungu.

Iindlu zethu ngamagoboi, ezibamhlopho ngamabotwe ezidolopheni nase maphandleni. Sigumba inzulu yomhlaba emigodini, sisimba igolide nobunye abutyebi obuphantsi komhlaba. Bonke obutyebi busetyenziswa ngabamhlopho. Namalunje obu butyebi buseteng izixhobo ngabo, linwelo zomoya, oogandanda ababulala abantu bakovechu eSharville, imipu emisha nezinye izixhobo zokutshabalalisa abantu. Zonke ezi zixhobo ziqokelelewa thina ma-Afrika ukuba sizo kubulawa ngoo.

**IFASI LIWUGOBILE**

**UMZI KA NTU  
PHANTSI KOMTHETHO  
WAMAPASI — ESONA SITHIXO SENGCIENZELO  
NONGCIKIVO LWA MA-  
AFRIKA — ASI SENGABO  
ABANTU, SESABA ZINTAH-  
AKAZI, AHAPOLISA ASIZIN-  
GELA EZITALATWENI, EMISE-  
BENZINI, ASIGQOQQE  
NASEZINDI WANI ZETHU,  
IHINI NOBUSUKU ERUBA  
AMAPASI, ANAWAKA, NGA-  
MAWAKA ETHU ANKHWEL-  
EREKA PHANTSI KWESHEKO  
EZINYUNDULULU ZEET-  
LONGO ZAHADLAGUSHA  
NGENXA YEPASI, ABAZALI  
BASONA INZALA YABO  
IFELA EZITOLONGWENI;  
ABAFAZI BASALA BENGAB-  
AHLOLOKAZI; ABANT-**

**WE ARE AT WAR!**

On December 16th, 1961, Umkhonto We Sizwe, military wing of the ANC, made it known that we, the oppressed people of South Africa, would fight for our rights. We made this known not only with words: Dynamite blasts announced it.

From August 13th, 1967, our men of Umkhonto We Sizwe, together with our brothers of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) have been fighting the oppressors in Matabeleland, Wankie and further south.

The Vorster government, through the radio and newspapers, continues to lie about this fighting.

The truth is very different from what these newspapers have reported. Our men are armed and trained freedom-fighters, not "terrorists". They are fighting with courage, discipline and skill. The forces of the Rhodesian racials suffered heavy losses. So also did the white soldiers sent to Rhodesia by Vorster to save the Smith regime from collapse.

The freedom-fighters have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Apart from those who have been ambushed and killed, hospitals at Bulawayo and Wankie are crowded with wounded Smith and Vorster forces. Several South African helicopters and military transport planes have been brought down over the past three months.

The fighting will go on in Rhodesia and South Africa. We will fight until we have won, however long it takes and however much it will cost.

**WHY WE FIGHT**

To you, the sons and daughters of the soil, our case is clear.

The white oppressors have stolen our land. They have destroyed our families. They have taken for themselves the best that there is in our rich country and have left us the worst. They have the fruits and the riches. We have the backbreaking toil and the poverty.

We burrow into the belly of the earth to dig out gold, diamonds, coal, uranium. The white oppressors and foreign investors grab all this wealth. It is used for their enrichment and to buy arms to suppress and kill us.

In the factories, on the farms, on the railways, wherever you go, the hard, dirty, dangerous, badly paid jobs are ours. The best jobs are for whites only.

In our own land we have to carry passes; we are restricted and banished while the white oppressors move about freely.

Our homes are hovels; those of the whites are luxury mansions, flats and farmsteads.

There are not enough schools for our children; the standard of education is low, and we have to pay for it. But the government uses our taxes and the wealth we create to provide free education for white children.

We have suffered long enough.

Over 300 years ago the white invaders began a ceaseless war of aggression against us, murdered our forefathers, stole our land and enslaved our people.

Today they still rule by force. They murder our people. They still enslave us.



# ONLY BY MEETING FORCE WITH FORCE CAN WE WIN BACK OUR MOTHERLAND

We have tried every way to reason with the white supremacists. For many years our leaders and organisations sent petitions and deputations to Cape Town and Pretoria, even overseas, to London and the United Nations in New York. We organised mass demonstrations, pass-burnings, peaceful stay-at-homes.

What answer was given by the government? Strikers and demonstrators were shot in cold blood. New acts of oppression and injustice were heaped upon us. Our leaders and spokesmen were banned, gagged, jailed, banished—even murdered. Our organisation, the African National Congress, was outlawed. Our meetings, journals and leaflets were prohibited.

The Nazi Vorster, who was interned for helping Hitler, is now the Prime Minister of South Africa. This man is the murderer of Mini, Mikaba, Khayingo, Bongco, Saloojee and other brave sons of Africa. He has condemned Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni, Kathrada, Fischer and many others to rot away in jails for life.

They have declared war on us. We have to fight back! Our Indian brothers know full well the hardships and bitterness of white baaskaap rule. Since the time of Mahatma Gandhi and before, they have had to face persecution—attempts to deport them to India, Ghetto Acts, Group Areas and other forms of oppression.

The South African Indian Congress fought back. Led by men like Yusuf Dadoo, Monty Naicker and Nana Sita, the Indian community marched hand in hand with the ANC for liberty, for the rights of all South Africans.

Our Coloured brothers know how even the few privileges they were allowed—crumbs from the master's table—have been taken away from them. Votes, skilled jobs, trade union rights—one by one they are being taken away. Now apartheid madness is conscripting the Coloured youth into labour camps and jails for pass offenders. The ghetto walls grow higher. That is why the Coloured People's Congress (CPC) pledged its support to the Freedom Charter and why its leaders are driven into jail or exile.

And what of the white minority? For years they have been misled by racist politicians, domineers and fascists who told them they were the superior race. They have followed the Vorsters and the de Villiers Graffs, and now they are being called upon to fight and die in defence of apartheid. Let them ask themselves: is it worth it? Has it brought anything but uncertainty and fear, isolation and contempt at home and abroad. Is this a future to fight and die for—a life in an armed camp, surrounded by the hate and anger of the oppressed non-white people?

The African National Congress, remembering also the Bram Fischers and the Dennis Goldbergs, calls on white South Africans to take their place on the side of liberty and democracy, the side of our freedom fighters—now. BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

## WHAT WE FIGHT FOR

We are fighting for democracy—majority rule—the right of the Africans to rule Africa. We are fighting for a South Africa in which there will be peace and harmony and equal rights for all people.

We are not racialists, as the white oppressors are. The African National Congress has a message of freedom for all who live in our country.

PHAMBILI!!! PHAMBILI!!!  
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!!  
INKULULEKO NGEXESHA  
LETHU!!!

Luhlanga olumnyama useyi-plhakile uKhongolose. Bayakhala oVorster noSmith. Uyiphakile uKhongolose kwelase Wankie, eRhodesia, kwe lamaNdebele, ezigidini zaseZambezi, kuthunqa intuthu. Amabutho ka-Khongolose uMkhonto we Sizwe abulele abangaphesu kwekhulu abaka Vorster noSmith.

**USEYIPHAKILE UKHONGOLOSE**  
Ubezwa bememoza nje oSmith noVorster, bethi basahlulile bakhuluma amanga! Uma besahlulile bakhulolani kangaka! USmith ubalekeleni azaze acele usizo kuVorster! Sesiphesu kwabo, kade babegida phesu kwethu.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Awuphele umbuso wabacindezeli, awuphele umbuso woku-sigqilaza. Yonke imithetho ekhohlakelayo idla thina. Abaphangi banyathela china ngonyawo emqeleni. Koze kube nini! Koze kube nini simba umhlabaathi njengezilwane. Mhlakwasa sehla senyuka siboshelwa amapasi, silandela ngamaphoyisa. Abantu bakuthi bagcwele emajele. Benzeni! Uthi uKhongolose isikhathi sifikile. Kanke okusiphele nziwa kuyawugedwa ngamandla ethu. Kuyaqedwa ngesibhamu.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Kungani ukuba sihlale emagqweni ezweni lomdabu, abelungu bebubusa, behamba labethanda khona, behlala ezindini ezibucwebucwebu. Simba igolide, simba idayimani; simba yonke ingcebo, siyimbela bani? Siyimbela abelungu thina sibe silamba, nezingane zethu zihamba ze. Abaphangi baphange wonke umhlaba wethu. Sesihamba sehla senyuka singamandawo neyokulala.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Lude uhambo lokugqilazwa kwethu. Lisuka kudaleni mhlana umlungu ethi ungena nem-pucuko. Amagqawe amethiya emasangweni. Salwa naye ku-wowonke amagumbe, salwa naye enha nezansi, salwa naye eSandlwane ngoba ilizwe lili kungelethu. Uthi uKhongolose umbuso wabelungu ngumbuso wababulali ababulele uLuthuli, babulala uMini noKhayingo noBabu Saloojee. Uthi uKhongolose awuphele umbuso wabathakathi. Izingane zethu azifunde ngemfundo, enkulu njengezizwe zonke. Mhlakwasa sikhokha imali yamapasi, siyikhokhela umlungu ukuba afundise izingane zakhe, ahlale kahle sibe thina siphuphaka, singakhokhela mali. Phezulu koba sijuluka, sigoma imgwago, sisebanza kaizima ezimobeni.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Lombuso onzima kangaka uyogedwa yichina. Uyawuhlaba umkhosi, uwuhlaba ewuphinda,

## WHAT YOU SHOULD DO

The battle has begun. In Rhodesia we have met the oppressors with guns in our hands! That was the start. Soon there will be battles in South Africa.

We will speak to them with guns, again and again; now here, now there, until their day is done and apartheid destroyed for ever.

We call on you to be prepared. Stand up and speak out against Vorster and his Nazis. Don't collaborate with them! Take courage from our immortal freedom-fighters who died in the name of freedom for all.

**OUR COUNTRY WILL BE FREE.** We fight for all South Africans, for you and your children and your children's children.

## PREPARE TO SUPPORT OUR FIGHTING MEN!

Pass this message to your friends and relatives, throughout Southern Africa—in Botswana, Lesotho, South-West Africa, or Swaziland; in Rhodesia, Mozambique or Angola, and in every corner of South Africa itself.

**HELP THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS! MAKE THEIR PATH EASY!** Make the enemy's path hard!

**WE ARE ANSWERING THE WHITE OPPRESSORS IN THE LANGUAGE THEY HAVE CHOSEN!**

**THIS IS A WAR TO DESTROY APARTHEID, TO WIN BACK OUR COUNTRY FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE! WE SHALL WIN! FORWARD TO VICTORY OR DEATH!**

**AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MATLA KE ARONA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

uwuhlaba ezintabeni, uwuhlaba kuzo zonke izigodi. Uthi lungisani isikhathi sifikile.

**USEYIPHAKILE UKHONGOLOSE**  
Uyiphaka azi nina luhlanga lwabansundu, nina ningazange nihlele nyova. Aphakachi, amashohezela oMandela, oSisulu, oMbeki, aboshwe ngoba elwa nemithetho enzima. **ISIZWE SIYOKHULULWA NGEZIBHAMU.** Yiloko abakuzwayo abelungu. Kade sibakhuza sithi siphelwe ubandlululo, sithi ziyiphele imithetho engavumi sibamba ngokuthanda emadolobeni, sithi abangalokhu besilandela ngezinja zabo amaphoyisa. Sekwanele! Iola owakho umkhonto isikhathi sifikile.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Yibuya, silisa nesifazane, yibuya zinziswa nezintombi zohlango. Amajaha kaKhongolose asephumile ezintabeni athi malibuya. Asho nakwelasehla kwashoko, **AMABUNU ADLIWE YIZINTUTHANE.** Noma esethumele amabaloni abakaKhongolose bwethule phezulu. Kunamuhla alele amankeneyane azalele izi-

yoni, Amanqo axhoxa izigobhe zabalokazana babelungu. Bona laba abethi bayakudubula thina, nazi izibhamu zabo siyobashisa ngazo nabezayo.

**AKUKHO OKUNYE**  
Izwe liyobuya ngabo bonke abathanda inkululeko. Bonke abayolubonga usinga lwamaq-hawe esizwe, belubonga ngesibindi sabo. Yibo labo abayophakamisi igama likaKhongolose. Isizwe kade silandlali abelungu, besipheche ngalw nalwase amanga. Luhlanga olun-sundu lalelani **UKHONGOLOSE! UTHI ISIKHATHI SIFIKILE.** Uma amaradio ekhulabala ethi wehlulile amajaha singakhohliseki. Thina singabakaKhongolose, thina siwu-Mkhonto weSizwe, thina sitsoze sehlulwa amabhunu.

**UTHI UKHONGOLOSE**  
Isikhathi sifikile. Yuka ulindile uyeka umkhonto weSizwe uza-kukwabela eyakho indima. Sekwanele! umlungu siyomkhohisa umhlabaathi. Uthi ziyihlome uKhongolose sekwanele! Kade kwazi besipheche kaizima!  
**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!! MATLA KE A RONA!!! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!**

**WANAN BAKHULA BEZIN-KEDAMA. UBOMI BOMNTU ONTSUNDU KWELI LIZWE BOBENTLUPHEKO NENTSW-ELA NOBUKHOBOKA.**  
Se silenzile ilizwi lesibano kuMandya, kubantu beBala, nakwabaFihlope abalwela inkululeko nentlalo-ntle kweli lizwe. Abantu beBala kanjalo naMandya, bacindezelwe ngamaDlagusha. Amalungelo ababenawo shluchiwe. Bonke bayagxothwa ezidolophini, bathonyalwa enkangala.

### KODA KUBE NINI NANI?

Le dyakwe zaziinyamezeli ixesha elide. Koda kube nini na sinyamezeli ukudlululwa yingcinezelo ezweni lakawethu! AmaDlagusha abonisa indlelo nobithundu bendlaba ukusabela imfundo zethu. Kukhule ubundlabongela, uRulumente wama-Bulu ulawula ngegqudu. uVorster — umxhomi wabalwela inkululeko nentlalo-ntle, ikaka labahengisi nabangcatshi basizwe sakawethu — ubulele uMini, noMkhaba, noKhayingo, noBongco noBabu Saloojee. Uzicacine ezitolongwani liinkokeli zabantu, uMandela noSisulu, uMbeki noMhlaba, uMotsoaledi noMlangeni, uMayekiso noMakgothi, uMkwayi noMbele, uFischer noKathrada, conkosikazi Matomela, Baard, Nyemba nabanya. Zonke ezinkokeli kunye noninzi locwambu lesizwe luvalelwe ezitolongweni nase sigqithini.

### KODA KUBE NINI? INGUQU MA-AFRIKA

Nathi singamadoda. Singabazukulwana bamagora. Singa mathole ezilo ezamtyikitya umlungu kwade kwabuchundu umkhonto. Lishi ilizwi le A.N.C. vukani ma-Afrika, ixesha lokulwela inkululeko nentlalo-ntle kweli lizwe lifikile. Imfazwe yankululeko igalile. Amadela-kufa kaLutuli kunye nakajoshua Nkomo abagqibile abelungu kwaBulawayo. Kugqume imbumbulu, sandalala amajoni kaVorster noSmith. Ikhulu lawo layindyebo kumaxhalanga, laba lilifa lempeshu. Izibedlela zaseRhodesia ziyaphuphuma ziingcwelera zama-Bulu, liaerogilane zikaVorster zizele ngemiqolo — zicindila seentaka zehlatshi. Imipu nezinye izixhobo zizhiye ngasemva amaBulu zise sandleni zo-Mkhonto. Ewe, adlavalwa zimbumbulu ezwo namhlanje amaBulu.

Namhlanje amadela-kufa idabi alizisa ekhaya. Se ekhale, Alpha, nalapho, naphaya. **ITHI I.A.N.C. NDODA, MFAZI, NKWENKWE NAWENTOHBAZANA, UYINTANGA YOKULWELA INKULULEKO YEZWE LAKHO.**  
**VUKA! XHOBA! HLALA ULINDILE! UYEZA UMKHONTO KUWE. UZAKU KWABELA EYAKHO INDIMA. LIFIKILE IXESHA. LOKUBU-KUQA URULUMENTE KA VORSTER NGOHPU NANGO MACHINE GUN. LIFIKILE IXESHA LOKOHLWATA ABATHENGISI NABANGCATSHI BESIZWE.**