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19

bulletin of the A.N.C., South Africa

P.O. BOX 1791 LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

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ANCSWA

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Two White soldiers of the Rhodesian and South African regimes' troops guarding a farm along the Gwebi River, near Darwendale, were killed by a unit of the ZAPU-ANC guerrilla forces on Monday May 6.

The Rhodesian and South African regimes are beginning to sober to the fact that in their present encounter with ZAPU-ANC guerrilla forces they are engaged in an ever expanding war.

The mounting support which the ZAPU-ANC guerrilla forces are continuously receiving from the African population in the fighting areas has thrown the oppressors' armies into desperation. The sustained attacks by the ZAPU-ANC guerrilla forces in the current battle areas, North of Salisbury, have exploded the myth that the Rhodesian and South African forces are invincible. The guerrilla tactics have rendered the enemy's Airforce completely ineffective.

Evidence continues to establish the fact that the Rhodesian and South African troops are murdering African civilians and counting them for guerrillas. Three of these types of murders committed by the oppressors since mid-April have been revealed:

- a) an African herding clattle was murdered at a Citrus farm near Sinoia along the old Chirundu road;
- b) another African walking across the Mariseni Farm, just off Hunyani River near the rail-crossing, was murdered on the spot;
- c) a third African was murdered by White soldiers whilst cutting grass near Sinoia.

Relatives of all these victims were called to Sinoia Police Station and threatened with detention should they spread the news.

However, the ZAPU-ANC guerrilla attacks are far from abated. They are on the increase in wider areas, and they shall continue.

ZAMBIA AGAINST THE RACISTS

Circumstantial evidence is steadily mounting that fascist-racism in Southern Africa constitutes a danger to world peace. In so far as Zambia is concerned this danger is no more hypothetical and theoretical but an immediate and urgent reality. In several past issues of "MAYIBUYE" we have quoted the aggressive utterances of various spokesmen for White racism to prove this contention. In an editorial in MAYIBUYE, No. 18, dated 3/5/68 we said that "the imperialist powers....must be aware of this (danger)".

The Johannesburg "Sunday Times" (5/5/68) takes the matter further. In a front page article headlined "S.A. Threats To Zambia Worry Britain" it states:-

"British Cabinet Ministers have taken seriously recent South African threats to take the guerrilla campaign in Rhodesia back to Zambian territory by attacking terrorists' camps."

The "Sunday Times" goes on to state that:-

"The British are getting their information from various sources in the field and from posts in Lusaka, Salisbury, Pretoria and elsewhere."

There is no doubt that the British and other imperialist governments are well informed of the situation in Southern Africa. Wilson long ago made it plain that force would not be used against the Smith rebels "unless there is a breakdown of law and order". It is now becoming more and more clear that this was an undertaking to protect the racist minority in the event of the guerrilla army dislocating the racist machinery. For, law and order ceased to exist the moment U.D.I. was declared and the rebel regime has compounded its treachery by murdering innocent Africans. Furthermore the clearly expressed aggressive intent of the racist White South against Zambia is a threat to law and order in the whole of Southern Africa and the world.

In the face of this mounting evidence the British government has not only failed to use force but has even refused to grant Zambia arms to defend herself. The British government by its action, has demonstrated that it is on the side of the racist White South. Thus the "Sunday Times" revelation that Britain has intelligence posts in Lusaka is cause for grave concern.

Zambia has no choice but to arm herself and to prepare her people against the danger from the South. President Kaunda and the government are taking these threats very seriously. If Britain persists along the present path Zambia will have no course but to turn elsewhere for her defence needs. But come what may White racism is doomed and when the history of its death is recorded Zambia will have a place of honour as one of those countries which contributed immensely to its destruction.

ZAMBIA, THE LODESTAR OF AFRICA - By Ndab'ezitha

On the 4th April, 1968, that pro-apartheid mouthpiece, Die Burger carried an editorial on Zambia. Concerning liberation, this paper compared Zambia's role to that of Jordan in the Arab people's just war against Israel. On the basis of this far-fetched analogy, it then depicts Zambia as a helpless agent. "Thinking people in South Africa are not without sympathy for Zambia's thorny position. The pressure which its government feels from the north to fall in line with plans for violence against its southern neighbours is strong and brutal". After this arrant nonsense and bunkum, it then dangles the carrot of friendly economic relations if Zambia abandoned her principled stand and renewed her historic ties with the South.

Now, the Zambian answer to this dirty and wily overture has come loud and clear. The Mulungushi Economic Program is a hard slap in the face for imperialist South Africa. It is a mighty rebuff to Vorster's rand diplomacy.

Of course, historically Zambia has had ties with the South. In his book A Social Geography Of Zambia, (London, 1967), George Kay demonstrates that the majority of the European population in Zambia is South African born. Kay's table (p.29) shows that in 1911, there were 366 such Europeans; in 1921, 1321; in 1931, 5776; and in 1956, 26,569. This is 41% of the European population! But, Richard Hall put the figure at 50%. (see below).

Now, with them they brought the evil doctrine of apartheid whose vestiges can, alas, still be seen here. Richard Hall tells us that until the end of the Federation "Northern Rhodesia could still be regarded as the furthest advance of South African political influence into Africa. The White minority was never more than one - fortieth of Zambia's population, but it managed for half a century to remain dominant - and half of the Whites came from South Africa. In towns like Lusaka it was quite normal to hear people talking to each other in Afrikaans, the language of Dr. Verwoerd. (See Kaunda, Founder of Zambia, pp. 7-8: Lusaka, 1966).

What reason has Zambia to be proud of the apartheid ties to the South? Only a fool can be proud. And this has not been the Zambian line.

To the chagrin of the imperialists, the forces of freedom appeared and totally rejected apartheid and its tool, the notorious Federation. Then in 1964 they wrested Freedom. This was a stunning blow to the forces of reaction; for there arose an African regime committed to the political and economic independence of their country. Moreover, they had the means to extricate themselves from the economic tentacles of the South. This has been shown by the new Economic Program which is yet another staggering blow to the South African imperialists.

But to/...

But to free Africa, Zambia's principled stand on issues concerning South Africa is a source of inspiration. Recently, Uganda's Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. B. Bataringaya, praised her. (Zambia Mail, May 3, 1968). We add our voice to his. Zambia is a veritable Lodestar. This is why African States from near and far are busy improving their relations with her. Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Malawi, Somalia, Malagasy are all in touch with her. They have had envoys and delegations here. These developments augur well for the future, and show Zambia's importance as a magnet.

At present the former High Commission Territories are in the economic clutches of South Africa. For this reason, their liberatory role is what it is today. However, if they could find an alternative economic outlet in an African State, they would, we believe, return to Africa like the prodigal son.

Zambia is this alternative to South Africa. As the new economic measures work and as Zambia's wealth is used by and for her people, she will grow in stature. Not only that. She will in addition be a better market for the economically imprisoned African States. A stronger Zambia will be able, for example, to absorb more beef from Botswana and more sugar from Swaziland.

And what is more natural than that our peoples should help one another? There are natural ties between Zambians and their neighbours, both near and far. During its visit last month, the Malawi delegation pointed to the artificial colonial boundaries which unfortunately sever those natural ties between the same people, the Zambians and the Malawians. With respect to Zambia, Swaziland and Botswana can make the same point. So can we.

Now the Unholy Trinity is aware of Zambia's crucial importance for the liberation of her neighbours from economic and political bondage; hence its threats. But our people will not abandon Zambia. To our brothers here we say: Your freedom is our freedom.

* * * *

NEWS ITEM:

GDR Backs Zimbabwe's Struggle - New York (ADN) - The GDR Foreign Ministry statement on the Southern Rhodesian problem was circulated in the New York headquarters of the United Nations as an official Security Council document. The statement once again expressed the German Democratic Republic's solidarity towards the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against the illegal fascist minority regime in Salisbury.

Appreciation for the GDR's attitude was expressed by many delegates during the current Security Council debate on the situation in Rhodesia, who at the same time contrasted this with the increasing West German support for the racialist clique.

* * * *

SOUTH AFRICA'S GOLD - By Veteran

Listening to White South Africans, one might think that a Divine Providence deposited gold rock in the country for their special benefit. Gold, they say, is not only the biggest export commodity and source of foreign currency; it is also one of the main strategic assets of White supremacy, and this for two reasons.

Gold is said to be indispensable to international capitalism, and therefore to the West. As the world's chief producer, South Africa expects to receive support and protection from the big financial powers.

Secondly, the gold industry forms the nucleus of a great economic complex that links all countries of Southern Africa together. Half a million Africans in the prime of manhood migrate every year to the gold mines. The territories from which they come depend on South Africa's Labour Market, and consequently must keep in her good books. Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Mozambique are tied to her by gold and can be relied on to act as buffer States between her and the independent States to the north of the Zambesi.

That is the argument. Another way of putting it is to say that gold provides the White minority regime with the senews of war, guarantees it valuable allies in the Western world, and forms the base of its colonial empire.

There is reason enough why South Africa should view the present gold crisis with both hope and alarm. To account for this mixture of emotions, we need to understand the nature of the crisis and its possible effects on the Gold Mining Industry.

When country A buys more from country B than it sells to B, it can settle the debt in gold or dollars - or in pounds if they belong to the sterling block. Of all currencies, only the dollar is exchangeable with gold, and this at a fixed price of 35 dollars an ounce. Other countries adopt this standard of exchange in their trading transactions with one another.

The dollar achieved its unique position after the Second World War, when nearly 80% of the world's known reserves of gold bullion were concentrated in the United States. But the dollar has been slipping back for many years, partly because of heavy American investments in foreign countries, partly because of the enormous sums spent on imperialist ventures, wars and military bases.

America's cumulative deficit in her international balance of payments since 1950 amounts to nearly \$40 billion (40,000,000,000 dollars). Her gold reserves have dwindled from 26.5 billion dollars in 1949 to 11.4 billion, while foreign central banks now hold some 16 billion dollars for which they are entitled to claim gold from the U.S. Treasury.

In terms of these figures, the dollar is overvalued by about 45%. Some economists think that unless the gold drain is stopped, the dollar will have to be devalued and the price of gold will increase to 70 or even 100 dollars an ounce.

Speculators/...

Speculators in the money market acted on this assumption. They bought large amounts of gold in the hope that the dollar would follow the pound and that gold prices would rise.

The capitalist banks undertook to support the dollar against speculative pressures by limiting their purchase of gold - at 35 dollars an ounce - to the amount needed for interstate trade. Private buyers, wanting gold for speculation, would have to buy on a 'free' market at prices fixed by supply and demand.

It was a stopgap measure with serious loopholes. Even central banks might be expected to sell gold privately on the free market at, say, \$45 an ounce, and re-stock at \$35, further draining the U.S. reserves. Speculation continued, therefore, until President Johnson made his dramatic statements about seeking a peace settlement in Vietnam; and announced that he would not seek re-election. Nothing less, it seemed, would convince the world at large that the U.S. was determined to deal with the root of its monetary crisis by reducing payments abroad and putting an end to the deficit.

South African mine owners and government took an optimistic view of the crisis. At 45 dollars an ounce, they said, shareholders and government stood to gain R220 million a year without extra work. Following an emergency cabinet meeting, Dr. N. Diederichs, the Minister of Finance, told parliament that South Africa reserved the right to sell gold on the free market at the highest price. (Die Burger, 19/3/68).

He announced three weeks later that South Africa would not sell any gold until the 'speculative gold', amounting to perhaps 2,000 tons, had been absorbed on the free market. The country's gold and currency reserves had reached a record height; she was not obliged to sell gold; and would forego gains of a temporary nature in the interests of financial stability (Die Burger, 9/4/68).

The Minister had much to say about South Africa's 'sense of responsibility' and her desire to co-operate with other countries in restoring confidence. He also complained bitterly of her enforced isolation. Although the chief producer of gold, he said, she was not a member of the gold pool that regulated inter-state sales and fixed prices. Only an increase in gold prices would solve the problem, which was to increase the volume of international monetary reserves.

A genuine anxiety underlies this change of front. Mine owners and government are being forced to face the possibility that gold will be 'demonetized', and will cease to be the main medium of international exchange. A system of international credits - the so-called 'paper gold' - would take its place. Gold would become a commodity, selling at any price that buyers were prepared to pay.

South Africa and other gold producers, or countries like France that hold big stocks of gold, will oppose the scheme and press for a higher gold price. It is possible that they and the speculators will have their way. But the effect will be to speed up inflation and weaken the economic position of countries without gold stocks.

The prominence given to gold is antiquated, irrational and harmful to world trade. In this as in other respects the interests of the South African minority regime clash with the interests of most countries of Africa and South America. They should mobilise progressive opinion everywhere against any move to increase the price of gold, and for the elimination of gold as a medium of international exchange.

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GERDENER, CHAMPION (MAHLATHI) AND

THE AFRICAN LULL

- By Motlhabani

Our guerrilla offensive (ANC-ZAPU) has started a very interesting debate in South Africa. The debate involves the loyalty of the African in population in the event of our guerrillas reaching South Africa. In the Prime Minister's vote Mrs. Hellen Suzman the "Joan of Arc" of South African Parliamentary politics pointed out to the House of Assembly that the White Community should not deceive itself about the so-called 'peace and quiet' reigning in South Africa at the moment, because it was peace maintained at the point of the gun.

Similarly Mr. Theo Gerdener, Administrator of the Natal Province and prominent member of the ruling Nationalist Party is quoted by the Sunday Tribune (Natal 21/4/68) as having bluntly stated among other things that guns and the army are not enough by themselves to keep peace, and that laws alone are not sufficient to maintain the status of the White man. "It was not true", he said, "that non-White South Africans were satisfied merely with enough to eat, a place to sleep and reasonable wages. These people had no option but to accept apartheid", he continued, "but the calm on the surface did not necessarily mean that they enjoyed it or were content. Consequently, it was fallacious to believe, in the case of war against South Africa, that the non-Whites would stand with the Whites and support them. There was 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."

What Mr. Gerdener explains is the agony and the contradiction of the oppressive White regimes in Southern Africa. It is an agony which has already been brought to the surface by only the vanguard of our guerrilla forces. The non-White population represents an Armagedon right in the belly of the enemy. White supremacists up to now have existed upon an illusion which the present guerrilla offensive has shattered. Despite all boasting about the strength of the South African armed forces and the efficiency of the police, the Great lie has never been a permanent historical success. The so-called strength and efficiency of the South African forces has been found wanting in Rhodesia.

In fact/...

In fact in the same newspaper Gerdener is reported to have further stated that "terrorist " activity from the north held no real danger for South Africa while Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola provided a buffer. "However there was no assurance that the Portuguese forces would be maintained on these frontiers for ever. If they were withdrawn it would be a matter of weeks or months before South Africa was involved in a bloody struggle."

Indeed this is a great admission. White supremacy is fighting with its backs to the wall. And mind you this is even while our forces have launched on the first stage of the armed struggle. Listen for instance to Dr. Carel de Wet, Minister of Mines and Planning. He is reported in the Johannesburg Sunday Times 28/4/68) as saying: "We fully expect the next few years to be the most difficult in the history of South Africa." Mr. Champion (Mahlathi) one of the stooges the Government relies on to carry out its policies is reported in (ILANGA, April 20, 1968) as saying that; "There is no evidence that apartheid brings peace and satisfaction among Africans. Apartheid laws have silenced the voice of the oponents of apartheid only." He then asked a most pertinent question; "What happened to the A.N.C.? What happened to the leaders of the African people? Where are the Whites and Indians that are opposed to apartheid? We asked these questions even though we know that some are in their graves killed by apartheid and others in gaols. Yes, I agree with those who say there is peace, but it is peace of the graveyard."

What these comments in fact say is that in South Africa today there exists an explosive revolutionary situation and the guerrilla war in which we have engaged is a revolutionary war in which the civilian population will play a decisive role. In Rhodesia because of the involvement of the African peasants, the forces of reaction are helpless and they have had to resort to brutality and wanton shooting of innocent villagers.

The dilemmas of White supremacists are many, we have only pointed out one of these - the perpetual folly of all oppressive regimes to think that they can have their oppression and eat it too. The present phase of our struggle is the beginning of the end of White supremacy and all the verbal assurances about the invincibility of the South African forces cannot be a standard of truth. They are like the claims of a virgin who has never met her suitor. If taken as standard, it would distract attention from the actual situation to thoughts of some person or group of persons. The freedom drums have sounded loud and clear and the White man -boss is shaking to his very foundation - if he has any.

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+ THE ANC NEWSTALK ON RADIO TANZANIA (EXTERNAL SERVICE) +
+ CONTINUES ON EVERY ALTERNATE DAY IN SOTHO, ZULU AND +
+ ENGLISH BETWEEN 8.30 PM AND 8.45 PM (S.A. TIME) ON +
+ THE FOLLOWING FREQUENCIES: 19.44 METERS OR 15.435KC/S +
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TREATING BLACKS LIKE CATTLE

- By Anti-Pass Laws

The "S.A. Financial Gazette" of 29/3/68 called for rationalisation of the "Bantu Labour Market". We will not here go into the details of the suggestions made by the "Gazette". Suffice it to say that they are not concerned with the interests of African workers but rather with how to further intensify exploitation of their labour, as the concluding paragraph of the article shows:-

"...the number of different Bantu Labour Markets could be reduced in number... (by) the creation of National Labour Markets one for each of the recognised Bantu nations in South Africa - and the canalisation of all Bantu workers, rural and urban alike, through these national labour markets."

One is nauseated by the callous equation of African workers to cattle, to be sent in a controlled manner to markets which require them. Equally sickening is the present method of regimentation of Black workers whereby they are merely cogs in the industrial machine to be used as needed and to be discarded when sucked dry. Even now Labour Bureaux exist for the "controlled" supply of Black Labour:-

- (a) Local Labour Bureaux in the various municipal areas throughout the country.
- (b) District Labour Bureaux in the reserves or as they are now euphemistically called "Bantu Homelands".

Influx Control

Africans throughout the country are subject to the Pass Laws. The Pass System has been devised to compel Africans to seek work in the municipal areas but it is also used to send them back to the rural areas if they are not in active employment. This so-called Influx Control exposes clearly that the racists are only interested in Africans as labourers to be exploited for profit. If they were not needed for this the fascist would rather have them disappear from the face of the earth.

Local Labour Bureaux

When an employer needs African workers he must apply to the Local Labour Bureaux. As a result of Influx Control he usually finds that there is a limited number of local workers, not enough to fulfil his requirements. If the norms of a capitalist economy were allowed free-play the employer would be compelled to offer higher wages to attract workers. But apartheid South Africa is a colonial economy with all the inherent concomitants of colonial exploitation underlying the fascist-racist superstructure. African workers are denied the most elementary rights of Trade Union organisation; they cannot negotiate directly with employers (C.F. "Mayibuye" No. 15, "..."); strikes by African workers are illegal and subject/...

subject to severe punishment. Thus, as the "Gazette" states:-

"There is....no incentive for employers to offer a higher wage and therefore little question of a "wage drift", because employers know that they can obtain the balance of their labour requirements from the District Labour Bureau Market by means of requisition."

District Labour Bureaux

The rural areas ("reserves", "homeland") are therefore, nothing but reservoirs of cheap labour. Workers not immediately required by urban employers are endorsed out (kicked out) to the rural areas. Vice versa when an employer requires workers he merely has to apply to the District (rural) Labour Bureau.

The reserves are grossly over-populated, and chronically poverty-stricken. There is no avenue of employment except agriculture but because of land hunger, poor soil, government-legislation on cattle culling, etc., the land is not able to provide even a subsistence existence. A requisition by the employer to the District Labour Bureau therefore:

"....will elicit a response far in excess of the supplementary labour requirements. The large and elastic supply of labour will ensure this and cause a number of work-seekers to be rejected." (S.A. Financial Gazette, 29/3/68).

Naturally only those physically fit and willing to work for poverty wages will be selected. Employers can and do not only specify the type of labourers they require but often actually assist in the selection of labourers. What happens to those who are rejected?

"The rejected labourers....are told to await the arrival of a further requisition, something which may or may not happen very soon." (ibid).

This is the stark, staring picture of rural poverty. For all the racist State cares the rejected workers may starve while they wait. This applies to the physically fit. Those disabled in any way or disease-stricken in any way (as so many are) live beyond the shadow of hope. Theirs is a story of permanent starvation and misery. Many are not prepared to go on waiting. There is nothing in the towns but the ghetto but at least here they may earn a little to keep themselves and their families alive.

"As a result they are encouraged to devise ways and means of moving to the urban areas on their own and of obtaining illegal employment whatever the consequences." (ibid).

"Illegal" because there is stringent legislation which prohibits Africans from seeking employment without going through one or other of the numerous Labour Bureaux. These frustrated "illegal" workers often fall victim to/...

victim to a whole network of parasites who prey on their misfortune. These parasites supply them with forged reference books (passes) at exorbitant prices and even offer forged endorsements at a price - all this merely to enable them to stay in the municipal area and seek work. These "illegal" workers are constantly on their guard evading the police and Municipal Labour Inspectors. Most of them....

"....seem to treat a jail sentence as an occupational risk worth taking, and are ready to have another go at finding illegal employment once they have served their sentences." (ibid).

What a sad reflection on a system which pretends to be civilised. Is it any wonder that hundreds of thousands of Africans are arrested every year for not possessing a valid Reference Book? It is not exaggeration to say that there is no African family in South Africa which, in some way, has not been touched by the Pass Laws. This is racist apartheid South Africa where African workers are so regimented that they are driven to regard a "jail sentence as an occupational risk".

The system is not altogether satisfactory from the economic point of view for the apartheid regime. Hence, the "S.A. Financial Gazette" article on the subject. It is, of course, hardly surprising that the Gazette does not speak against the Pass Laws and the migratory labour system. Its sole object is to try and "rationalise" the system and intensify exploitation. There are, however, others among supporters of the oppressor White regime who have spoken against the system on moral or economic grounds. We can for example, cite sections of the Dutch Reformed Church as well as some of the larger Industrial Institutions. But the Whites are caught in a dilemma between economic necessity and the supposed need to maintain political domination. They fear any concession lest it become a hurricane. Even the hardly perceptible modifications envisaged in the so-called 'outward looking' policy have unleashed a wave of criticism from the right wing lunatic fringe.

Caught up in this dilemma and determined not to give an inch of ground on the question of White domination the racists are obviously incapable of solving any of the problems of South Africa. Their stubborn attachment to unscientific theories of racism and their equally stubborn resistance to any change will ultimately prove to be their downfall. For the oppressed Blacks have now taken up arms to liberate themselves from racial humiliation and economic degradation and when a whole people wage a war for their freedom what power on earth can stop them.

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R E M E M B E R T O S E N D Y O U R

DONATIONS TO MAYIBUYE

FIRST OF MAY IN ZAMBIA - E.R. Matajo

May the First, 1968 was a memorable day in Zambia. For the first time in the country's history International Labour Day had been declared a public holiday. Responding to the request of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, the government agreed to hold mass rallies in the main towns on that day, and thereby identified the people of Zambia with the International Working Class Movement.

Processions and rallies, which extended also to rural areas in some districts, brought home to thousands of Zambians the significance of International Labour Day. Workers from all parts of the Copperbelt gathered at Kitwe and marched through the city under the banners: One Zambia One Nation; Zambian Congress of Trade Unions; Workers Of The World Unite! This was a national, and not only a working class event; and all sections of the Zambia people took part with the full and active support of government and the ruling United National Independence Party.

Mr. Wilson Chakulya, General-Secretary of the Zambia TUC, presided over the rally at Kitwe. Presenting a memorandum to President Kaunda, in which Congress pledged the workers' wholehearted backing for the Mulungushi economic reforms, Mr. Chakulya condemned the British dockers and other workers who had applauded Enoch Powell's vicious racialism.

President Kaunda unveiled a copper plaque contributed by the ZTUC to commemorate the workers who had been shot dead by the colonial troops in 1935 and 1940 in the great strikes for better pay and working conditions.

The Mulungushi reforms, he told his 100,000 audience, was the second phase of Zambia's revolution. His government looked to the Trade Unions for co-operation. Zambia had rejected capitalism for a policy of humanism. He appealed to the Unions of White expatriates to disband and join the Zambian Unions so as to present a united front against exploitation; and welcomed the ZTUC's appeal to British workers to 'think as workers and not as racialists'.

Among those who attended the rally in Kitwe were delegates from Uganda, Trade Unionists from Germany, the ILO's Director for Eastern and Central Africa, Mr. M. Ndise, and British Members of Parliament.

The rally at Lusaka was addressed by the Vice-President, Mr. Simon Kapwepwe. Dressed in a white overall and brandishing a hoe and rake, he told the gathering of 40,000 men, women and children that the martyrs of 1935 and 1940 had started the struggle for national liberation.

In 1946 at Mulungushi, he pointed out, the people had resolved to unite for the right to govern themselves. They won their political struggle on October 24, 1964. But this was only the beginning of the road to full manhood. The economic programme adopted on April 19th was the second part of Zambia's revolution.

On May the/...

On May the First, he said, Zambians joined with workers all over the world in rejecting capitalism, racial oppression and imperialism. Following the footsteps of the martyrs of 1935 and 1940, who had died in the struggle for elementary rights, Zambians were determined to achieve freedom, independence and a civilised standard of living.

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THE SCOURGE OF THE MERCENARIES - By Mp'ayipheli

In January this year all Freedom-loving people and friends of Africa learnt with delight that at long last the people of the Congo (Kinshasa) would be rid of the menacing mercenaries.

These White mercenaries drawn mainly from Belgium, France, Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa had ostensibly been invited by the arch-traitor, Tshombe, to back up his shaky breakaway government in the Congolese Province of Katanga. However, as Tshombe later became head of the Central Government in Kinshasa so did the mercenaries spread throughout the Congo, fighting and harrasing supporters of the legal government of the late Patrice Lumumba whose downfall was celebrated and checred in many a Western capital.

It has always been falsely alleged that Tshombe hired the mercenaries but long after Tshombe had disappeared from the Congolese political scene they were still going strong there. Who paid them? The Belgiun-owned Union Miniere Copper Mining Company had always been a government unto itself in the Katanga Province. It could scarcely conceal its opposition to the gaining of independence to the Congo, particularly under the patriotic leadership of Lumumba. In order to prolong their grip on the rich Katanga Province the Union Miniere hired and sponsored Tshombe as a "leader" of Katanga who later seceded from the Congo. It was also from their coffers and at their instruction that the mercenaries were recruited to the Congo and paid. The idea was to keep rich Katanga out of Congolese control.

Their (the mercenaries') seven years of murder, looting and vice in the Congo is too well-known to be repeated here. The events of January 1958 were encouraging to freedom-lovers because for the first time the mercenaries had been routed by the Congolese National Army and had fled to Ruanda where they were disarmed and detained in a camp. The O.A.U. had a 10-Nation Committee on the mercenaries to decide their fate and effect a lasting settlement on this problem. The Congolese government applied for their extradition from Ruanda to face trial in the Congo and the Ruanda government made an undertaking to the O.A.U. that the mercenaries would be extradited to the Congo. All friends of African freedom cheered with delight. At last justice would be seen to be done!

Subsequent events, however, were disheartening. Africa was witnessing yet another failure in the making. The International Red Cross, which is less international than its name implies, appeared on the scene. Throughout the seven years of the mercenaries' crimes against the people of the Congo/...

Congo, indeed of Africa as a whole, the International Red Cross saw no urgency in the matter. But as soon as these criminals had been rendered harmless and the wheels of justice were slowly grinding to take their course, the International Red Cross worked overtime to secure the release and evacuation of the bandits.

In the diplomatic manoeuvre and blackmail that followed in subsequent months it became clear that there were much stronger hands at play than met the eye. The Red Cross was just a front organisation concerned with their "humanitarian" aspects of the case. Strong pressure from and threats of political and economic blackmail by some countries whose nationals the mercenaries are, Belgium in particular, on the Ruanda government forced that government to abandon its stand. Attempts were made to force the mercenaries' countries of origin to compensate the Congo for financial losses suffered as a result of the mercenaries and to undertake to prohibit the mercenaries from ever returning to Africa. These were conditions for the release of the mercenaries but they were never honoured by these countries because, once again, Africa's weakness had been exposed to them. The Congo broke off diplomatic relations with Ruanda over the issue but Counsel from other Central African States prevailed and relations were re-established.

The evacuation of the mercenaries without paying for their crimes to Africa and humanity is indeed a great shame on our continent. The mercenaries are one of the subjects over which the countries of Africa agreed. They have always been a subject of utter condemnation. Some countries had even offered to assist the government of the Congo in its fight against the mercenaries. Placing the case with which these bandits escaped with capital crimes we can only conclude that the peoples of Africa need to stand more firmly by their resolutions if machinations of imperialist intrigues of this nature are to be avoided in future.

One of the tragic ironies of this matter is that whilst the mercenaries were stewing in a camp in Ruanda, with their fate showing signs of a favourable balance, they were already preparing to join the Rhodesian-South African forces in Rhodesia against our Freedom-Fighters. These men are not merely soldiers of fortune, they are also fascists of the lunatic fringe. One of them in Brussels commenting on their impending Rhodesian engagement said, "They prefer us. We are cheaper than a regular army. The Africans are psychologically afraid of us, and that if things go wrong, our existence can easily be denied". Another one, Duncan Gore, in Britain said, "I liked the idea of running around the jungle chasing Africans". - TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 27/4/68.

And now these men having been set free by Africans whom they molested and murdered yesterday are making arrangements to open a new front of aggression against Africans elsewhere - in Rhodesia. This is a development that could have been avoided if the mercenaries had been extradited from Ruanda to Congo Kinshasa. Our men on the war front will deal with these blood-hounds accordingly. They have done it to their brothers before. The emergence of these mercenaries on the war zone will not turn the tide in favour of imperialism and White domination. Instead they will learn their lesson there.

What will/...

What will happen is that they will murder and commit crimes against the African civilian population as they have been doing in the Congo and are presently doing in Nigeria. Africa could have well seized the initiative she had in repulsing the mercenaries and could have rid herself of this scourge if the mercenaries had received their just dessert.

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FIGHTING TALK:

IMPERIALISM IS PREPARING TO SNATCH VICTORY FROM THE GUERRILLAS - - By Chibusa Wandu

In his address to the current United Nations Security Council debate on Rhodesia, Zambia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Reuben Kamanga noted that the British Government had stated that it would consider the use of force only in the case of breakdown of law and order. He asked if it was not time to realise that there was such a collapse. Mr. Kamanga then asked, "Is Britain waiting until Europeans are slaughtered? Will it move in then to help the Whites drive back Black insurgents?"

How did the slogan "Britain-must-use-force to-crush-the-Rhodesia-rebellion" arise?

Throughout its colonial history Great Britain never tolerated revolt or rebellion against the crown. If the Union Jack was hauled down anywhere British gun-boats steamed at full speed across oceans and upon landing British soldiers fixed bayonets, knifed and shot their way to the highest flagpole to rehoist the British flag. Such was the case in Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana, Cyprus, Aden, etc. etc. Where the British army failed was when the populace rose resolutely to assert its will to be independent.

I think it was in view of that long history of British military intervention to suppress rebellion that led many people to think that in the case of the Rhodesian rebellion Britain would do the same.

But illusions die hard! In spite of tremendous pressure from Afro-Asian members of the commonwealth, leading African Statesmen and the O.A. Britain wouldn't budge and she flatly refused to order its army to march on Salisbury.

Over a period of many months it became crystal clear that Britain had no intention to crush the rebellion in Rhodesia either by force or by any other means.

That is why Foreign Minister Kamanga denounced the "coalition of racism between Britain and Rhodesia". And said:

"The White Rhodesians did not acquire power by accident. The British laid the foundation for the present strength of the regime in Salisbury through their renunciation

of the/

of the use of force, and the British had continued to protect the regime."

- TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 28/3/68.

And a few days afterwards Mr. Kamanga said that the British Government did not want to use force because they did not want Whites' blood to be shed by Whites. (Times of Zambia, 1/4/68).

In calling on Britain to use force to crush the rebellion in Rhodesia, surely, the basic assumption was that Britain still believed in the principles of fairplay, majority rule and democracy. In other words it must have been understood that British intervention would result in the creation of the kind of social order that prevails in the newly independent multi-racial African States of Kenya, Zambia and Tanzania.

But what has been the British record in this particular case?

British policy towards the rebellion has been one of blatant and sordid insincerity, dishonesty, double-dealing and open racism.

On February 15th, this year, President Kaunda revealed that Britain had been "part and parcel of those gangster nations" who have broken United Nations sanctions against the supplying of petrol and oil to Rhodesia. He added that British shipping lines were involved in the illegal trade that had made sanctions ineffective, despite British naval ships patrolling the Mozambique coast.

The contradictory statements of the British Government were truly scandalous. Remember the reassuring statements of the Labour Party before UDI?

March, 1963 Harold Wilson speaking: "We have said that no constitution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian Constitution for that, and a Labour Government would therefore alter it - we've made that very, very plain..."

April 11th, 1963 Mr. Wilson questioned Mr. A.A. Butler, then Foreign Secretary: 'Will he give the House a clear assurance that there will be no question of granting independence to Southern Rhodesia until the country has a constitution which enables the mass of the people to govern themselves? Is he aware there should be no question of granting independence under a constitution where 250,000 have the right to rule three million people?'

What has happened in the intervening period is known to the whole world. But the question that arises now in the face of this downright betrayal by Britain, is whether British intervention would be backed by the best of motives. I doubt it.

Statistics indicate that Britain has some £200 million invested in Rhodesia. Before UDI, British exports to Rhodesia amounted to £32 million a year/...

a year and imports to £30 million. British Companies based in Rhodesia included such well known names as Woolworths, J. Lyons and Co., Leyland Motor Corporation, Marlet Tile, Norvic Shoes, Rover, BMC, ICI, Unilever etc.

Quite clearly Britain's failure to depose the White racists in Rhodesia is due to her belief that they are the best custodians of her vast financial interests there. At the same time it is evident that should Britain feel that the racist regime is losing control she will intervene. As to the timing of the intervention the Johannesburg Sunday Times of 5th May, 1968 has let the cat out of the bag. It states:

"Meanwhile, the British Government, according to Ministers, still feels that if the guerrilla campaign in Rhodesia were to reach a stage at which law and order broke down it could have to consider full-scale military intervention."

Indeed, the current campaign of the ZAPU-ANC guerrillas in Zimbabwe is receiving the full attention of Imperialist Intelligence agencies. At an appropriate moment Imperialism will, as Foreign Minister, Kamanga has suggested, help the White minority regime drive back the Black insurgents. Africa should be fully vigilant against this sinister eventuality. But I am sure that as night follows day, the guerrillas and the revolutionary masses in Zimbabwe will bar the way to such treachery.

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FOLLOWING is the text of a statement issued by the African National Congress (S.A.) on the recent International Olympic Committee's decision to bar S. Africa's participation in the 1968 Olympiad.

PRESS RELEASE: issued by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (S.A.).

THROW THEM OUT

The International Olympic Committee has taken a commendable step in recommending the withdrawal of an IOC invitation to South Africa to participate in the 1968 Olympiad.

The decision itself has once more emphasised the importance of unity to Africa and her destiny. The decision of Africa to withdraw from the Olympics if racist S. Africa were re-admitted has forcefully demonstrated the power and effectiveness of united action by Africa, even to keep the world anti-apartheid movement on the right course.

We now hope that this breakthrough in the IOC will lead to racist South Africa's expulsion from every code of sport, and in all international organisations.

ALFRED KGOKONG
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY & INF.

African National Congress (S.A.),

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