



zimbabwe

HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers:

....This is the era of national liberation. Our cause is just. Those who are familiar with our struggle know it is a struggle against a neo-fascist, racist white minority. They know that we struggle against a rule of unabated brutality and terror imposed on the masses of black Southern Africa. They know that we struggle for democratic political rule based on the will of all the people with total and full equality for each and every individual.

It becomes self-evident: Our stand involves a total rejection of racialism on every level -- economic, political, social and cultural -- not merely a reversal of existing racial domination. It is our contention that all peoples who have made their home in Southern Africa are Africans -- equal Africans -- regardless of the color of their skin, or their religion or sex.

We repeat now what we have said often in the past. We recognize the magnitude of our task. Our most difficult struggles are still before us. Further, it will be for us, the peoples of Southern Africa, to bear the necessary sacrifices for total liberation. But we can state proudly that spirit and determination are there in our revolutionary armed struggle. Our relations with the masses grow ever firmer. We face our future with resolute optimism.

Your Editor,

Joseph Z. Dube
January, 1971



On November 11, 1965, the white minority clique that had been executing arbitrary rule over Zimbabwe declared Southern Rhodesia to be a sovereign and independent nation. Thus culminated one phase of the most deceitful and sordid practice that had characterized British imperialist rule over the ages.

Zimbabwe, situated in the Southern part of Africa, is bordered on the south by the infamous citadel of fascist racialism, the Union of South Africa, on the west by Botswana, on the north by the Republic of Zambia, and on the east by Mozambique. It covers an area of approximately 150,333 sq. miles -- less than 400,000 square kilometers -- and consists of a population numbering something over 5 million people, of whom less than 1/4 million are white settlers and an even lesser number comprise the Coloureds, Indians, Chinese, etc. It is the more than 4,800,000 indigenous Black Africans -- Zimbabweans -- who are the victims of British imperialism aided and abetted by both American and West German imperialism. It is the more than 4-1/2 million Zimbabweans that are herded into "reserved areas", herded into jails, herded into concentration camps, subject to the infamous "pass laws", subject to "preventive detention", disenfranchised, stripped, beaten and hung. Why? Because the color of our skin is Black. And our struggle today is not only a struggle against local reactionaries. This is merely a facade of British colonialism. Our enemy is British imperialism and international imperialism. Our enemy focuses in Zimbabwe but is located in London, Washington, Lisbon and Bonn.

The story of Zimbabwe is a story dating back many centuries. Ours is a culture which flourished many years ago and today one can still see the evidences of grandeur in the ruins of this great civilization spread throughout southern and central Africa. With modern advances, we have suffered also from modern oppression and humiliation. British tactics have always tried to undermine the African sense of independence. Our history has been a history of continuing struggle.

Our struggle dates back to the close of the 19th century when Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company struck out north from what is now known as the Union of South Africa in pursuit of new conquests. Up to the time of the arrival of the white settler, the inhabitants of this land between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers -- Zimbabwe -- the Mashona and Matabele peoples lived in peaceful harmony pursuing simple economic livelihoods either in agricul-

ture or mining. The ruler of the country was Lobengula, King of the Matabele and son of a Zulu general who had led his people out of South Africa in the face of the advancing white settlers who were bent on subjugating the indigenous inhabitants. Lobengula was therefore determined to keep out white settlers from this territory if at all possible. To this end he sought to make an alliance which might facilitate this objective particularly as he was being besieged by British, German, Portuguese and Boer contenders for mining concessions. Of course, Rhodes' own representative was among them, Charles Rudd.

Influenced by Sir Sidney Shippard who at the time was the British Commissioner for Bechuanaland (he was later to be rewarded by Rhodes with the chairmanship of the British South Africa Company), Lobengula finally awarded the concession to Rudd. Although all



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his efforts had been geared to excluding and limiting the penetration of the white settler, the concession effectively granted unrestricted access to the white man. This was made possible through premeditated and distinct distortion of the document (the concession contract) falsely interpreted to Lobengula by a missionary, the Rev. C. D. Helm, who, appointed to this task at Shippard's recommendation, was actually receiving a gratuity of £ 200 a year from Rudd himself.

Additional to the deceit perpetrated by Rhodes and Rudd in complicity with a functionary of the British Crown and an agent of the Christian Church, Lobengula was to receive 1,000 rifles, 100,000 rounds of ammunition, a gunboat for the Zambesi (which never arrived) and the sum of £ 100 per month. With the discovery of the deception, Lobengula immediately revoked the concession as well as made representation to the Crown. However, here too duplicity triumphed and in 1889 Queen Victoria granted a Royal Charter to the British South Africa Company. Thus the stage was set for this company to control Zimbabwe for the next 33 years, when the "Pioneer Column" hoisted the Union Jack at Mount Harare (Salisbury) on September 12, 1890, to run its own government and police (a unique phenomenon in colonial history) and to receive royalties from mineral exploitation.

Subsequent to 1890, a series of "incidents" and "disputes" provided the British South Africa Company with a pretext for hostilities, the objective being, of course, to further consolidate their rule. Nor were the Matabele and the Mashona content with this state of affairs -- African resentment turned to open revolt on several occasions, but in each instance after longer or shorter periods of armed conflict the Africans were defeated, especially in protracted conflicts which witnessed the use of technically superior troops called in from South Africa.

The pattern of administrative rule was closely linked to the South African practice. The principles of cash taxation (forcing the African to leave his own immediate environment and endeavor, and to seek employment offered by the white settler and on the latter's terms), limitation on land ownership (by 1914, for example, 22% of the total land area had been allocated to Africans; the balance was for Europeans, most of it empty, awaiting settler immigration), and pass control in so-called white areas (on entering a so-called white area, the African finds himself subject to a pass system as a means of con-

trol over freedom of movement as well as over freedom of employment) have been the fundamental basis in the practice of race discrimination in both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Sentences of up to five years for an African convicted of illicit sexual relations with a white woman were provided in the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Act of 1903. However, there was no penalty imposed on a white man for having illicit relations with a black woman. And though there is a death penalty for rape, it has never been imposed on a European.

After World War I, Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, proposed a referendum to the white settlers to determine whether Southern Rhodesia should become a fifth Province of the Union of South Africa or receive so-called responsible government under the Crown. In October 1922 the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia by a vote of 8,774 to 5989 chose so-called responsible government. The country was given the status of a "self-governing colony".

Practically speaking, the white settler minority had achieved political independence notwithstanding the fact that the British Government reserved for itself the right of veto on legislation as a safeguard of African rights, for this power was never used in the 39 years of its existence before it was abrogated by the 1961 Constitution. From its inception it was invited to Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences, although as a Colony it was not supposed to conduct its own foreign affairs. And from 1925, relations between the British Government and Southern Rhodesia were conducted not through the Colonial Office but through the Dominions Office (later the Commonwealth Relations Office). Of course, Southern Rhodesia also had its own police force and militia.

The Southern Rhodesian franchise has always been ostensibly "non-racial", that is, the right to vote has presumably depended not on color but rather on financial and educational qualifications. In practice, however, the franchise has always been manipulated to assure political power in the hands of the white settler. Thus the financial qualification for eligibility to vote in 1898 was £ 50 per year; in 1914 it was £ 100; in 1951 £ 240; in 1961 £ 720 and in 1968 £ 960. Parenthetically, it should be noted that African wages in 1961, for example, averaged only £ 87 per annum.

Schooling is compulsory between the ages of 7 and 15 years, but only



for non-African children. As in the Union of South Africa, schooling for Africans is strictly segregated and administered by the Native Education Department. Suffice it to say that between 1928 and 1964 only 94 Africans had succeeded in obtaining High School Certificates. In the same period only 5,701 had completed four years of secondary education. In 1965, for example, the per capita expenditure for education for a white child approximated £ 113 annually as compared to only about £ 9.5s for an African child.

Of the diverse discriminatory decrees enacted by the white settler minority in Southern Rhodesia, the most comprehensive has been the

Land Apportionment Act put into practice in 1947. Similar to the Group Areas Act in South Africa, its comprehensiveness consists not only in the fact that it governs residence as well as use and ownership of land, but additionally in the fact that it affects almost all aspects of the African's life -- where he should live, where and for whom he may work, whether or not he may travel, and how and where his children may be educated. Originally, the Act reserved about 49 million acres for purchase by Europeans including, of course, the most developed urban areas and somewhat over 28-1/2 million acres were designated for African occupation; nearly 18 million acres were left unallotted. Although modifications were enacted in subsequent years, the proportions remained basically the same. The consequence of the Act upon its enforcement was to forcibly remove thousands of Africans from what had been designated as "European" land and at the same time when the equally notorious Native Urban Area Accommodation and Registration Act was enacted, to introduce a system of passes for all Africans who desired to visit or seek employment in any urban area.

The gyrations of British imperialism assumed yet another tactic in 1953 with the concept of Federation. The Federation, comprised of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) ostensibly envisaged a greater flexibility in economic interchange and a strategy of uniting all settler forces in the concerned territories with the view of establishing a bastion in Central Africa to serve the vested interest of these same white settlers. Needless to say, the indigenous populations were not consulted, and in fact Federation marked the beginning of consciously co-ordinated active African politics in Central Africa. Indeed, it was during the relatively brief existence of Federation (The Federation was dissolved in December, 1963) that saw the rise of such Freedom-Fighters as Joshua Nkomo, James Chickerema, George Nyandoro and Jason Moyo in Zimbabwe, Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Kapwepwe in Zambia and Masauko Henry Chipembere and Kanyama Chiume in Malawi, etc., etc.

Although the ideology of the Federation was presumably based on racial "partnership" it was, in the words of Lord Malvern, the partnership "between horse and rider", the former, of course, being the African. The fiasco of Federation which was characterized by a series of disturbances finally led to the recommendation by the Devlin Commission of the right of secession for the three territories.

On September 12, 1957, the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) was formed which in turn cooperated with the Zambia African Congress and the Malawi African National Congress. These three Liberation Movements in Central Africa were banned on February 19, 1959. In Zimbabwe, Edgar Whitehead, the minority white settler premier of the so-called Southern Rhodesia hastened to pass two pieces of legislation -- the Unlawful Organizations Act and the Preventive Detention Act.

The National Democratic Party (NDP) was constituted in Salisbury on January 1, 1960 to replace the banned SRANC. One of its principal demands was the restoration of the sovereignty of the African people. This was coupled with the categorical recognition of Britain as the colonizer which meant that power had to be demanded of her and not of her settlers who were characterized as merely agents acting on behalf of Britain.

At the end of 1961, in December, Edgar Whitehead banned the recently formed NDP. Almost immediately -- on December 17, 1961, Joshua Nkomo launched the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), vigorously continuing and activating the policies of the banned NDP. Among its first acts was its pledge to boycott the white minority settler elections that were to be held the following year, in December, 1962. At the same time, ZAPU declared that whatever the form, the leadership would never constitute another political party regardless of any bans the white minority ruling clique may impose. It was also at this time that the case of the so-called Southern Rhodesia was presented at the United Nations, where Britain was criticized for her colonial and racial policy and was called upon to grant independence on the principle of "one man, one vote".

On November 11, 1965, Ian Smith after a so-called series of alleged differences and quarrels between Salisbury and London proclaimed for Southern Rhodesia a "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" (UDI). The British Government tactically and promptly denounced the declaration as an act of rebellion, imposed "voluntary" economic sanctions, but the import and export of Rhodesian goods continued without interference through ports of the Union of South Africa. Among the first acts of the self-styled independent white minority settler government was the elaboration of more apartheid-type laws, institution of press censorship and more repressive political legislation. No official figure for the total number of political prisoners, detainees and re-



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strictees has ever been released, but the ZAPU estimates that approximately 50,000 people have been detained for varying periods of time during the last ten years. Inhuman conditions of imprisonment and the torture of prisoners in order to procure information have been confirmed by diverse investigating teams.

Six months before UDI was declared, but obviously when plans for such a declaration were undoubtedly already completed, Ian Smith publicly called for a military alliance between South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Portugal. For some time prior to this open call, rumors had persisted both in South Africa as well as abroad that such an alliance already existed, probably on an informal basis. Sufficient evidence of military cooperation already existed. For the first time, in 1960, Southern Rhodesian army units participated in South African training exercises. Military missions from both South Africa and the then existent Federation visited Lourenço Marques, capital of Mozambique, at the invitation of the Portuguese army command and took part in training exercises involving about 2,600 men. Included in this exercise was paratroop training.

Additionally, upwards of 4,000 South African troops are engaged in active combat against ZAPU/ANC guerrillas in Zimbabwe. Other South African troops are in Mozambique against FRELIMO, in Angola against MPLA and in Namibia against SWAPO. Southern Rhodesian troops have also been seen in Mozambique and in 1968 a Southern Rhodesian military helicopter was downed by MPLA patriotic forces in Angola. Needless to say, collaboration among the police forces of the three governments has extended beyond the usual protocol courtesies.

British policy in the so-called Southern Rhodesia is interpreted by Africans as unquestionably an alignment of Britain on the side of white supremacy and political reaction in the Southern African struggle. There are today approximately 400 British companies with subsidiary or associated companies in South Africa and nearly 200 with subsidiary or associated companies in Southern Rhodesia. Included are the giants of British industry, such as ICI, Shell, British Petroleum, British Leyland Motor Holdings, Imperial Tobacco and the Dunlop Rubber Company among many others. Southern Rhodesia's wealth is concentrated in tobacco, chrome, gold, asbestos, etc. Giants of United States industry are also of course to be found in Southern Rhodesia. Among these are Burroughs Machines, Caltex, Pfizer, Continental Ore, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Minnesota Mining, National Cash Register, Union Carbide and Vanadium Corp. Foreign investment in Southern Africa thus constitutes a formidable force in direct support for the status quo.

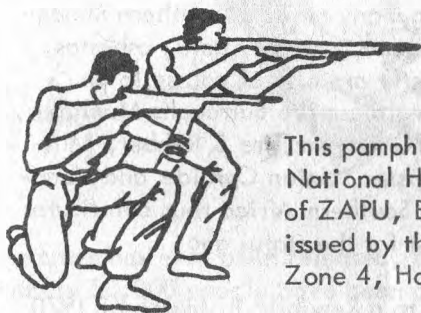
Nor has the transformation of UDI to a Republic in March of 1970 altered the struggle in Zimbabwe. Our Freedom-Fighters are still being hunted, imprisoned and tortured in a completely fascist manner. We know our enemy and we know that because he is powerful, we face a bitter and protracted struggle. We are determined and dedicated to the liberation of our people and we stand firm in this commitment. The struggle for Zimbabwe liberation is part of the larger struggle of Southern Africa -- of Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. Until Southern Africa is free, all of free Africa is threatened.

The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union offers the only effective leadership to the Black men, women and children of our land for struggle. Our leaders have proved themselves and have justly earned the respect and confidence of the masses. The basic principles guiding ZAPU afford each man, woman and child irrespective of color an equal

opportunity to join in the common task of reaping the benefits of society jointly.

ZAPU is decidedly non-racialist and is specifically committed against any form of racial discrimination -- in fact, it is proud to count in its ranks Chinese, Indians, Coloureds and progressive Whites -- there is ample room for all men and women of good will and fair principles. The decisive hour is approaching when every Zimbabwean regardless of color must make his choice -- to live on his knees or to stand up and fight for his inalienable rights and if need be, to die for them.

Our slogan is: "FORWARD EVER -- BACKWARD NEVER"!



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