

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

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

Makhono aotsoitse letse la rona. A qhalile malapa a rona. Ba ipokeletse ka matloko ohle a letse la rona. Rona re robela makokoo ka mosobetsi, oala le bofama. Re lula ka mpeng ea letse khoeli tse robong mono o le mong ho nyolla khausa, taemana, 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 motobetsi o boima, o kosi, o mobe otenang moputso o etsoa ke rona. Makhono ona a supa ka monona.

Malo a rona ke mahlomafata. Baeka bona ba lula li-upstairs, ba ikhopholelele lijarene tsa tosona. Bana ba rona ba bana likolo, choro ke e bona empa re etsoanela ho e paralla. Chalote sa khafo no re a honyong le leroo leo re le etang ka masotoho, e naha bana ba makhono thoto malala.

Ke litlano re kophela baheso. Makhono a bolalle ho nate moholo, banka letse la rona, oti ba reletse makhoba. Banna, basali le baroetsana le bahlanana ba letse lierono ka lipasa. Lipasa li reqhalitse metse. Basali ke bahloholahi, bana ke likhutlana. Kajeno letse la rona le buso ke mosele le setunya.

**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 etsoetsa melo e mecha e thata. Lekhotla la Sechaba (African National Congress) la kotala. Basapele ba rona bo Hini, Maba, Khayingo, Songco le ba bang ba bolana, Mandala, Sizulu, Mbeki, Fihlaba, Motsaoli, 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 motsohle tseang motsoho.

Muso o thalitse makhono ka hore ke sechaba se khetloeng ho phahamela lichaba tse ling; empa kajeno ba letse rabo ba robala ka tsebe ele ngoe, ka hore basetsa hantle hore ma-Afrika o tsebe thooa, ke puso ona ea nyenyeliso ea litlano. Ha 'bake ba ipotse hore ke bogohlo bo joang bona bolikang ba linonyana-mamati, lifetere le litseke li koetsoe li tlamisoa ka liketane lirevolver li ka tsa masama.

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

**NTOA E GALILE**

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

**HA RE KENENG NTOENG MA-AFRIKA**

Motho ka mong, monna, motati, ngoana, bohle-bohle re na le motobetsi o re tlamileng 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 le tsho e ileng ea ba etsoa hore ba seke ba romela masole feela ka potlako ho tsho Smith, empa ba le etso maburu mapolising hore ba nke lithunya ba bolana, ba toare masole a rona ho ba thibela ho khutlela hae.

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

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



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

Boonyana neentombi tsewe lakowechu, 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 yabonwana bathu; kanti uRulumente wama-Digusha usebenzisa imfuyo zethu ukulawulele imfundo yabonwana baBelungu. Izindlu zethu ngamagoboi, ezibamhlopho ngamabocwe ezidolopheni nase maphandleni. Sigumba inzulu yomhlaba emigodini, sisimba igolide nobunye abutyebi obuphantsi komhlaba. Bonke obutyebi busetyenziswa ngabamhlopho. Namhlanje obu butyebi busetnga izixhobo ngabo, izigwelo zomoya, ooganganda ababulala abantu bakowechu eSharpsville, imipu emisha nezinye izixhobo zokutshabalalisa abantu. Zonke ezi zixhobo ziqokelelewa thina ma-Afrika ukuba sizo kubulawa ngoo.

**IPASI LIWUGOBILE  
UMZI KA NTU  
PHANTSI KOMTHETHO  
WAMAPASI — ESONA SITHIXO SENGGINEZELO  
NONGQIKIVO LWA MA-AFRIKA — ASI SENGABO  
ABANTU, SESABA ZINTAHAKAZI, AHAPOLISA ASIZINGELA EZITLATWENI, EMISEBENZINI, ASIGQOQQE  
NASEZINDLWENI ZETHU,  
IHINI NOBUSUKU ERUBA  
AMAPASI, ANAWAKA, NGA-  
MAWAKA ETHU ANKHWEL-  
EREKA PHANTSI KWEHEKO  
EZINYUNDULULU ZEET-  
LONGO ZAHADLAGUSHA  
NGENXA YEPASI, ABAZALI  
BASONA INZALA YABO  
IFELA EZITOLONGWENI;  
ABAFAZI BASALA BENGAB-  
AHLOKAZI; 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.



WANJA BAKHULA BEZIN-  
KEDAMA, UBOMI BOMHTU  
ONTUNDU KWELI LIZWE  
BOBENTLUPHEKO NENTSW-  
ELA NOBUKHOBOKA.  
Se silenzile ilizwi lesibano  
kuMandya, kubantu beBala,  
nakwabaFhlopha abalwela in-  
kululeko nentlalo-ntle kweli  
lizwe. Abantu beBala kanjalo  
naMandya, bacindezelwe  
ngamaDlagusha. Amalungelo  
ababenawo shluchiwe. Bonke  
bayagxothwa ezidolophini, ba-  
chonyalwa enkangala.

#### KODA KUBE NINI NA!

Le dyakwe zaziinyamezeli ixesha  
elide. Koda kube nini na sin-  
yamezeli ukudlululwa yingcine-  
zelo ezweni lakwethu!  
AmaDlagusha abonisa indelo  
nobichundu bendlaba ukusabela  
Imfundo zethu. Kukhule ubund-  
labongela, uRulumente wama-  
Bulu ulawula ngegqudu.  
uVorster — umxhomi wabal-  
wela inkululeko nentlalo-ntle,  
ikaka labahengisi nabangcatshi  
bazizwe sakawethu — ubulele  
uMni, noMkhaba, noKhayingo,  
noBongco noBaba Saloojee.  
Uzicacine ezitolongweni  
liinkokeli zabantu, uMandela  
noSisulu, uMbeki noMhlaba,  
uMotsaolodi noMlangeni, uMay-  
ekiso noMakgothi, uMkwayi  
noMbele, uFischer noKatrada,  
conkosikazi Matomela, Beard,  
Nyemba nabanye, zonke  
ezinkokeli kunye noninzi loc-  
wambu lelizwe luvalenze esi-  
tolongweni nase siqithini.

#### KODA KUBE NINI! INGUQU MA-AFRIKA

Nathi singamadoda. Singabazu-  
kulwana 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. Ku-  
qhume imbumbulu, adandalala  
amajoni kaVorster noSmith.  
Ikhulu lawo layindyebo kumax-  
halanga, laba lilifa lempethu.  
Izibhedlela zaseRhodesia ziyi-  
phuphuma ziingxwela zama-  
Bulu, liaerogilane zikaVorster  
zilele ngemiqolo — zicindile  
seentaka zehlatshi. Imipu nezinye  
izixhobo zizishiye ngasemva  
amaBulu zise zandleni zo-  
Mkhonto. Ewe, adlavulwa  
ziimbumbulu ezwo namhlanje  
amaBulu.

Namhlanje amadela-kufa idabi  
alizisa ekhaya. Se ekhale,  
Alapha, nalapho, naphaya.  
ITHI I.A.N.C. NDODA, MFAZI,  
NKWENKWE NAWENOM-  
BAZANA, UYINTANGA  
YOKULWELA INKULULEKO  
YEZWE LAKHO.  
VUKA! XHOBA! HLALA  
ULINDILE! UYEZA UMK-  
HONTO KUWE. UZAKU  
KWABELA EYAKHO INDIMA,  
LIFIKHILE IXESHA. LOKUBU-  
KUQA URULUMENTE KA  
VORSTER NGOHPU NANGCO  
MACHINE GUN. LIFIKHILE  
IXESHA LOKOHLWATA ABA-  
THENGISI NABANGCATSHI  
BESIZWE.

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

We have tried every way to reason with the white suprema-  
cists. 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 Con-  
gress, 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 mur-  
derer of Mini, Mikaba, Khayingo, Bongco, Saloojee and other  
brave sons of Africa. He has condemned Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki,  
Mhlaba, Motsaolodi, 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 bitter-  
ness 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  
mised 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!!!  
PHAMBILI!!!  
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!!  
INKULULEKO NGEXESHA  
LETHU!!!

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

#### USEYIPHAKILE UKHONGOLOSE

Ubezwa bememoza nje oSmith  
noVorster, bethi basahlulile  
bakhuluma amangal! Uma be-  
sahlulile bakhalelani kangaka!  
USmith ubalekeleni azaze acele  
uziso kuVorster! Sesiphesu  
kwabo, kade babegida phezu  
kwekhulu.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Awuphele umbuso wabacin-  
deteli, awuphele umbuso woku-  
sigqilaza. Yonke imithetho  
ekholakelweyo idla thina. A-  
baphangi banyathela china ngon-  
yawo amqaleni. Koze kube  
nini! Koze kube nini simba  
umhlabaathi njengezilwane. Mh-  
lakwasa sehla senyuka sibho-  
shelwa amapasi, silindelwa  
ngamaphoyisa. Abantu bakithi  
bagcwele emajele. Benzeni!  
Uthi uKhongolose isikhathi sifi-  
kile. Kanke okusiphele n'izina  
kuyawugedwa ngamandla ethu.  
Kuyaqedwa ngesibhamu.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Kungani ukuba sikhale emagogo-  
weni ezweni lomdabu, abelungu  
bebebusa, behamba labethanda  
khona, behlala ezindini ezi-  
bucwebecebe. Simba igolide,  
simba idayimani; simba yonke  
ingcebo, siyimbela bani! Siyim-  
bela abelungu thina sibe  
silamba, nezingane zethu ziham-  
ba ze. Abaphangi baphange  
wonke umhlaba wethu.  
Sesihamba sehla senyuka sin-  
genandawo neyokulala.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Lude uhambo lokugqilazwa  
kwethu. Lisuka kudaleni mhlana  
umlungu ethi ungena nem-  
pucuko. Amagawu amthiya  
emasangweni. Salwa naye ku-  
wawonke amagumbi, salwa  
naye enha nezansi, salwa naye  
eSandhwane ngoba ilizwe lili  
kungelithu. Uthi uKhongolose  
umbuso wabelungu ngumbuso  
wababulali ababulele uLuthuli,  
babulala uMni noKhayingo  
noBabu Saloojee. Uthi uKhon-  
golose awuphele umbuso wab-  
athakathi. Izingane zethu azi-  
funde ngemfundo, enkulu  
njengezizwe zonke. Mhlakwasa  
sikhokha imali yamapasi, siyik-  
hokhela umlungu ukuba afun-  
dise izingane zakhe, ahlele  
kahle sibe thina siphupheka,  
singakhokhela mali. Phezulu  
koba sijuluka, sigoma ing-  
wago, sisebantzi kaizima ezimo-  
beni.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Lombuso onzima kangaka uyoo-  
qedwa 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, through-  
out 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 OP-  
PRESSORS 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!

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 nangezange  
nihlele nyova. Aphakachi,  
amashohezela oMandela,  
oSisulu, oMbeki, aboshwe  
ngoba elwa nemithetho enzima.  
ISIZWE SIYOKHULULWA  
NGEZIBHAMU. Yiloko abak-  
uzwayo abelungu. Kade sibak-  
huzo sithi siphelwe ubandlululo,  
sithi ziyiphele imithetho en-  
gavumi sibamba ngokuthanda  
emadolobeni, sithi sibagalokhu  
besilandela ngezinja zabo ama-  
phoyisa. Sekwanele! Iola  
owakho umkhonto isikhathi  
sifikile.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Yibuya, silisa nesifazane, yibuya  
zinziswa nezintombi zohlango.  
Amajaha kaKhongolose asephu-  
mle ezintabeni athi malibuya.  
Asho nakwelasehla kwashoko,  
AMABUNU ADLIWE YIZIN-  
TUTHANE. Noma esethemele  
amabaloni abakaKhongolose  
bwethule phezu. Kunamuhla  
silele amankanyane azalele izi-

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

#### AKUKHO OKUNYE

Izwe liyobuya ngabo bonke  
abathanda inkululeko. Bonke  
abayolubonga usinga lwamaqha-  
bawe esizwe, belubonga ngesi-  
bindi sabo. Yibo labo abayo-  
phakamisi igama likaKhongolo-  
lose. Isizwe kade sibandlul-  
abelungu, besipheche ngalwa  
nalwase amanga. Luhlanga olun-  
sundu lalelani UKHON-  
GOLOSE. UTHI ISIKHATHI  
SIFIKILE. Uma amaradio ekh-  
labalasa ethi wehlufile amajaha  
singakhohiseki. Thina singa-  
bakaKhongolose, thina siwu-  
Mkhonto weSizwe, thina  
sisoze sehlulwa amabhunu.

#### UTHI UKHONGOLOSE

Isikhathi sifikile. Vuka ulindile  
uyeza umkhonto weSizwe uza-  
kukwabela eyakho indima. Sek-  
wanele! umlungu siyomkhot-  
hisa umhlabaathi. Uthi ziyihlome  
uKhongolose sekwanele! Kade  
kwas besipheche kanzima!  
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!!!  
MATLA KE A RONA!!!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!