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# MAYIBUYE

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# ANLSVA

NOTICE TO READERS

Owing to production and postage costs "Mayibuye" has been placed on a fortnightly basis. Our sister publication "Spotlight on South Africa" is to fill the intervening gap, i.e. each publication is to be published every alternate week. This arrangement will stand until we are in a position to meet the expenditure involved.

The Editorial Board regrets this unavoidable change in the production of our weekly publications. Both publications shall, however, maintain their standards.

IMPORTANT: Our mailing list is being revised. Readers who have not renewed their subscriptions by the end of August shall, unfortunately, be taken off the list. We also regret the discontinuation of free copies to readers who, for various reasons were unable to subscribe.

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The Editor, "Mayibuye", Box 1791, LUSAKA. Zambia.

One year ago the first shots were fired by the combined forces of ZAPU-ANC in the Revolutionary War for the liberation of our countries. That first fusillade, fired at Mankie, has qualitatively transformed the Southern African political landscape. Mankie, formerly known only as a small coal mining town, is now synonymous with the guerrilla war. Since then many other battles have been fought in widely divergent places and even more important, many more battles have been prepared to wreak havoc against the enemy.

The past year has been a very full one; many changes have been wrought; there has been fresh thinking on many aspects of the Southern African situation; there is panic and warmongering in the camp of the racist South; there is serious talk of an even larger unity of the oppressed; the boundaries laid down by colonialism seem to have become somewhat blurred. Above all the courage and determination of our gallant Freedom Fighters, their skill in the use of modern weapons, their superiority in the field of guerrilla tactics, the victories they have notched - this has reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Southern Africa, there is a bushed joy in the hearts of the oppressed. Our soldiers have demonstrated that the enemy is not invincible, that he no more enjoys a monopoly in the use of the most modern weapons. The People's Army is now firmly entrenched and there can be only one end - the final destruction of fascist-racism in Southern Africa. Elsewhere in this issue we briefly review and analyse the events of the past year. Here we would like to clear up one or two points.

Initial critics of the ZAPU-ANC Alliance are becoming fewer these days. The band has been sealed by blood and the events of the past year have exposed the political infantilism of those who attacked the alliance in its early stages. In fact, the ZAPU-ANC alliance on the field of battle has brought closer together not only our two organisations but also all other revolutionary organisations in Southern Africa. "Unity" has now become a keyword in the dictionary of the genuine revolutionary. This is to be welcomed.

All our friends and sympathisers are advised not to pay heed to enemy propaganda. The enemy has been frightened by the potential of the revolutionary situation and has therefore resorted to a campaign of naked deception. A moment's reflection will show that the action and behaviour of the enemy belies his own words.

Repeatedly we are told that large numbers of 'terrorists' have been killed and captured; that the enemy forces have suffered only minor losses; that the villagers are informing on the Freedom Fighters; that they are weakened by starvation; that only a few strugglers from 'terrorist bands' roam the bushes and so on. Yet our guerrillas are characterised by the enemy as determined and skilful; so well trained and disciplined that they even carry cloth and oil for cleaning their weapons; so well organised that they have set up adequately camouflaged base camps with food, equipment and ovens for cooking; such shrewd tacticians that they lay  
false/....

false tracks to ambush the enemy; so evasive that they have spread all over Zimbabwe with fighting taking place further South than Salisbury. With the ease with which he claims to have destroyed the 'terrorist groups' why does the enemy have to use helicopters, jets and bombers? Why do Smith and his henchmen have to run back and forth from Pretoria? Why this talk of 'terrorism is here to stay? Why the threats against Zambia? The enemy is caught in a cleft. On the one hand he must minimise his own losses and exaggerate the losses of the People's Army to create the illusion that the Freedom Fighters haven't a chance; on the other hand he has to rally his own forces for he knows the true situation. His lies are self-defeating.

War by its very nature involves the loss of life. Some of our bravest and most dedicated comrades have made the ultimate sacrifice on the battlefields of Zimbabwe. They knew this would happen and we know it - it was inevitable and before victory is finally ours many, many more will have given their lives - this, too, is inevitable. But, in as much as the enemy lies about his own losses, he lies also about casualties he has inflicted. We cannot hope to compete with him in this game of deceit and lies. Nor do we intend to - ours is a JUST cause and our best weapon, TRUTH. We cannot, of course, reveal all the details of our plans and preparations for security is of paramount importance. There is much going on in Zimbabwe and inside South Africa with which we are very satisfied and which the enemy would dearly love to know. The needs of the struggle preclude more than this passing reference to the iceberg below the tip. We urge our friends to be vigilant - don't become sheep-like victims of the enemy's propaganda.

Battles have been joined, the Revolutionary War is now in earnest. The masses are more and more openly joining and supporting the Freedom Fighters and when we have reached this stage no power on earth can destroy the People's Army. Victory is assured. Certain in this knowledge let us go forward, side by side, as brothers and comrades; let us redouble our efforts; let us rededicate ourselves to avenge all the heroes and martyrs who made so many sacrifices in the name of Freedom; let us liberate our land and our people; LET US CRUSH FASCIST-RACISM AND WIPE THIS TERRIBLE SCOURGE FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Military alliance is a big word. But it's not as if we sat down and signed a great big document with clauses and terms. We have had close political relations with ZAPU, and these developed into relations at the military level, until we were in a position to fight together. This close alliance is the first of its kind one can recall in the liberation movement. In no previous instance has there actually been fighting by Freedom Fighters drawn from different territories. Our alliance has been acclaimed by the Organisation for African Unity. The level at WHICH WE STARTED IS AN INDICATION OF THE SCALE ON WHICH WE PROPOSE TO TACKLE THE RACIST AND FASCIST REGIMES IN OUR COUNTRIES."

- O.R. TAMBO

Acting-President (ANC of South Africa).

\* \* \* \* \*

Part 3 (continued)

SOUTH AFRICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

- Anti-Pass

"The Republic is the most advanced economic unit in Africa and is able to utilise economic weapons. Circumstances give no choice. If the Republic wishes to be a bulwark against advancing Communism in Africa, she must give tangible evidence of friendship towards non-White States. One must regard the loan of R8 million to Malawi in this light. ("Die Transvaler", 7/5/68).

"To preserve the white race in Southern Africa, it must have the goodwill of the surrounding non-Whites ....The government does what it can for the non-Whites precisely to ensure the White man's future."

(S. van der Merwe, Political Columnist, "Die Transvaler").

The racists have been busy over the past two years attempting to build a new "image" for themselves. Internally, this has resulted in the coming to the surface of long-smouldering differences within the Afrikaner camp (the "Verligte-Verkrampte confrontation"); externally the very character of fascist-racism makes it difficult to deceive the world. Nevertheless, by adopting the so-called "outward-looking" policy they hope to modify and mollify international opinion. An important aspect of this image-building is the use the racists hope to make of their penetration into Black Africa.

"....the most important aspect of closer-economic ties with the Black States is the effect that this will have on the South African image in the wider world."  
(Financial Gazette, 6/1/67).

"Obviously it is of inestimable value in the international propaganda war for South Africa to find a supporter of the principles of sovereignty, independence and self-determination among the Black States of Africa." (Financial Mail, 12/1/68).

"It was very important that S.A. should be represented in Malawi for resources of international affairs which could not be discussed in public." (Botha, Minister of Bantu Development, March, 1968).

For more than a decade the African National Congress and its allies have called for economic sanctions against racist S. Africa. There have been numerous U.N. resolutions on the subject. Many studies have demonstrated/....

demonstrated that sanctions can be successfully undertaken against S.A. and can be effective, especially the conference convened by Ronald Segal in London in 1965. Despite the honourable actions and principled stand of certain countries, effective sanctions have not been implemented because of blocking tactics by the imperialists. However, the racist do not discount the possibility of effective economic sanctions at some future date. To this extent they have been making preparations. For some years now important materials have been stockpiled; the search for oil has gathered momentum; oil refineries have been established; factories for spare parts and components have been set up; a tanker fleet has been established more for strategic than economic reasons ("Financial Mail"). Another step in this direction is the attempt to bind as many African countries as possible inextricably with the South African economy. It is hoped in this way to make sanctions difficult to undertake because of their effect on such countries.

"If South Africa can extend its trade contacts with just a few more independent African States it may be able to make itself practically invulnerable to international sanctions; because it will be able to claim that if it is brought down by sanctions these States will suffer with it." (Sunday Times, 2/4/67).

Another imperialist gambit which the racists hope to utilise is the old "divide and rule policy." An Africa united on principles would be impossible to contain and control. Divisions are encouraged by bribes and threats.

"....only while Africa is divided will there be room also for the Whites." (Die Transvaler, 5/1/66).

For "Whites" read "White supremacists." There has never been any suggestion by the African National Congress that Whites should be kicked out of South Africa. But the division within the community of African States are welcomed gleefully, the most recent being the tragic civil war in Nigeria. Every counter-revolutionary act, every reactionary coup, in Africa is welcomed hopefully.

"As the extremist rulers in Africa have fallen one after another to military dictatorships, one could reasonably ask whether the new military rulers would perhaps adopt a more realistic approach to the internal affairs of their countries and in their external relations with other countries, including South Africa." (Muller, S.A. Finance Minister Speaking in Parliament, Sept., 1966).

Another danger arising from the racists penetration into Southern Africa is that the economies of independent African countries would become so dependent on South Africa that a lever would be placed in the latter's/....

the latter's hands whereby to pressurise them into line. As a result of UDI and the communication difficulties she has had to face, Zambia has been compelled to trade with South Africa. This has not deterred Zambia from clearly taking her stand on the side of the African Revolution and against fascist-racism. Zambia has, therefore been subjected to numerous threats. Recently (4/4/68) "Die Burger", in an editorial, while shedding crocodile tears for Zambia, clearly warned Zambia of the consequences of its principled policies.

"She (Zambia) remains tied to the South in many vitally essential matters, but connives with the enemy of the South by allowing terrorists to pass through... Thoughtful observers in S. Africa are not without sympathy for Zambia's unhappy position... At the same time South Africa's safety and her life are at stake. An understanding of Zambia's difficulties will not hinder S.A. from acting to ensure her existence. The time has come for a definite decision from Zambia. Orderly economic relations with S.A. is not indefinitely consistent with aiding a terrorist war against S. Africa."

In this editorial comparisons are made, between Zambia's position vis-a-vis South Africa and Jordan's vis-a-vis Israel. The threat is obvious. A similar approach was adopted by "Die Transvaler" in an editorial on 14/6/66 when commenting on the sabotage of the Luangwa Bridge.

It is clear from this summary that the racists' interests in Southern Africa are far from altruistic despite the talk of financial and technical aid. The "aid", in any case, has been no more than a trickle and the advantage the racists derive or hope to derive are diametrically opposed to the African Revolution.

\* \* \*

#### QUOTES:

Theo Gerdener, prominent member of Vorster's Nationalist Party and Administrator of Natal, in a statement quoted in the Durban 'Sunday Tribune' of 21 April, 1968:-

"It is not true that non-White South Africans are satisfied merely with enough to eat, a place to sleep and reasonable wages. These people have no option but to accept apartheid, but the calm on the surface does not necessarily mean that they enjoy it or are content. Consequently, it is fallacious to believe, in the case of war against S.A., that the non-Whites will stand with the Whites and support them. There is no guarantee of this, and it is more logical that many will either do nothing to help the Whites, or may even assist the enemy."

\* \* \* \* \*





Somewhere in Zimbabwe: A contingent of ZAPU/ANC Freedom Fighters in training.

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A GUERRILLA OVERCOMING AN OBSTACLE.

FROM WANKIE - FORWARD

- by Mthwakazi

"There is no turning back for we are  
on the right road." - Chief A.J. Lutuli

In this brief survey of the guerrilla war now raging throughout Zimbabwe it will be proper to restate some fundamental though well-known aspects of the overall situation.

There are a maze of closely interlinked factors that govern the general situation in Zimbabwe - some are political historical and economic, others are military and strategic, yet all dovetail into the predatory imperialist strategy to defend its interests in Southern Africa and beyond.

One year has now gone by since the joint forces of ZAPU and the ANC attacked the combined fascist troops of Smith and Vorster. Although this fighting made itself felt from the end of July 1967, the people of Zimbabwe had since U.D.I. in November 1965 put up strong resistance to the enemy. It was this vigorous mass opposition to the rebel regime which forced South Africa to send in troops to help Smith - and this was in 1966. The British Government chose to turn a blind eye to this aggressive military intervention by South Africa in the domestic affairs of Rhodesia; the British Crown did not and has not uttered a word on the violation of its sovereign territory by the invading Vorster army.

South African troops are fighting in Zimbabwe not only to defend Smith but also to maintain and expand their imperialist interests. Indeed, South African troops are now dashing from place to place like a mad bull in the war against the guerrillas of Southern Africa. The Vorster regime possesses more weapons and offensive means to wage war than any other African country South of the Sahara. Her annual military expenditure is in the region of £120 million and this excludes expenditure on the Police who are the most heavily armed para-military force in Africa.

S. Africa is an active participant in a complex system of military bases that lie between S.W.A. and Angola, S.W.A. and Botswana, Botswana and Zambia, S.A. and Rhodesia, Rhodesia and Zambia, Rhodesia and Mozambique (especially Tete Province where the Cabora Bassa Dam is situated) and all along the Zambesi River. What one could call the Zambesi Line is a military fait accompli and it is heavily guarded by South African troops in conjunction with Portuguese and rebel Smith contingents.

In the economic sphere both Portugal and S. Africa have vigorously collaborated to deplete the international pressures exerted by sanctions on the rebel regime. No political changes are apparent and none will ever emerge in Rhodesia whatever sanctions are applied owing to the role of S.A. and other countries.

The war in Zimbabwe therefore developed against a wide-ranging vortex of internal and external interests determined to maintain White minority dictatorship throughout Southern Africa. What has to be clearly understood is that Rhodesia is not only the gateway to the citadel of fascism - South Africa - but it is now more than ever before the most essential link in the entire imperialist strategy of maintaining the Zambezi Frontier as the advance battleline in defence of colonial interests in Southern Africa. If this Line were breached it would open the flood-gates of revolutionary war on a grand scale everywhere in the White beleaguered South.

It is not necessary in this short review to analyse in detail the reactions of the imperialist world to the guerrilla war in Zimbabwe. It is a war that is part and parcel of other such wars being waged in different parts of Southern Africa. Suffice it to say that NATO weapons have streamed into S.A.; that clandestine and overt military consultations have taken place between the Pretoria/Salisbury/Lisbon and now even between the Pretoria/Bonn axis of fascist rulers. The role of United States imperialism has been to announce full support for British policies on Rhodesia in return for British acquiescence in the world-condemned U.S. policies in Vietnam. Indeed, the general imperialist strategy in Rhodesia is to maintain the status quo or prolong it by such devices as the Tiger proposals, U.N. sanctions, talks etc., until a puppet group of Africans emerges to be installed in the service of colonialism. This is the real reason for the existence of splinter groups in the liberation struggle whose main form of activity is to divide the masses, create confusion, attack the revolutionary organisations that enjoy mass support. We shall return to this latter point later.

### Revolutionary War:

The wars that are being fought in Southern Africa are revolutionary peoples wars. They are directed against a White-Block whose aim is to maintain and preserve the colonial system of White supremacy. In this geographic area South Africa has become the key to the whole structure of international and local imperialist interests. To defend that structural base, South Africa already plays a leading role. Against the military might of the White racist regimes and their economic hegemony, we must counterpose the masses of the oppressed people. Revolutionary war is a war of the masses and only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them can the war be carried on and finally won.

To show that the role of the masses is decisive in the revolutionary guerrilla war that we have waged for the past year, the enemy propaganda agencies have tried to suppress publication of news on the war; they have censored the news; distorted the events taking place to depict heavy losses on the side of our guerrillas and to portray the oppressed African people as informers and traitors. Patrick Keatley, a correspondent of the Guardian (London) who recently visited the battle areas had this to say in that paper:

"But what/....

"But what is astonishing, to the visiting correspondent, is that this situation has gone relatively unchronicled by the press, radio and television of the Western world. It is far from being a Vietnam at this stage; perhaps a rough parallel might be Vietnam 1955 when the skirmishing was light and the two sides were only beginning to take up battle positions." (15.7.1968).

### Enemy Tactics:

This analogy with Vietnam does not take account of the fact that South Africa has very heavily drawn on the lessons of anti-guerrilla warfare in Indonesia, the Phillipines, and Algeria etc. where a combination of massive aerial bombardment is coupled with ground-force assaults, terrorisation of the masses and their encirclement in guarded enclaves. Already the Smith/Vorster strategy is to throw in colossal bombing raids from the air where they are less vulnerable followed by so-called "mopping up operations". We shall not discuss nor reveal the effective counter that our brave Comrades have developed to repulse this enemy tactic. The recent visit to S.A. of Smith, Lardner-Burke and Lord Graham speaks volumes as it came at a time when their forces were under tremendous guerrilla attacks. Desmond Lardner-Burke has said in the Rhodesian Parliament:

"We are on the frontline for South Africa as well as for Rhodesia. South Africa appreciates this, and there are now South African police in Rhodesia looking for these A.N.C. terrorists."

There are now approximately 1,700 S.A. soldiers in Zimbabwe and following the Smith visit there in July, more S.A. troops have been sent to Rhodesia. 5,000 S.A. soldiers backed by helicopters, French mirage supersonic strike aircraft are scheduled to do anti-guerrilla warfare exercises in Sibasa on the S.A. border with Rhodesia in August. Patrick Keatley cogently remarked on this as follows:

"Guerrillas at large in the territory, two years after U.D.I.; the clear implication was that they had been too much for the Smith regime to handle on its own. Pretoria had been called in to help and, indeed, an impressive convoy of armoured cars crossed the Limpopo".....

(Guardian, 16,7,1968).

### General Panic:

The state of panic which the guerrilla attacks caused in the camp of the enemy is also reported by Keatley in the same edition of the Guardian:-

"On the night of March 16 (1968) there was a dramatic interruption of the programme in all the cinemas of Salisbury, Bulawayo, and other main towns. Notices were flashed on screens ordering troops on leave to return to their units. And as people made their way home that evening, they saw police doing the rounds of pubs and dance halls, presumably for the same purpose.

.....it was a shock when notices started going out recently to men in their thirties. One case that brought the thing home to White Rhodesians was the drafting of a prominent barrister who, to his surprise, found his protests falling on deaf ears. He was as good as on his way, for nine months in khaki, until a last-minute appeal by the Bar Society won him a reprieve.

The strain on skilled manpower in Rhodesia is now very real, with the calling up of more and more senior men who keep the wheels turning in banks, factories, commerce engineering. But the handy device of censorship was conveniently at hand, and even now, in spite of the official lifting of the ban, there are subtler measures based on military security which discourage any detailed reportage in these matters.

And yet individual Rhodesians have continued to run across disturbing incidents that simply do not get into their newspapers: hospital wards being cleared for the arrival of wounded policemen and young soldiers; eye-witness reports of helicopters shot down and crew members treated for burns and bullet wounds; groups of commandos speaking neither English nor Afrikaans (ex-Foreign Legion?) clomping through border zone towns like Chirundu and Makuti." (16.7.1968).

#### The ZAPU-ANC Alliance:

In our journals and press statements we have reported all these facts about events across the Zambesi on the battlefield. Some people refuse to accept our testimony. Those who waged paper outdugels against our strategy of fighting in Zimbabwe side by side with our ZAPU comrades are now utterly immobilised and a lamentable prey to defeatist adventures. They should try to understand what our Acting-President, Comrade O.R. Tambo said about the ZAPU-ANC Alliance:

"As comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting for a common purpose, facing a common fate, hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries."

(Cont. on p.15) After one/....

A MONTHLY CALENDAR OF THE STRUGGLE  
FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA



Some Memorable JULY Dates in Our Country's History

\* 1913 - The long history of the African Mine workers' struggle in South Africa dates back to the early 1880's on the Kimberley diamond mines. One important page of that history pertains to the strike at the New Kleinfontein mine in 1913. It had been initiated by the White mine workers who demanded, among other things, a 48-hour work week. During June the company sought to break the strike by taking on scab workers. Behind the company stood the collective resources of the Chamber of Mines, backed in turn by the police and military forces of the state. The White strikers made the rounds of the compounds urging the Africans to strike for more pay. But these appeals, according to R.K. Cope in his account of the strike, "were accompanied with threats that the African would be dynamited if they worked with scabs." The Africans did stop work. However, when a settlement was finally reached in July between the White workers and management (after a general strike and disorders that foreshadowed the 1922 rebellion on the Rand), nothing was said or done about the Black workers' grievances.

So they launched their own strike. Thousands stopped work and held meetings in the compounds, appointed spokesmen, and through them demanded that their wages of 2s. a day or less be raised to 5s. Management replied by getting troops and mounted units rushed to the compounds, and the White mine workers did nothing to support their former strike allies. The Africans defended themselves as best they could with improvised weapons, but were quickly broken up and driven back down into the shafts at bayonet point. "The military carried out their orders with brutal savagery," declared the official organ of the African People's Organisation (established in 1902), defending the African workers' right to strike and use their organized strength "just as the Whites.....for their own ends."

As in July, 1909, when an African and Coloured delegation went to London to argue against the Act of Union, so in July, 1914, a delegation of the African National Congress went to Whitehall to argue against the Native Land Act of 1913. Neither were successful. British imperialists disclaimed responsibility and refused to intervene, they said, in the internal affairs of a self-governing dominion.

\* 1917 - The first African workers' organisation, the Industrial Workers of Africa, was formed in Johannesburg in July. Its slogan was "Si funa Konke" - "We want everything". Established with help from the International Socialist League of South Africa, it was planned that the I.W.A. would be a broad union of unskilled workers along the lines of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) in the U.S.A. However, organisational work was hampered by the infiltration of government spies and police/....

and police harassment, and mainly because of these circumstances the I.W.A. survived only a year or two, though there was a branch still active in Cape Town in 1919. But by then another more powerful African workers' movement, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.), had been born.

\* 1920 - On July 20th there took place in Bloemfontein the first national convention of African and Coloured workers in South Africa. The gathering condemned the pass laws and other hated restrictions upon Africans, and pledged itself, among other objectives, to promote the organisation of farm workers. The Chairman of the Conference, Selby Msimang, I.C.U. organizer in the Orange Free State, told the assembled delegates, "The White worker has only the capitalists as his foes. The Black workers have both them and the White trade unions against them, and it is the duty of the Black workers to organize their forces to break through these barriers."

\* 1921 - The inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of South Africa was held in the Cape Town City Hall on July 29th. D.L. Dryburgh presided and W.H. Andrews, popularly known as Comrade Bill, was Secretary of the Congress. Andrews had formerly been Chairman of the South African Labour Party, and subsequently, after the split in that Party in 1915 brought about over the question of supporting the First World War, of the International Socialist League. It was on the League's initiative that the Congress to establish a united Communist Party was convened.

Concerning the relationship between Black South Africans and the Communists, Nelson Mandela, speaking in his own defence on April 20, 1964, at the Rivonia Trial, while denying that he was himself a Communist but acknowledging that like many African and Asian leaders he had been influenced by Marxist thought, had this to say:

"It is perhaps difficult for White South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against Communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept Communists as their friends. But for us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those who fight against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, today, there are many Africans who tend to equate freedom with Communism...."

\* 1945 - Police raids on peri-urban African communities to stop the inhabitants from making their own beer or from getting it from sources/....

sources other than through the authorized municipally-operated and White-controlled beer halls had provoked great resentment among Africans, particularly in view of the fact that the raids were customarily marked by vicious police brutality. One example of this is what happened on the 22nd of July at Payneville, Springs, near Johannesburg. A crowd of Africans, the majority women, were engaged in picketing a municipal beer hall. They were unarmed and there had been no disorder - until the police came and opened fire on the picketers. Four men, a 12-year-old boy, and a 13-year-old girl, all Africans, were killed on the spot. Several women were wounded. As is customary in such cases, the victims of assault - 87 women and 21 men - were arrested by their assailants, the police, and charged with incitement to public violence.

\* 1945 - Long prior to their strike in July, the African dock workers of Durban had more than once demonstrated the high level of their working class consciousness and unity. There was, for example, the one-hour strike on June 26, 1927, by the entire force of dock-workers in protest against the arrest of twenty of their number for failure to pay poll tax. And they manifested their solidarity with the Ethiopians at the time of Mussolini's seizure of their country in 1936 by striking and refusing to load an Italian ship that called at Durban for meat, although the strikers were unfortunately unable to prevent scab labour being taken on to do the job.

The strike of the 1,500 Durban dock workers in 1954 was for higher wages, an increase of 4s. on the 10s.3d. they were receiving for a 9-hour day's work. (Their monthly earnings averaged only £7 or £8 or less, since they had to await the arrival of ships and worked irregularly). A compromise settlement with management appeared possible soon after the outbreak of the strike, but before this could happen, the government intervened. Just about ten months earlier, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act had been added to the government's legal weapons for keeping African workers enslaved. The new law not only denied African workers trade union recognition, but also ruled out all bargaining and negotiating between the workers' representatives and their employers, and, above all, absolutely prohibited the African workers from striking under pain of being fined £500 and/or being imprisoned for three years. The dock workers were ordered to go back to work and await the findings of a Native Labour Board (all-White, of course) appointed by the Minister of Labour. The workers refused. But when they were threatened with eviction from the company-owned compounds where they were housed, they were forced to yield and resume work. Ultimately the Native Labour Board awarded the workers the same partial wage increase that management had offered at the outset of the strike.

\* 1956 - The inhabitants of the African community of Evaton in July celebrated the successful end of their eleven-months' long struggle against an increase in the bus fares charged them. They had boycotted the buses rather than pay the higher fares. Finally the transport company gave in and restored the pre-boycott fares. This was only one of/....



one of several similar boycott campaigns against increased bus fares which were conducted in a number of South African communities by those people who are compelled to live in Black ghetto settlements outside the White man's cities and to commute daily long distances to their places of employment. A Commission appointed by the government to examine the problem of bus services for non-Whites stated as far back as 1944: "The Europeans have forced a policy of segregation on the Africans. The transportation of the Africans is, therefore very much a financial obligation of the Europeans." The Commission also said that "Transport charges, in relation to the workers' wages...are beyond the capacity of the African workers to pay. Indeed, it may be said that they cannot afford to pay anything. They certainly cannot afford to pay anything more in any direction, except by reducing still further their hunger diet."

\* 1967 - With the tragic death of Chief Albert John Lutuli on July 21st (he was born in 1898), not only the African National Congress but Africans throughout the continent lost a wise and steadfast leader. As school teacher during his young manhood, as the democratically elected Chief of the people of Groutville Mission Reserve from 1935 onwards, and as President-General of the A.N.C. during the years when it was undertaking its greatest campaigns and facing its severest tests, Chief Lutuli's life was one of complete dedication to the advancement and liberation of the African people.

As a result of his progressive stand, he was elected Provincial President of the A.N.C. in Natal in 1951. Later that year he presided at the session of the A.N.C. National Conference at Bloemfontein which considered the report of the Joint Planning Council (representing the A.N.C. and South African Indian Congress) calling for the organisation of the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. At the National Conference of A.N.C. in the following year he was elected President-General.

In September 1952, when the Defiance Campaign was in full motion, Chief Lutuli was summoned to Pretoria and given the ultimatum that he must either resign as Chief or give up the Presidency of the A.N.C. and have nothing whatever further to do with the Campaign against Unjust Laws. He refused to do either. Two months later the Government announced that he had been dismissed from his position as Chief. Then in May 1953, under the police state regulations embodied in the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, he was prohibited from attending any public meeting and from being in certain areas of the country. With his associates in the Congress Alliance he underwent the long ordeal of the Treason Trial. Though subjected to heavy pressures, and continuing persecution, Chief Lutuli never wavered. To the end he remained a true leader.

"It is inevitable that in working for freedom some individuals must take the lead and suffer," said this man when he was deposed as Chief in 1952, adding:

"The road/....

"The road to freedom is via the Cross." And on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, December, 1961, he said in the course of his address:

"Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown...."

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(cont. from p10)

After one year in the battlefield, the ZAPU-ANC military alliance has gained tremendous strength and popularity among the masses. The battles that rage intermittently from Bulawayo in the South, Wankie in the South-West, Karoi and Miami in the North-West, Sipolilo and the Umvukwes in the North-East, Mazoe, Banket and Salisbury in the Central part and Villa Pery in the East are a lasting monument to the dedication and comradeship of the ZAPU-ANC guerrilla units.

The effective military tactics and superb skill of our men have won grudging acknowledgement even from the enemy. The Johannesburg "Sunday Times" admitted that:

"The guerrilla campaign against Rhodesia is now a full-scale war of attrition."

A Vital Role: Carefully utilising what we have so far achieved, we must GO FORWARD. The O.A.U. has a vital role to play in the further development of our struggles. One way of promoting the general impact of our liberation war is to impress on some independent African States the urgency of our needs. Red-tape and protocol delays have cost us many lives already when essential logistic supplies could not be forwarded owing to the application of some odd regulation. Protocol is good but should not be elevated to indifference to pressing appeals.

The O.A.U. should also settle the question of unrepresentative splinter groups who receive assistance but have no worthwhile use for it other than dividing the oppressed people. The O.A.U. should not allow the wheat to grow together with the tares in the hope that when harvest time comes it will be possible to identify the genuine from the false. This latitude is costing many lives and plays into the hands of the enemies. The enemy is seriously preparing for aggression against independent Africa and in some places has already launched such marauding blows.

The challenge before us is to bring into fullest play the initiative of the masses of the people and to GO FORWARD with them. The enemy is unpopular and hated by the masses. Mass action will defeat the enemy.

LONG LIVE WANKIE AND THE ZAPU-ANC STALWARTS WHO BRAVED THE WAY!

\* \* \* \* \*

A HERO HAS PASSED ON

"He does not die  
That can bequeath  
Some influence to the land he knows....  
He does not die, but still remains  
Substantiate with his darling plains."

- Hilaire Belloc

On Wednesday, July 31, 1968 Comrade ELISHA TOGARA died. He lost life in a hit-and-run motor-car accident. Thus our revolutionary forces are deprived of the precious contribution and selfless devotion to duty which characterised the entire life of Comrade ELISHA.

On Friday, August 2, a very large procession of mourners and friends accompanied our fallen Comrade to his last resting place. The funeral cortege led by four outriders left from ZAPU Headquarters to the cemetery at MATERO.

At the graveside several speakers, Comrades More, T.X. Makiwane, and J.R.D. Chikerema paid tribute to the invaluable work of a dedicated revolutionary. They called upon the youth of all oppressed people in Southern Africa to follow his glorious example.

Comrade Elisha Togara was born in 1940 in the ENKELDOORN district of Zimbabwe. He did his Secondary School education at the FLETCHER HIGH SCHOOL at GWELO where his outstanding qualities of leadership gained him the admiration of his teachers and fellow-students alike. He was a Prefect and Librarian at STANLEY HOUSE in this school. He was also an all-round sportsman. Later he completed a Teachers' Course (N.P.H.) and taught for some time at Daramombe Secondary School where he had obtained his primary education.

Comrade ELISHA TOGARA then worked in Zambia for Barclays Bank and later for the Ndola Copper Refineries. But the call to FREEDOM was stronger than any personal gains which his high qualifications could have brought him. He volunteered to join the liberation forces in 1964. Since that time up to his untimely death, he relentlessly worked for the liberation of Zimbabwe.

In his final tribute, Comrade J.Z. Moyo, who officiated at the graveside fittingly paid homage to our departed Brother. He called for revolutionary deeds and sacrifices to honour the memory of the fallen hero. "Though his body is interred, his spirit lives on. One day his remains too will be carried back to the land that he served so well to rest among the sacred remains of our heroic forefathers and of all our comrades-in-arms."