

ARMED and TRAINED

Nelson Mandela's 1962 military mission as Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and provenance for his buried Makarov pistol. ©¹

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ABSTRACT

Firearms are inextricably linked to the history of South Africa's liberation struggle and experiences of decolonisation, liberation and independence for many African countries. Firearms are often perceived as symbols of emancipation from colonial rule, and military leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, who commanded Umkhonto we Sizwe, are no exception, for he is associated with numerous handguns, military weapons and military ordnance during 1962, in particular to a Makarov pistol, originating from Ethiopia. This heritage item holding symbolic and historical value, Mandela claimed he buried at Liliesleaf farm in Johannesburg shortly before being captured in 1962. Although mentioned fleetingly in Nelson Mandela's autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, the provenance of and knowledge about his pistol and the circumstances under which he received it and how he subsequently buried it, together with ammunition and possibly an Ethiopian army uniform, are not widely known. This article details the process by which I established this provenance during 2004 to 2010, and contextualizes Nelson Mandela's broader military activities in Africa, discussions he held with freedom fighters and military personnel in Ethiopia and Morocco, the type of military training he underwent, weapons he handled and activities in South Africa upon his return, once armed and trained.

Introduction

Knowledge about Nelson Mandela burying his handgun at Liliesleaf farm, Rivonia, Johannesburg, emerged during December 1991, when Mandela revisited Liliesleaf, accompanied by Allister Sparks. Mandela enquired who lived on an adjacent property, 'I buried something there,' and then gestured with his trigger finger to indicate an arms cache.² Mandela subsequently revisited Liliesleaf in 2003 and asked Nicholas Wolpe, CEO of the Liliesleaf Trust, if he had found his 'gun'. When Wolpe enquired where this was buried, Mandela pointed towards some neighbouring residential properties, as before during 1991.³

In March 2004, Wolpe enquired if I had information about Mandela burying a 'gun' at Liliesleaf.⁴ I did not and re-read Mandela's memoir and biography to identify potential references to firearms and their burial at Liliesleaf. Mandela's memoir contains four references to possessing firearms. An 'old revolver' inherited from his father,⁵ an air-rifle at Liliesleaf in 1961;⁶ an 'automatic pistol' with 200 rounds of ammunition given to him by Colonel Tadesse of the Ethiopian Army prior to returning to South Africa in July 1962;⁷ and concealing a 'loaded revolver' in a car on 5 August 1962, when South Africa's Security Police captured him.⁸

The three different weapon types were, an air operated pellet gun, a magazine fed semi-automatic pistol and two cylinder loaded revolvers. My interim conclusion - Mandela would have known these weapon types having undergone military training; hence he differentiated them.⁹ His memoir relates returning to Liliesleaf in July 1962, wearing an Ethiopian army uniform.¹⁰ As verbally claimed he then buried his Ethiopian pistol and presumably the ammunition and possibly a uniform and later, when captured, possessed a revolver of unknown origin.

² As [told](#) to the author by Allister Sparks, November 2004 during which discussion Sparks related that Mandela said that he buried his cache about fifty paces from the Liliesleaf household kitchen. The initial report by Sparks of this discussion was released by Sparks to FORNEWS on 1 January 1992, a copy of which he gave me in November 2004

³ As related to the author by the CEO of the Liliesleaf Trust, March 2004

⁴ [At that time I served on the Council of the Nelson Mandela National Museum](#), appointed by South Africa's national Minister of Arts, Culture, Science & Technology in April 2003. My consultancy Site Solutions™ was about to undertake a research audit for the Liliesleaf Trust which commenced in 2004 and concluded in 2007. Various searches for the 'gun' ensued in 2004 and 2005, with an additional search in 2006 which was reported in the media

⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, (London, Abacus, 1994). 77

⁶ *Ibid*, 335

⁷ *Ibid*, 363

⁸ *Ibid*, 373

⁹ Or that Richard Stengel, Mandela's 'ghost writer' erred in describing the pistol as a revolver

¹⁰ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 369

In 2005, during an informal discussion I had with Nelson Mandela at Liliesleaf, Mandela confirmed the provenance of his pistol, relating that he buried something important to him and the 'Ethiopians'. Mandela described his cache as, 'very valuable but dangerous,' squeezed his trigger finger with his arm outstretched to emulate firing a handgun and concluded that he hoped his cache is found, 'otherwise the Ethiopians will be disappointed.' Our discussion confirmed his buried pistol is of Ethiopian provenance. ¹¹

This has historical significance – the information was not publicly known, yet offers historical understanding about Mandela's actions and activities during a key period in South Africa's history. With respect to Liliesleaf, his pistol forms a link between the farm and Mandela's role as Commander in Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, his African military mission and the symbolic linkage of firearms to South Africa's liberation struggle and associated heritage of Liliesleaf. ¹²

A literature review of Nelson Mandela's 1962 activities as Commander in Chief identified information gaps and inconsistencies while recent publications perpetuate myth and factual distortions. For example, a 2010 publication disregards Mandela's consistent oral history about burying a pistol at Liliesleaf, declaring this a 'puzzling claim for Mandela to make', while continuing popular notions that Mandela concealed his Ethiopian pistol while being captured, which the police never found. ¹³ Mandela's memoir and Anthony Sampson's biography briefly mention certain military specifics, yet provide no detail of him burying a pistol and the weapons that he trained with, and little detail about the content of his discussions with military personnel in Ethiopia and Morocco. ¹⁴ However Mandela's unpublished 1962 diary, journals and military notes offer insight into these intricacies, as does his oral history, which this article details. ¹⁵

¹¹ Discussion between the author and Nelson Mandela, 6 June 2005. I arranged this discussion with the Nelson Mandela Foundation with the aim of identifying any information about this firearm buried at Liliesleaf.

¹² Following from my initial discussions with Wolpe in 2004, he then initiated a multi-disciplinary search for Mandela's pistol and ammunition at Liliesleaf from 2004 to 2006. Together with archeologists and other specialists we surveyed and excavated various areas yet no weapons or ammunition were found.

¹³ Smith, DJ., *Young Mandela*, (Great Britain, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2010), 276

¹⁴ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, and Sampson, A., *Mandela The Authorized Biography*, (Jeppestown, Jonathan Ball Publishers (Pty) Ltd, 1999)

¹⁵ I located copies of Mandela's 1962 writings, which include his diary and journal in a declassified file in South Africa's National Archives, Pretoria in 2007 and have used these as part of my source material for this article. Although some of this material is identical to that held in other archival collections, this material represents a separate collection. These works are typed transcripts of Mandela's original handwritten works, presumably made by the police after being seized at Liliesleaf in 1963. See: National Archives of South Africa (hereafter NASA), TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964

Other publications refer to road, rail and safe house networks operated by the liberation movements in Bechuanaland.¹⁶ Yet they don't integrate the role of Britain's Security Services into Mandela's Bechuanaland airlifts and additional assistance provided to Mandela in Bechuanaland, particularly on his return in July 1962, by a British aligned magistrate and security official, information alluded to in Mandela's memoir. In spaces of public culture, such as the Liliesleaf Museum, Mandela's Makarov pistol is described as Bulgarian made, incorrect, given that Bulgaria started manufacturing Makarov's around 1970.¹⁷ Yet Mandela's buried weapon is currently sought. During August 2010, a South African media report relates that the search at Liliesleaf continues amid tight security.¹⁸

Consequently, this article offers provenance for Mandela's Makarov pistol which he claims he buried at Liliesleaf, his military experiences in Morocco and training by Ethiopian forces during 1962, while Commander in Chief. Included is a backdrop of certain activities by Britain's Security Service in Bechuanaland in relation to Mandela and other activities by South African intelligence during Mandela's 1962 Africa mission, together with additional information about his capture.

Nelson Mandela's Military Mission

In December 1961, the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East Central Africa (PAFMECA) invited the ANC to their 1962 Addis Ababa conference. On 3 January 1962, the ANC National Executive delegated Mandela and instructed him to discuss this with Chief Luthuli. His mission also required arranging political and economic support and military training for MK in recently independent African states. Mandela would link up with Oliver Tambo, who headed the ANC external mission, and explain the strategic shift of the ANC. Mandela was determined to boost the ANC's position to counteract Pan African Congress (PAC) 'propaganda.' His only reservation - a prior promise to remain in South Africa, yet his colleagues persuaded him to go.¹⁹ On 8 January 1962, Mandela met Luthuli in Natal, who approved his mission. Returning to Johannesburg Mandela received his travel credentials from Duma Nokwe, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada.²⁰

¹⁶ South African Democracy Education Trust., *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, vol 1* (1960-1970), (Cape Town, Zebra, 2004)

¹⁷ Liliesleaf Museum exhibit, as viewed and photographed by the author on 21 March 2010

¹⁸ Noseweek., *The mystery of the missing Mandela Makarov*, (South Africa, August 2010), 18-21

¹⁹ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 342

²⁰ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

British controlled Bechuanaland would form Mandela's exit from and re-entry point into South Africa.²¹ Crossing over under his legend as David Motsamayi, Mandela would rendezvous with Joe Matthews, before flying to Tanganyika. A logistics committee finalized his transport, safe houses, and flight.²² An intermediary chartered Captain Herbert Bartaune's aircraft based in Lobatse, for the airlift. Paid for with a bank draft from Dar es Salaam, Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) monitored this transaction.²³ British and South African intelligence activities provide a backdrop to Mandela's military mission and contextualise his activities; hence some detail about this is provided.

South Africa's declaration as a Republic justified to Britain a need for a parallel security structure in Bechuanaland.²⁴ Strategically, this formed part of Britain's 'double game' of balancing immediate interests, such as economic and military investments with the Republic, the economic dependence of the High Commission Territories on South Africa; and increasing risk exposure to negative reaction from newly independent former colonies due to Britain's South African policy (thus coming increasingly 'under fire') - versus longer term trends of changing political realities in Africa and southern Africa.²⁵ Sir John Maude, High Commissioner to South Africa, described this policy of 'reinsurance' as discreetly building contacts with liberation movement leaders, while not antagonising South Africa's ruling nationalists.²⁶ Operationally and tactically, this enabled closer observance of potential security issues within Bechuanaland, whilst simultaneously assisting organisations that would one day gain political power.

British documents refer to setting up 'the pipeline' to enable prominent refugees to move through the Protectorate as fast as possible. The pipeline's operators included a handful of key colonial officers and one police officer reporting directly to Peter Fawcus, the Resident Commissioner. Fawcus in turn reported to Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, (also known as MI6). This arrangement sidestepped the Protectorate's Special Branch who, linked to Britain's MI5, were seen as compromised, due to MI5's connections to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa's security establishment.²⁷ For example, after the Union's 1960

²¹ Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland were then High Commission Territories

²² Discussions between the author and Ahmed Kathrada, 2004. Kathrada related that with him on this committee were Joe Modise, Harold Wolpe and possibly Wolfie Kodesh

²³ National Archives of United Kingdom (hereafter NAUK), DO 119 / 1478, Resident Commissioner to Secretary of State for the Colonies, London

²⁴ <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533950802078897>, accessed 23 January 2010, Parsons, N., *The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68*, (2008, *Social Dynamics*, 34: 1, 17 — 32)

²⁵ NAUK, CAB 114/119, Sir J. Maud to Lord Home, 14 May 1963. Britain was increasingly 'under fire' for its support of white minority states

²⁶ NAUK, FO 371 / 161886, Sir John Maude, Note for the Record, 23 October 1962

²⁷ <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533950802078897>, accessed 23 January 2010, Parsons, N., *The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68*, (2008, *Social Dynamics*, 34: 1, 17 — 32). One of MI5's key roles during this period was that, 'The Service also kept a close watch on the activities of the Communist

emergency declaration, the South African Police (SAP) Security Branch sought information through police channels about refugees and their activities in Bechuanaland. This was denied, so the SAP pursued steps for clandestine enquiries.²⁸ To circumvent them, SIS enabled their pipeline.²⁹

This aerial pipeline supplemented road, rail and safe house networks established by Fish Keitseng and Joe Modise.³⁰ Operated by the liberation movements, they were also known as the “road to freedom.”³¹ The pipeline ran from Lobatse, via refuelling at Kasane, over-flew Northern Rhodesia to Mbeya, then to Dar es Salaam. It operated as a mini-airline called Bechuanaland Air Safari’s, later Bechuanaland Air Services, which Bartaune set up as a Charter Company and, in 1966, was acquired by Botswana National Airways.³² Financed by Bechuanaland’s government (possibly with SIS funds) and Lobatse meat millionaire Cyril Hurwitz, Bartaune, (a former Luftwaffe pilot) based himself as resident director at Lobatse.³³

That the liberation movement’s refugee route formed a key SAP intelligence need is supported by a prior Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee (CIC) report dated September 1960. This records Bartaune as a SAP Security Branch target. Logical - Bartaune was a key pipeline operator.³⁴ For example, in February 1961, the SAP Mafeking Security Branch officer visited Lobatse and questioned Bartaune about his recent airlift of F Duncan, VJG Matthews and others. Bartaune gave an affidavit and was warned that he may be summonsed for court proceedings.³⁵ Continued monitoring of Bartaune may have ramified on Mandela – two years later Bartaune airlifted him.

Security Branch inroads continued. ‘On 11 October 1961 Sgt PIO, Security Branch Mafeking visited Andrew Rybicki, a pilot employed by Bartaune in Lobatse. It is firmly believed that PIO recruited Rybicki as an

Party of Great Britain (CPGB). Various individuals associated with the Communist movement were monitored in the hope of uncovering any connections with espionage or subversive activity; see: <https://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/late-1940s-and-1950s.html>, accessed 20 January 2010

²⁸ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961

²⁹ <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533950802078897>, accessed 23 January 2010, Parsons, N., *The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68*, (2008, Social Dynamics, 34: 1, 17 — 32)

³⁰ Ndlovu, SM., *Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: using oral history to reconstruct unsung heroes and heroines' routes into exile in the 1960s*, (Historia, 2002), 485-489

³¹ South African Democracy Education Trust., *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, vol 1 (1960-1970)*, 413

³² <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=KBmGpaD36cMC>, accessed 30 January 2010, Guttery, BR., *Encyclopaedia of African Airlines*, (McFarland, 1998)

³³ <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533950802078897>, accessed 23 January 2010, Parsons, N., *The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68*, (2008, Social Dynamics, 34: 1, 17 — 32)

³⁴ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961

³⁵ *Ibid*

informer.’³⁶ Shortly thereafter, Colonel Steytler and Major Buys entered Bechuanaland from South Africa under false names. They met Rybicki, whose role (the documents suggest) was to forward information about refugee airlifts that he flew, some of which Joe Matthews organized.³⁷

Bechuanaland’s CIC key Intelligence needs were: the activities of internal political parties, communism and the recruiting of students by so called ‘iron curtain’ countries, labour and union activities, tribal affairs, race relations, political and subversive activities in schools, the activities of the South African Police, political refugees from South Africa and South West Africa and any subversive activities by individuals.³⁸

Joe Matthews was monitored by British Intelligence and the SAP. In 1962, British Intelligence opened a file on Matthews who resided in Basutoland (Lesotho). Classified Top Secret, its documents are marked UK Eyes Only, meaning that Britain did not share this information with strategic allies such as the United States and Canada.³⁹ Mandela’s 1962 file on the other hand was classified Secret, one security grading lower than Matthews.⁴⁰ None of Mandela’s file contents are marked UK Eyes Only, meaning information was possibly shared with Britain’s strategic allies, which included the CIA.⁴¹ This may have influenced Mandela’s subsequent capture, for the CIA regularly shared information with South Africa’s security establishment and are suggested in the literature as role-players in his capture.⁴²

British Intelligence tracked some of Matthews’ prior overseas trips and attempted to ascertain his source of funds and payments made for air charter travel, within South Africa and Swaziland. In November 1960, they monitored him in Moscow, Prague, Tanganyika and the United Kingdom, amongst other states.⁴³

³⁶ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961. *PIO is an acronym used in the original report to refer to the SAP Security Branch Sgt, presumably used to protect the Sgt’s identity, which remains unidentified.*

³⁷ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961. Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu describes a similar incident that occurred at the same time in 1961 which Ndlovu cites from the Botswana archives and which records that ‘information from three different sources in Bechuanaland reported that between the 8 and 11 December 1961 two South African Police Special Branch agents were operating in the areas of Palapye and Serowe. When one of them was asked what the SAP special branch were doing in the protectorate, they replied that they ‘were going to arrest refugees’. They were traveling in a Johannesburg registered car.’ See Ndlovu, SM., *Heritage routes for the liberated South Africans: using oral history to reconstruct unsung heroes and heroines’ routes into exile in the 1960s*, 502.

³⁸ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961

³⁹ NAUK, DO 119 / 1229, Vincent Joe Matthews (VJ), 4 July 1962 – 4 October 1962

⁴⁰ NAUK, DO 119 / 1478, Nelson Mandela, 1962

⁴¹ Central Intelligence Agency

⁴² Sanders, J., *Apartheid’s Friends The Rise and Fall of South Africa’s Secret Service*, (London, John Murray (Publishers), 2006), 17-20. The information about the CIA’s role in Mandela’s capture is inconclusive, based on media reports many years after the event and attributed to revelations by American diplomats working in the Republic at that time and which could be disinformation.

⁴³ NAUK, DO 119 / 1229, Vincent Joe Matthews (VJ), 4 July 1962 – 4 October 1962

A January 1961, CIC report records,

The interest shown by VJG Matthews in this territory is viewed with grave concern. The planning and financial assistance behind his recent visit to London, Moscow, the East African territories and Ghana show that he is a force to be reckoned with and those who have met him have been greatly impressed by his personal confidence and political knowledge. ⁴⁴

On 11 January 1962, at 15h00, Mandela arrived in Lobatse. ⁴⁵ As his flight was delayed, he stayed with Fish Keitseng in Peleng village. ⁴⁶ The next day the local Immigration Officer arrived to inform Mandela that his flight was cancelled and enquired about his plans. Mandela had the 'shock of his life' when told that apart from handling issues of immigration, the agent headed Bechuanaland's Special Branch. He offered Mandela a government house to prevent South African agents abducting him but Mandela politely declined. He preferred 'the warm affection' of his hosts and later met with Mr Motsete, president of the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP), and Gaboesele. ⁴⁷

On 13 January 1962, Mandela held discussions with Motsete, Gaboesele and Keitseng. They decided to hide their movements from the Immigration Officer and received reports that SAP Security Branch 'were around'. On 17 January 1962, the Immigration Officer revisited and appealed that on no account should Mandela venture about, due to abduction risks - no idle threat. In 1960, when Oliver Tambo stayed in Lobatse he narrowly escaped two South African agents intent on chloroforming him before smuggling him back to South Africa. ⁴⁸ However Mandela impression was that the British agent was attempting to prevent him meeting members of the BPP, which he had done. ⁴⁹

On 19 January 1962 at 3pm, Bartaune airlifted Mandela into the pipeline. ⁵⁰ Signals traffic from Britain's Cape Town High Commissioner reveals that British intelligence identified Mandela's Bechuanaland arrival on 13 January 1962, with £600 – the day of his first official visit in Peleng. They correctly reported Mandela

⁴⁴ NAUK, DO 157 / 9, Bechuanaland Central Intelligence Committee Reports, July 1960-Oct 1961

⁴⁵ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578. Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁴⁶ NAUK, DO 119 / 1478, High Commissioner Cape Town to Secretary of State for the Colonies, London

⁴⁷ [Gaboesele is Mandela's original spelling](#), see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. [Mandela's autobiography refers to Professor KT Motsete](#), see: [Mandela, NR., Long Walk to Freedom, 343](#)

⁴⁸ Callinicos, L., *Oliver Tambo Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, (southern Africa: David Phillips Publishers, 2004) 258-259

⁴⁹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁵⁰ [Joe Matthews arrived the day before and flew out with Mandela](#)

and Matthews' departure and, that although South Africa's Security Branch (SB) was unaware of Mandela's presence in Peleng, an informant reported to SB on Mandela's flight details.⁵¹

On 21 January 1962, Mandela reached Dar es Salaam.⁵² He met with Julius Nyerere who agreed to facilitate a meeting with Emperor Haile Selassie and suggested Ethiopia as an option for MK military training,⁵³ yet also suggested that the ANC suspend armed struggle until Robert Sobukwe's release from prison.⁵⁴ Mandela and Matthews then flew to Accra. Mandela received his Ethiopian visa on 29 January 1962, and flew with Tambo to Addis Ababa.⁵⁵ The Ethiopian's anti fascist campaign always inspired Mandela who studied the terrain below, thinking about guerrilla forces resisting Mussolini's army from the forests.⁵⁶

In Addis Ababa they met ambassadors and leaders of political parties.⁵⁷ On 3 February 1962, Mandela addressed the conference,⁵⁸ his speech, carefully prepared with advice from both Tambo and Robert Resha and outlined the history of South Africa's freedom struggle. He thanked the delegates for their pressure against the apartheid regime and contextualised the birth of MK.⁵⁹ Further meetings and support pledges for the ANC followed.⁶⁰

However Mandela learnt that the ANC alliance with South Africa's Communist Party and Indian political parties unsynchronised them with mainstream African nationalism. Two perceptions prevailed - the PAC

⁵¹ NAUK, DO 119 / 1478, Nelson Mandela, 1962. [High Commissioner to the Secretary of State for Colonies and the Resident Commissioner Bechuanaland](#)

⁵² NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. See also: Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 345- 346

⁵³ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

⁵⁴ Frene Ginwala received a telephone message from the Commissioner at Mbeya - could she authenticate two ANC people just in from South Africa? Matthews identified himself - Ginwala gave the commissioner the go ahead. Shortly afterwards, on 21 January, Mandela arrived at Ginwala's office. See: Callinicos, L., *Oliver Tambo Beyond the Engeli Mountains*, 283

⁵⁵ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁵⁶ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 348

⁵⁷ Foreign representatives included the Ambassador for Guinea and Algerian representatives. This is the first recorded instance of Mandela meeting with the Algerian's who would soon play a key role in his mission, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁵⁸ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁵⁹ An excerpt of Mandela's speech with an overview of the PAFMECA proceedings was included in a report to the British cabinet on 20 February 1962 by Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee, see: NAUK, CAB 179. 8

⁶⁰ With respect to military assistance, the following pledges were received: Egypt agreed to train seven MK members, Algeria and Morocco any number and Ethiopia twenty and perhaps more. The matter was also raised with Mali, Guinea and Ghana, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

represented African interests while the ANC, excessively influenced by white communists was essentially their stooge. To worsen matters, some viewed Chief Luthuli's recent Nobel Peace Prize as the West having bought the Chief. This theme - being out of step - was a matter that Mandela believed he had to address.⁶¹

On 4 February 1962, Mandela visited the Debra Zain Air Force Training Centre and met with the Ethiopian military. Three days later he visited a camp outside Addis Ababa and witnessed a 'most exciting' military parade with Emperor Selassie taking the salute. Connections with Ethiopia's political and military establishment quickly formed. On 8 February 1962, the conference closed. Emperor Selassie received the ANC delegation. The next day unfolded discussing the SA situation with Ali Ketema Yifru, Ethiopia's Minister of Foreign Affairs. On 10 February 1962, a final meeting followed with Lt. General Kebede Guebre, Chief of Staff for the Imperial Forces of Ethiopia.⁶² Guebre indicated that Ethiopia could take twenty recruits and perhaps more, train them at Kolfe (Colifi) and arrange for a plane to collect them.⁶³ The Ethiopian's also gave £5000 to the ANC.⁶⁴

On 12 February 1962, Mandela flew to Cairo with Tambo and Robert Resha.⁶⁵ They met ambassadors from Cuba, Czechoslovakia, China, the German Democratic Republic, Indonesia and Egyptian government representatives. Cuba and Egypt pledged full support.⁶⁶ Tambo flew to London, Mandela and Resha to Tunisia where President Bourguiba offered military training and £5000 for weapons.⁶⁷

Mandela's mission was not just about fundraising and securing support. As MK's Commander in Chief he needed to learn from people who had fought a colonial power for independence, using political struggle and military action. As, 'the situation in Algeria was the closest model to our own in that the rebels faced a large white settler community that ruled the indigenous majority,'⁶⁸ Mandela and Resha landed in Casablanca on

⁶¹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13, see also: Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 352

⁶² NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁶³ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13. As a prior Colonel, Guebre served as Chief Commander of the Ethiopian Army Contingent to the United Nations Mission during the Korean War: See: <http://www.tigray.org/News/Articles1/Major-Nega.html>, accessed 30 January 2010. Two months after meeting with Mandela, Guebre led the Ethiopian Army contingent in the Congo, until 1964, as part of the United Nations intervention: See: <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/onucF.html>, accessed 30 January 2010

⁶⁴ Donated during Mandela's first or second trip to Ethiopia, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

⁶⁵ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. See also: Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 353

⁶⁶ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁶⁷ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 354

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 354 - 355

6 March 1962. They met Dr Abdelkrim Khatib, Morocco's Minister of African Affairs, ⁶⁹ Jacques Verges, Khatib's personal advisor, who played a role in providing Moroccan financial and military support, ⁷⁰ and freedom fighters from Angola, Mozambique, Algeria and Cape Verde. ⁷¹

Discussions on 14 March 1962, with Mario Andrade and Emmanuel Lima about Angola's NLA proved 'fascinating.' ⁷² Dr Mustafa, head of the Algerian mission in Morocco, briefed Mandela on Algeria's struggle against the French. ⁷³ Mustafa explained that the original objective was defeating the French through military action, as in Indo-China, and that settlement by negotiation was not visualised. ⁷⁴ They then realised that a purely military victory was impossible and resorted to guerrilla warfare, designed not for military victory but to unleash political and economic forces. ⁷⁵ Mustafa stressed that the, 'conception of the struggle when you begin will determine failure or success of the revolution.'

⁶⁹ Dr Khatib was the former head of Morocco's Army of Liberation before Moroccan independence in 1956. See: Henry, CM., *The Dialectics of Political Islam in North Africa*, (American Political Science Association, Middle East Policy, Vol XIV, No 4, 2007), 91

⁷⁰ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. According to various sources, Jacques Verges was born 1925 in Thailand and raised in Réunion. He joined the Reunionese Communist Party and in 1942, the Free French Forces under de Gaulle, and participated in anti-Nazi resistance. After World War 2 Verges studied law at the University of Paris. In 1949 Vergès became president of the AEC (Association for Colonial Students) and in the 1950's worked for a while in Prague in a Soviet-led international student union movement under Victor Shelepin, (later KGB head under Nikita Khrushchev). During Algeria's freedom struggle, Vergès defended many accused of terrorism by the French government. To limit Vergès success at defending Algerian clients he was sentenced to two months in jail in 1960 and temporary lost his license to officially practice law for anti-state activities. He apparently disappeared in the 1970's - some accounts have him working with Pol Pot in Cambodia - after the Khmer Rouge takeover in 1975. In 1979, he returned to practice law as a member of the Paris bar. His clients included various figures such as Holocaust denier Roger Garaudy, Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie (1987), and international terrorist Ilich Ramírez Sánchez (a.k.a. Carlos the Jackal) (1994) If indeed the same person, Jacques Vergès is reported to have in 2002, offered to represent former Serbian President Slobodan Milošević, although Milošević declined any legal advice and in 2003 offered to defend Saddam Hussein. Tariq Aziz assembled a team that included Jacques Verges, however the Hussein family declined his services. In 2008, he represented former Khmer Rouge head of state Khieu Samphan at Cambodia's genocide tribunal. The media have sensationalized him with the sobriquet, "the Devil's advocate." See: <http://www.netglimse.com/celebs/pages/jacques-verges/index.shtml>, accessed 21 January 2010 and <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/stasi-files-say-verges-worked-with-carlos-1384202.html>, accessed 21 January 2010

⁷¹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. Angolan leaders included MPLA President Mario de Andrade and José Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola. The NLA, presumably refers to the National Liberation Army, subsequently called *Exército Popular de Libertação de Angola* - EPLA and in 1974 was renamed FAPLA

⁷² NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁷³ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 355. Mandela spells Dr Mustafa's name in his journal and diary as Dr Mustafai, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibits R16 and R17

⁷⁴ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

⁷⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 355

Mustafa outlined that a key part of the general plan is military action, followed by the political objective and then psychological warfare. Tactics are governed by strategy and cover the political consciousness of the masses of the people and mobilisation of international allies - the aim being to destroy the legality of the government to institute that of the people. The political organisation must be in total control of the people while the soldiers, 'must live among the people like fish in the water'. The aim – the ANC's forces should develop and grow while, 'those of the enemy should disintegrate.'⁷⁶ International opinion, Mustafa said, 'is sometimes worth more than a fleet of jet fighters.'⁷⁷ Mandela described Mustafa's advice as 'brilliant'.⁷⁸

Then it was the turn of Algeria's National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale - FLN), to give Mandela a taste of their front line. On 18 March 1962, Mustafa sent Mandela and Resha to Oujda, the Moroccan headquarters for the National Liberation Army (Armée de Libération Nationale --ALN), the FLN's military arm.⁷⁹ They met with Si Abdelhanna, ALN head of the political section. Also present were Si Jamal, Captain Mohammed Smain Lamari, Noereddine Djoudi and Aberraahman.⁸⁰

A general discussion on South Africa ensued. At 4pm, accompanied by Djoudi and another officer, Mandela and Resha were driven to the Zegangan training base, situated in former Spanish Morocco, where they toured an Armaments Museum.⁸¹ After dinner they visited the soldier's theatre, listened to music and watched two sketches depicting propaganda against French rule. The next morning discussions continued. After lunch the first recorded instance of Mandela using military firearms occurred. He fired a German Mauser rifle and machine gun, being 'warmly complimented on accuracy'.⁸²

⁷⁶ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

⁷⁷ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 355

⁷⁸ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁷⁹ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 355

⁸⁰ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17. Noereddine Djoudi later served as Algeria's ambassador to post apartheid South Africa. Mandela refers to Captain Larbi, when in fact his name was Mohammed Lamari, see:

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article2538907.ece>, accessed 21 January 2010.

Major-General Smain Lamari, Algeria's former intelligence chief, was born June 1941 and died 28 August 2007. Lamari reportedly joined the rebel National Liberation Army (ALN) in 1961. By the end of the 1960s he entered Algeria's intelligence services, rose to take charge of internal security, and as counter-espionage specialist became one of the most influential figures in the 'regime'. He was part of the tight-knit group of senior generals, known collectively as "le pouvoir," who have been the main source of power in Algeria since independence in 1962. He played a lead role in combating an Islamist insurgency by 'hijacking power,' and later was instrumental in negotiations which brought an end to fierce fighting in 2000, while also backing Abdelaziz Bouteflika rise to the presidency

⁸¹ A collection of ALN armaments including weapons used during the 1 November 1954 uprising and the latest equipment

⁸² NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

21 March 1962, started with a visit to the ALN printing works and transmission headquarters in Oujda. Accompanied by two officers they drove to Boubker, visiting the heavily guarded HQ of the Northern Division battalion. After lunch, they proceeded to a battalion forward HQ position on the Algerian border, and entered their dugouts.⁸³ Using field glasses, Mandela watched some French troops across the border and imagined looking at uniformed South African Defence Force (SADF) soldiers.⁸⁴ Mandela was also moved by the visible distress of the numerous refugees around their military position.⁸⁵

After returning to Oujda, a discussion commenced inside Headquarters at 6.30 pm around four topics:⁸⁶

- 1) The relationship between the ALN inside and outside of Algeria.
- 2) The structure of the ALN inside Algeria
- 3) French tactics to destroy the ALN
- 4) The relationship between Sabot and G Operations⁸⁷

Captain Lamari flagged three additional key points initially not included for discussion:

1) The question of political control of the organisation now preparing for activities (presumably MK). Lamari stressed that in their experience they, 'did not start their own revolution before they had achieved unity of intent – the establishment of the front of national liberation which was a front of individuals not organisations. Organisations were called upon to announce publicly that they had dissolved (but) the Algerian Communist Party refused to do so. Thorough preparation and unity is required before starting a revolution - timing is critical - events must link and create psychological impact and propaganda capital'.⁸⁸ Lamari continued that Fidel Castro had apparently stated that Cuba's revolution lost tremendously in terms of time and manpower because of its failure to achieve unity of all parties before the start was made. The initiative must be seized at the beginning which then forces the enemy to adjust their tactics and not pursue their own.

2) The country's elite must be made to realise that the masses of the people, however poor and illiterate, are the country's most important investment. In all activities and operations there should be a thorough fusion of the intelligentsia and the masses of the people – peasants and labourers, workers in the city and

⁸³ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

⁸⁴ [Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 355](#)

⁸⁵ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, as described in Exhibit R16 - this refers to sabotage and guerilla operations

⁸⁸ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

so forth. Some of the ALN's best strategists had no prior military experience, so, 'we must seek the support of the entire population with a perfect balance of social classes.'⁸⁹

3) In relation to military action, 'the masses of the people must be made to realise that political action such as strikes, boycotts and similar demonstrations are ineffective as solitary tactics. Actions must be accepted as the primary and most essential form of political activity.'⁹⁰ 'Sabotage seeks to destroy the enemy's economy whilst guerrilla operations are intended to sap the strength of the enemies troops...Whilst it is important to have your people trained by friendly countries, this should only be part of the plan. The essential point to grasp is to produce your own experts who will establish training centres either inside or on the borders of the country.'⁹¹ Surprise attacks by commandos on the enemy's troops and population builds morale, such as, 'bomb explosions in cinemas.'⁹² The discussions continued until 2 am the following day.⁹³

On 23 March 1962, they met Jacques Verges, 'our friend' in Rabat, who hinted, 'that all our demands will be met, even if NOT fully'.⁹⁴ At 8pm they returned to Oujda, accompanied by Verges and Nicanor from Cameroon.⁹⁵ The next day Colonel Sieman showed them around. Group photographs were taken.⁹⁶ That evening they met Ben Bella at a banquet. On 25 March 1962, they attended, with the Niger and Cameroonian delegates, Ben Bella's inspection of a Guard of Honour.

On 26 March 1962, discussions ensued with the heads of the ALN and officers of the political department.⁹⁷ However, Mandela remained influenced long afterwards by advice from Algeria's military commander Houari Boumedienne, who later seized power from Ben Bella. He advised that the purpose of armed struggle should not be to overthrow the apartheid government by force. Rather, the ANC should use this tactic to

⁸⁹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R16

⁹⁰ *Ibid*

⁹¹ *Ibid*

⁹² *Ibid*,

⁹³ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁹⁴ *Ibid* These demands were financial and military support. £3000 was given to the ANC while Mandela was in Morocco and another £7000 on 1 May 1962 in Accra on 29 April 1962, when Mandela met with the head of the Algerian Mission, Mr Tewfrik Bouattoura. See: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibits R13 and R17

⁹⁵ A second car traveling behind contained Andrade and Djibo Bakary of the Sewabe Party Niger, see: TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

⁹⁶ Mandela's diary reference to Colonel Sieman in his diary may be a typing error made by the police who transcribed his writings in that Captain Lamari was also known as Smain Lamari: See:

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/obituaries/article2538907.ece>, accessed 21 January 2010

⁹⁷ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

unleash broader political forces which would force the government to the negotiating table.⁹⁸ That night they returned to Rabat, met with Dr Khatib and finalised their mission.⁹⁹

However, the South African Police knew of Mandela's activities in Morocco, particularly the content of some of his discussions in Rabat with Dr Khatib, Jacques Verges and others during 6-13 March 1962. The South African Brussels based ambassador ran a secret yet reliable source, a former SS officer living in Spain, who in turn handled a Moroccan based agent.¹⁰⁰ In a Top Secret dispatch to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs the Ambassador, while acknowledging the unsavoury past of this SS officer, guaranteed the integrity of his information and that of his Moroccan based agent. These two spies reported that the Algerians would dispatch a number of highly trained saboteurs to Dar es Salaam to train locals in sabotage skills for operations in Mozambique and possibly South Africa.¹⁰¹ While in Rabat, Mandela did discuss Dar es Salaam. When a Moroccan official promised facilities for military training, offered to airlift recruits from Dar es Salaam and asked Mandela, 'where do you want us to send the weapons?' Mandela replied, 'Dar es Salaam'.¹⁰²

On the 28 March 1962, Mandela flew to Mali, then through various states such as, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria. Varying offers of support were pledged, the largest from Nigeria.¹⁰³ On 7 May 1962, Oliver Tambo joined Mandela in Accra. In Senegal President Senghor provided Mandela with a diplomatic passport and paid their airfares from Dakar to Britain for a ten day visit.

British immigration officers were initially hostile, unconvinced by Mandela's legend of David Motsamayi visiting Britain to write a book on the evolution of political thought in Africa, then allowed him through, Mandela later met Yusuf Dadoo and Vella Pillay and informed them that the ANC had to project itself as an independent force, represented by Africans at international conferences¹⁰⁴ Firmly, he told Dadoo this was not a departure from ANC policy, rather an unbundling of being stuck in a nebulous image that appeared to

⁹⁸ Sampson, A., *Mandela The Authorized Biography*, 166

⁹⁹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

¹⁰⁰ NASA, BTS, 109/7, Training of Saboteurs, Top Secret dispatch, Brussels Ambassador to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 13 March 1962

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*

¹⁰² Smith, DJ., *Young Mandela*, 257

¹⁰³ Liberia gave Mandela \$5000, with an additional \$400 for personal travel expenses, see: Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 357. (Mandela's notes in Exhibit R13 state that Liberia gave £2000) Guinea gave an unrecorded amount, see: Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 358. Nigeria gave £10 000, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

¹⁰⁴ British intelligence knew that David Motsamayi was Mandela's pseudonym and legend before he arrived in the UK, see: NAUK, DO 119. 1478, Nelson Mandela, 1962

represent everyone, in effect a break with recent ANC policy – and cross Congress cooperation. He visited the Tambo family and met with friends, editors and leaders of the labour and liberal parties.¹⁰⁵

Ethiopia – armed and trained

On 26 June 1962, Tambo and Mandela arrived in Addis Ababa. Two days later Mandela became the guest of the Presidential Emergency Force¹⁰⁶ to undergo six months military training.¹⁰⁷ At Kolfe¹⁰⁸ Mandela met his instructors, Colonel Biru Tadesse, Colonel G.E. Bekele and Lieutenant Befikadu Wondomu.¹⁰⁹ Tadesse and Befikadu played key roles in training Mandela and given their military ranks and Mandela's descriptions as to their instruction, an analysis of his training is possible.

Lieutenant Befikadu, 'an experienced soldier had fought with the underground against the Italians,' and focused on Mandela's practical / tactical training.¹¹⁰ The regimen was strenuous: 'we trained from 8 a.m. until 1 p.m. broke for a shower and lunch, and then again from 2 to 4 p.m. From 4 p.m. into the evening I was lectured on military science by Colonel Tadesse.'¹¹¹ On 29 June 1962, Befikadu, started with demolitions training, differentiating between hot and cold demolition.¹¹² For example, hot demolition explodes and transforms into fire (TNT), as opposed to cold demolition methods, such as:¹¹³

- Throwing oil on roads and felling trees to hinder vehicles
- Cutting telephone wires and communication networks
- Severing electricity lines by throwing wire over and pulling them down
- Inserting sugar or water into fuel tanks and puncturing tires
- Breaking bridges, burning houses and stations
- Stabbing the enemy and using judo

¹⁰⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 360. He also sought out literature on guerrilla warfare, which was available in London.

¹⁰⁶ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibits R11 and Exhibit 17

¹⁰⁷ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 362

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁰⁹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibits R11 and Exhibit 17

¹¹⁰ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 362

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

¹¹² NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R11

¹¹³ *Ibid*

Befikadu outlined two demolition systems – a detonating system good for attack and pursuit, versus an electrical system ideal for defence, while detonating chains included TNT mines. Four types of detonators were available - regular, electric, electrical delayed and chemical detonators. Regarding igniters, Befikadu detailed six types: matches followed by friction, pull, side pull, pressure and pressure release igniters. As for fuse types these included, safety, instantaneous and detonating cord.

Tadesse lectured Mandela on how to create a guerilla force, command an army and enforce discipline.¹¹⁴ Tadesse detailed the four tiered organizational structure of an Ethiopian infantry battalion, starting with a ten man section as its tactical core.¹¹⁵ Building upwards, Tadesse then outlined the workings of sections and platoons, then the organisation of an infantry company comprising of three platoons. Instruction about a battalion followed, comprising three rifle companies and one support company, including all weapons deployed by these four hierarchies - rifles, sub-machine guns, machine guns, mortars, hand grenades, bazookas, anti tank and anti-aircraft weapons; and the supporting provisioning and medical services.

Necessary conventional warfare training, considering that MK would confront the SADF, which after World War Two was structured along a conventional order of battle hierarchy. A case of dual instruction – learning this organizational structure familiarized Mandela with the SADF, which in 1962, did not field specialist counter insurgency / guerilla warfare capabilities.

Fire and movement in attack, retreat and pursuit modes was discussed along with using landmines to halt enemy forces attacking defensive positions and concentrating fire, versus concentrating force. With options for retreat, Mandela noted that it was, 'Good to lose time than life.'¹¹⁶ Lessons included infantry field craft - tiger crawling, monkey walking, frog walk, night movement and cat or child crawling.

Mandela's learnt 'about demolition and mortar firing...how to make small bombs and mines – and how to avoid them.' His military experience began moulding him into a soldier. He, 'began to think as a soldier thinks'.¹¹⁷ At 9am on 30 June 1962, he practiced live demolitions and being on the range¹¹⁸ probably fired weapons with which he had trained. His Sunday, 1 July 1962, notes include firearm details, the following headings are Mandela's exact words:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 363

¹¹⁵ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R11

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*

¹¹⁷ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 362

¹¹⁸ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

¹¹⁹ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R11

- **7.92mm Chechoslovak**

A five round magazine fed bolt action rifle, accurate to 400 metres firing 250 shots per hour. I believe Mandela referred to the Czechoslovakian 7.92mm Mauser rifle, identical to the German Mauser he fired at Zegangan.

- **American Rifle**

Mandela described an air cooled, gas blowback, 8 round magazine fed infantry rifle, weighing 9.5lbs without bayonet. Muzzle length 24 inches, caliber 0.30, accurate to 500 yards with a range of 3500 yards, this is the American M1 Garand rifle.

- **60**

Mandela's description of this weapon is cryptic.

60

960

4 rounds inside like the rifle (check)

There are 2 kinds of trigger.

To pull first trigger you need 4.5 lbs of weight. Second 7.5

Muzzle – pipe

Cover smoke

Tying wood and pipe.

Pulling bolt. Backward.

My analysis – Mandela trained with a trigger operated 60 mm mortar. His descriptor '4 rounds inside like the rifle' refers to four tubes racked together, with a handle attachment for carrying, each tube containing a 60mm mortar bomb. His muzzle term 'pipe' is a universal military term describing mortar barrels. 'Cover smoke' refers to firing smoke bombs as screening cover. 'Tying wood and pipe' refers to an improvised bipod for the mortar pipe, which is manufactured without bipod. Pulling bolt...backward' refers to operating the safety catch at the pipe base. '2 kinds of trigger' is operating either the manual or automatic fire options whilst, 'to pull first trigger you need 4.5 lbs of weight. Second 7.5', refers to either the weight difference in these fire selections or weight differences between smoke and high explosive bombs.

- **Czechoslovak Machine Gun**

A bipod mounted, shoulder anchored, air cooled machine gun. Magazine fed with 20 rounds, ranging 1500 meters; weighing 10.5 kilos, firing bursts of 500 – 600 rounds per minute; my analysis - a Czechoslovakian Bren machine gun.

Mandela noted cleaning and firing procedures, and compensation adjustments for cross wind shooting. Under 200 meters he aimed directly on target; between 200 – 400 meters a man's width upwind off target and over 400 meters two men's width upwind. He recorded three wind types affecting aim. Low wind traveling from 10 - 1500 meters per minute, high wind between 15 - 20 000 meters per minute and diagonal wind, which required aiming half a man's width off target up wind.

Mandela's diary and journal contain no entries for the week of 2 - 7 July 1962, other than Saturday 7 July 1962. Befikadu took him to a restaurant serving traditional dishes. On Sunday he dined with Tadesse and Befikadu and thereafter went to the cinema. Possibilities are that his weeks' training left him with no spare time hence any diary entry the following day.

On 10 July 1962, Mandela viewed a mortar fire demonstration. Two days later, he spent four hours on a shooting range.¹²⁰ He trained with an automatic rifle and pistol during target practice on two separate ranges – at Kolfe with the Emperors Guard and another range about fifty miles away with 'the entire battalion.'¹²¹ He fired a pistol – not a revolver. Given transpiring events, he probably trained with a Makarov.

Two additional diary entries follow. On 12 July 1962, Mandela undertook field craft drills including day movement tactics. The next day– his last entry – a 26 km fatigue march with Befikadu, covering the distance in 3 hours.

Return to South Africa

Mandela's six month training ended suddenly when after two weeks, the ANC requested his urgent return to South Africa. Tadesse rapidly arranged Mandela's flight to Khartoum and 'presented him with a gift: an automatic pistol and two hundred rounds of ammunition'.¹²² Mandela holstered the pistol inside his jacket

¹²⁰ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

¹²¹ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 362. [He would have fired weapons which he already made notes about, thus the automatic rifle referred to was the Garand M1. Additionally he fired the Mauser rifle and Bren machine gun](#)

¹²² Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 363

and bandoliered the ammunition inside his trousers around his waist. Carrying the ammunition was tiring, akin to 'carrying a small child on ones back.'¹²³ In Dar es Salaam he met an MK group, led by Johnstone Makatini and Joseph Jack from Natal, on route to Morocco for military training.¹²⁴ Makatini recalled that he nearly fainted at the sight of the Black Pimpernel, 'wearing a holster with a pistol and looking like an accomplished soldier.'¹²⁵

Sisulu and Kathrada entered Bechuanaland, 'to ensure that everything was in order for his aircraft to land,' apparently two weeks before Mandela arrived.¹²⁶ Joe Modise, who served on Mandela's logistics team, was tasked to rendezvous. Modise contacted Vivian Ezra - 'Look we've got to go and fetch Nelson Mandela. Do you mind doing it?' Ezra replied, 'OK.'¹²⁷ Modise posed as Ezra's chauffeur and drove into Lobatse in Ezra's red sports car. After waiting an hour or two, they learned that Mandela would not arrive that day. Modise stayed, Ezra returned to Johannesburg.

President Nyerere provided a private plane for Mandela's flight to Mbeya.¹²⁸ Although not mentioned in the literature, Mandela probably stopped at Kasane before reentering the SIS 'pipeline' for Lobatse. Once airborne the pilot redirected to Kanye, where the local magistrate, Denis Arthur T. Atkins, and a 'security man' intercepted Mandela.¹²⁹ Atkins brushed aside his denials, threatening arrest if Mandela incorrectly identified himself. Atkins related his instructions as providing help and transportation. Mandela replied, 'If you insist that I am Nelson Mandela and not David Motsamayi I will not challenge you.' Atkins smiled, 'we expected you yesterday,' and with his security man, drove Mandela to Lobatse. They rendezvoused with Modise and Jonas Matlou, Mandela's MK collection team.¹³⁰

¹²³ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 363- 364

¹²⁴ [Mandela had recently secured Moroccan military training facilities for MK during discussions with Dr Khatib and Jacques Verges](#)

¹²⁵ www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/people/jmmakatini.html, accessed on 21 January 2010, Statement by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress

¹²⁶ Sampson, A., *Mandela The Authorized Biography*, 170, and: Kathrada, A., *Memoirs* (South Africa: Zebra Press, 2004), 150

¹²⁷ Discussions between the author and Vivien Ezra, 2006. Ezra owned Liliesleaf through Navian Ltd, a front company set up by the South African Communist Party for that purpose

¹²⁸ Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 364

¹²⁹ None of the literature names this Kanye Magistrate who in 1962 was Denis Arthur T. Atkins, see: Parsons, N and & Gumbo G, *Bechuanaland Colonial Administrators c.1884-c.1965*, (University of Botswana History Department 2002), <http://www.thuto.org/ubh/bw/colad/coloff.htm#n8>, accessed 29 January 2010. The flight rerouting by Bechuanaland's authorities to Kanye was to sidestep potential South African agents lurking in Lobatse. It forms another example of British intelligence knowing Mandela's movements and assisting him to evade South Africa's security establishment when traveling within their 'pipeline.'

¹³⁰ Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 365 and: Parsons, N and & Gumbo G, *Bechuanaland Colonial Administrators c.1884-c.1965*, (University of Botswana History Department 2002), <http://www.thuto.org/ubh/bw/colad/coloff.htm#n8>, accessed 29 January 2010

Atkins advised that, 'the South African police were aware that I was returning, and he suggested that I leave the next day.' ¹³¹ Mandela thanked Atkins, traveled to Matlou's house and then informed his team that he would leave that night. Mandela was handed over to Cecil Williams, an MK member, who drove in to replace Ezra. ¹³² Williams was chosen as he had recently acquired a new car, an Austin Westminster, apparently unknown to the SAP. ¹³³ Posing as Williams's chauffeur, they left that night. Wearing his Ethiopian Army uniform, Mandela arrived at Liliesleaf, during dawn ¹³⁴ on approximately 27-28 July 1962. ¹³⁵

Nelson Mandela's last stay at Liliesleaf

Disinformation had circulated that Mandela changed his politics, switched to an African nationalist paradigm similar to the PAC and abandoned historic policies of non racialism. The PAC claimed he had joined their organisation. Some of the political people back in South Africa were quite disturbed. Consequently Mandela saw his first duty to meet the ANC leadership in Johannesburg and thereafter report to Chief Luthuli, and the Natal Indian Congress. ¹³⁶

Arthur Goldreich arrived home from work to learn Mandela was back, went to Mandela's room and welcomed him. ¹³⁷ It was almost nightfall. They walked away from the outbuildings into a field, beyond sight and earshot. Mandela revealed his pistol which Goldreich recognized as a Makarov and recalled Mandela being extremely proud of it. ¹³⁸

Goldreich was keen to learn about Mandela's mission, which they discussed yet Mandela didn't share much detail, because, it wasn't any of Goldreich's business, and the less he knew the better. ¹³⁹ He responded to some of Goldreich's questions, yet spoke more about going to Natal. Mandela expressed confidence that he could persuade Luthuli and that he could be very persuasive, saying, 'You know, I have discovered that I have that capacity and that ability to persuade people to do things, to see the logic and the benefit of what I'm saying.' ¹⁴⁰

¹³¹ Mandela, [NR.](#), *Long Walk to Freedom*, 365

¹³² *Ibid*

¹³³ Kathrada, A, *Memoirs*, 150

¹³⁴ Mandela, [NR.](#), *Long Walk to Freedom*, 365

¹³⁵ [My assessment of the literature and other sources not quoted in this paper](#)

¹³⁶ Discussions between the author and Ahmed Kathrada, 2004

¹³⁷ Arthur Goldreich, a member of MK and the SACP fronted Liliesleaf by renting the farm from Vivian Ezra's Navian Ltd, a front company established by the SACP for this purpose

¹³⁸ Discussions between the author and Arthur Goldreich, 2004, [2005 & 2006](#)

¹³⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*

The next day Mandela reunited briefly with his wife and children, smuggled into Liliesleaf.¹⁴¹ That night the ANC's National Working Committee met inside the thatched cottage to debrief him; Walter Sisulu, Moses Kotane, Govan Mbeki, Dan Tloome, JB Marks and Duma Nokwe, a rare reunion.¹⁴² Mandela overviewed his travels, itemized monies received and offers of training.¹⁴³ He reported encountering reservations, 'about the ANC's co-operation with whites, Indians and particularly communists.' This perception of the ANC as a stooge of communists forms a regular theme in Mandela's debriefing notes, another insight into his perceptions and experiences at PAFMECA and in Africa.¹⁴⁴

Mandela related that the Zambian leaders were, 'bewildered by the ANC's non-racialism and communist ties'.¹⁴⁵ Both he and Tambo believed that to reassure the ANC's African allies who would finance and train MK, the ANC had to appear more independent. Mandela proposed reshaping the Congress Alliance to position the ANC as the clear leader, particularly when it came to issues that directly affected Africans.¹⁴⁶ Sisulu agreed - they should adjust tactics, not policy, cautioning that they remember minority group sensitivities. Nokwe's view was that co-operation had carried too far and that the organisation had been allowed to drift. These were serious propositions, requiring consultation with the entire leadership. The Working Committee urged Mandela to brief Luthuli. Mbeki suggested they dispatch someone else; jeopardising Mandela's safety at a time when he should push ahead with MK was too risky. Everyone, including Mandela, overruled Mbeki.¹⁴⁷

If Mandela buried his Makarov pistol at Liliesleaf then he did so that night, with assistance from some, or all of, these comrades, the 'we' from the meeting. His reasons for burying a firearm at Liliesleaf remain

¹⁴¹ Sampson, A., *Mandela The Authorized Biography*, 170

¹⁴² Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 369

¹⁴³ Country's confirmed as pledging military training and funding for military purposes were: Ethiopia, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Liberia and Guinea. With respect to Morocco Mandela's notes for this meeting contain an annotation that he 'had previously discussed the matter with Julius' which could refer to Julius Nyerere, or if a typing error by the police transcriber, Julius could refer to Jacques Verge. 'Definite promises' were made by Senegal and the Sudan. Mandela (at times accompanied by Tambo and Resha) raised £25 000 in funds, which have been referred to in this article. All these monies were sent to Tambo in London, of which £2 778 was sent to South Africa, presumably carried back by Mandela and handed over during this meeting, see: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

¹⁴⁴ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibits R13 & R17

¹⁴⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 369. Mandela was referring to Kenneth Kaunda and other UNIP members who he met at PAFMECA. On 6 February 1962, he and Tambo had, 'an hours chat with K Kaunda on the SA situation.' See: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R17

¹⁴⁶ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 369-370

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Mandela's journal also refers: 'The ANC Executive has considered the matter and decided that tactics must be modified to accommodate to this climate of opinion in the Pafmecsca area.' See: NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

unknown. That he left his journals and writings behind suggests intent to return there. After selecting an appropriate spot in an open plain, next to a tall tree,

'We dug a pit, deep enough so that a plough wouldn't uncover it, then wrapped the stuff in tin alloy and plastic, put a layer of gravel over it and a tin plate so the rain wouldn't get in, and covered it with soil.' ¹⁴⁸

Mandela's logistics committee was concerned, given extra security requirements yet Sisulu told them, 'You arrange for Madiba to go.' The committee was, 'looking around' for options when Cecil Williams drove into Liliesleaf, presenting a dilemma. Having collected Mandela in Bechuanaland, the committee viewed Williams as potentially compromised. They assumed the Protectorate police liaised with the SAP and may have supplied details of Mandela's arrival. ¹⁴⁹ However Mandela and the ANC leadership overruled them. ¹⁵⁰ Additional precautions were ignored. Kathrada suggested Mandela shave off his beard, as police photographs depicted him bearded, yet to no avail. ¹⁵¹

Mandela left Liliesleaf the following night. ¹⁵² Posing as Williams's driver, he reached Natal and met Luthuli and other MK comrades. On 5 August 1962, Mandela was captured near Howick, while returning to Johannesburg. Williams was driving. ¹⁵³ When the lead unmarked police car overtook them, Mandela saw two other cars behind their Austin. He considered jumping out and making an escape into the woods but realised he might be shot. They slowed and came to a stop. ¹⁵⁴

An unshaven policeman, who appeared not to have slept in a while, approached Mandela's window. Mandela assumed this meant that they had waited for them for several days.

'In a calm voice, he introduced himself as Sergeant Vorster of the Pietermaritzburg police and produced an arrest warrant. He asked me to identify myself. I told him my name was David Motsamayi. He nodded, and then, in a very proper way, he asked me a few questions about where I had been and where I was going. I parried these without giving him much information. He seemed a bit irritated and then he said, 'Ag you're Nelson Mandela, and this is Cecil Williams, and you are under arrest! He informed us that a police major

¹⁴⁸ Discussion between Nelson Mandela [and the author 6 June 2005](#) and [between Nelson Mandela and Allister Sparks, 1991](#) as related to the author in 2004 by Sparks

¹⁴⁹ [Discussions between the author and Ahmed Kathrada, 2004](#)

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁵¹ Lodge, T., *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), 101

¹⁵² [Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 370](#)

¹⁵³ [Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 371](#). Mandela wrote that he and Williams, 'often took turns behind the wheel'

¹⁵⁴ [Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 372](#)

from the other car would accompany us back to Pietermaritzburg. The police were not yet so vigilant in those days, and Sergeant Vorster did not bother searching me.’¹⁵⁵

Armed and trained, Mandela considered shooting his way out. ‘I had my loaded revolver, and again I thought of escape, but I would have been greatly outnumbered’. Mandela relates he then concealed his revolver and notebook containing numerous names and addresses within the upholstery of the front seat.¹⁵⁶

Detective Sergeant WA Vorster’s unpublished account differs. Major Smidt commanded the police team, which included Vorster. Once Vorster’s vehicle overtook and forcibly stopped Williams, Smidt exited his vehicle wedged behind William’s car, identified Mandela and Williams inside their car and informed them they were arrested on ‘suspicion’.¹⁵⁷

‘The White gave his name as Cecil Williams while the Bantu gave his name as David Motsamayi. I searched the Bantu while Staff Sergeant Van Rooyen searched the White man. The relevant two persons involved were taken to the Main Street police offices, where they were detained after Major Smidt had informed them of the charge on which they were being detained, of which they were suspected.’¹⁵⁸

Mandela and Vorster concur that the police identified both occupants in their car. The SAP capture group knew exactly who they were looking for and came prepared with a warrant, issued in Johannesburg in 1961. Mandela was arrested under Section 2 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act No 8 of 1953.¹⁵⁹

Mandela later claimed that they never found his revolver and notebook.¹⁶⁰ Subsequent authors continue this thread. A 2010 publication states that, ‘There was no examination of the car or frisking the arrested men...The police, witless to the end, never bothered to search the car and those items were never found’. However, this author provides no additional evidence to support his claim, which Vorster’s account contradicts.¹⁶¹

Vorster records both captives being frisked after Mandela and Williams exited the Austin, as per operational procedure. If Mandela concealed his revolver and notebook, he did so before his vehicle stopped; otherwise Vorster and Van Rooyen would have found them on him. An unlikely scenario is that Mandela later

¹⁵⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 372

¹⁵⁶ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 372 - 373

¹⁵⁷ NASA, NAN 52, Box 12, MS 385.28, Statement by Detective Sergeant WA Vorster

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁹ As detailed in Nelson Mandela’s Warrant of Arrest

¹⁶⁰ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 373

¹⁶¹ Smith, DJ., *Young Mandela*, 276

successfully concealed these items during the drive to Pietermaritzburg, with a police major sitting behind his shoulders. The police had captured the 'Black Pimpernel', their most wanted fugitive. They would have later searched Williams's car and retrieved any concealed property.

Conclusion

Mandela's mission succeeded in raising funds, secured support for military training and greater backing for the ANC and MK. During 1962-1963, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Ethiopia provided training to 135 MK members. Thereafter the Soviet Union provided more specialized training.¹⁶² Discussions with Moroccan and Algerian anti-colonial struggle veterans offered Mandela insight into the insufficiencies of solely pursuing military action. Rather action forms one of many tools used in political struggle, combined with international opinion, mobilization and pressure to de-legitimize the opponent. Tactics later pursued by the ANC and Mandela during the 1980's and 1990's negotiations with the apartheid regime.

Mandela presented the ANC's position to counter PAC 'propaganda' and through his actions (and those of other comrades), 'the ANC emerged strong from PAFMECA,' with greater backing from newly independent African states and North Africa.¹⁶³ Mandela noted concerns he encountered about ANC policy and tactics and that, 'the ANC must regard itself as the vanguard in SA of the Pan African movement.'¹⁶⁴ He conveyed this during his Liliesleaf debrief and leveraged support for the tactical readjustments agreed to that night. He then met with Luthuli and presented his findings.¹⁶⁵

Regarding his pistol three possibilities exist. The first – he buried pistol and ammunition at Liliesleaf and took his uniform with to Natal. This scenario of the buried pistol concurs with the discussions with Mandela over a 14 year period at Liliesleaf; where he both recollected and described burying a handgun on the farm, the third discussion during which he told me that his weapon was of Ethiopian provenance.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, vol 1*, 454 - 459

¹⁶³ NASA, TAB, WLD, CC 578, Trial of Mkwai, Kitson, Chiba, Mathews & Maharaj, 1964, Exhibit R13

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁵ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 370 - 371

¹⁶⁶ Discussion between the author and Nelson Mandela, 6 June 2005 during which Mandela described his cache as 'important' to him, and the 'Ethiopians' and 'very valuable but dangerous.' He squeezed his trigger finger and stretched out his arm as if holding a handgun to reiterate his narrative. Mandela said that he hoped his cache could be found, 'otherwise the Ethiopians will be disappointed.'

The second was that he rolled up his pistol and ammunition inside his uniform and buried the bundle. He then wore a second uniform in Natal; possible as it is standard practice for soldiers undergoing training to be issued more than one uniform.

Ronnie Kasrils who attended the 4 August 1962, meeting in Natal described Mandela as, 'bearded and in khaki trousers and shirt, he towered above us as he shook each one by the hand. Wearing a solemn expression, he looked every inch a commander.'¹⁶⁷ Later that night Mandela attended a social gathering in Durban, where a 2006 publication, has him wearing a uniform.¹⁶⁸ Other accounts recollect the uniform yet no account has emerged recalling Mandela with a pistol in Natal.

The third possibility - the Makarov was with him when captured, which Mandela's memoir describes as a revolver.¹⁶⁹ Smith's 2010 publication states that Mandela, 'only ever referred to one gun, the gift from the Colonel in Ethiopia, and it was with him when he was arrested.' Smith provides no substantiating evidence and is inaccurate, given the two revolvers and one pistol which Mandela's memoir relates he possessed and he disregards Mandela's consistent oral history of burying a handgun at Liliesleaf to the realm of the 'puzzling'.¹⁷⁰ Nor is any explanation offered by Smith for the disappearance of the ammunition, which was not with Mandela when he was captured. None of the other literature consulted offers any explanation as to the disappearance of pistol and ammunition.

Upon review, the evidence suggests that Mandela buried his Makarov (or another unidentified firearm) at Liliesleaf. Carrying bundle and spade, he walked away from the household and outbuildings, with their occupants, dogs and geese, followed a footpath downhill towards the river and fields, where in pitch darkness he was concealed. Selecting the silhouette of the tallest tree in fields with which he was familiar, he dug deep into the softer soil of the ploughed and broken lands. Deep enough so that no plough might uncover it, he placed his cache into the hole, covered it with tin-plate corrugated iron, salvaged from farm scrap heaps while en route, and filled in the hole. After brushing away his tracks, Mandela walked uphill back to his room.

¹⁶⁷ Kasrils, R., *Armed and Dangerous: From Undercover Struggle to Freedom*, (Jeppestown, Jonathan Ball Publishers (Pty) Ltd, 1998), 39

¹⁶⁸ Lodge, T., *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006), 102

¹⁶⁹ Mandela, NR., *Long Walk to Freedom*, 373

¹⁷⁰ Smith, DJ., *Young Mandela*, 276

Immediately after the 1963 raid, the police brought in the SADF's Engineer Corps. They swept the grounds with landmine detectors. ¹⁷¹ If they located the cache then the security establishment kept this quiet, similar to Mandela's revolver and notebook, for the media reports nothing found. ¹⁷² If not unearthed, perhaps the cache was inadvertently uncovered during 1970's farm subdivisions and housing developments, yet no record has emerged.

Consequently, if not uncovered, Mandela's cache lays buried beneath suburbia, where the tree once stood.
Concealed by Nelson Mandela - armed and trained.

¹⁷¹ His cache would have created a prominent electronic signature if a detector was swept over it, obvious to any military engineer that this was a site worth excavating

¹⁷² Sunday Times press clipping, 14 July 1963, authors collection

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