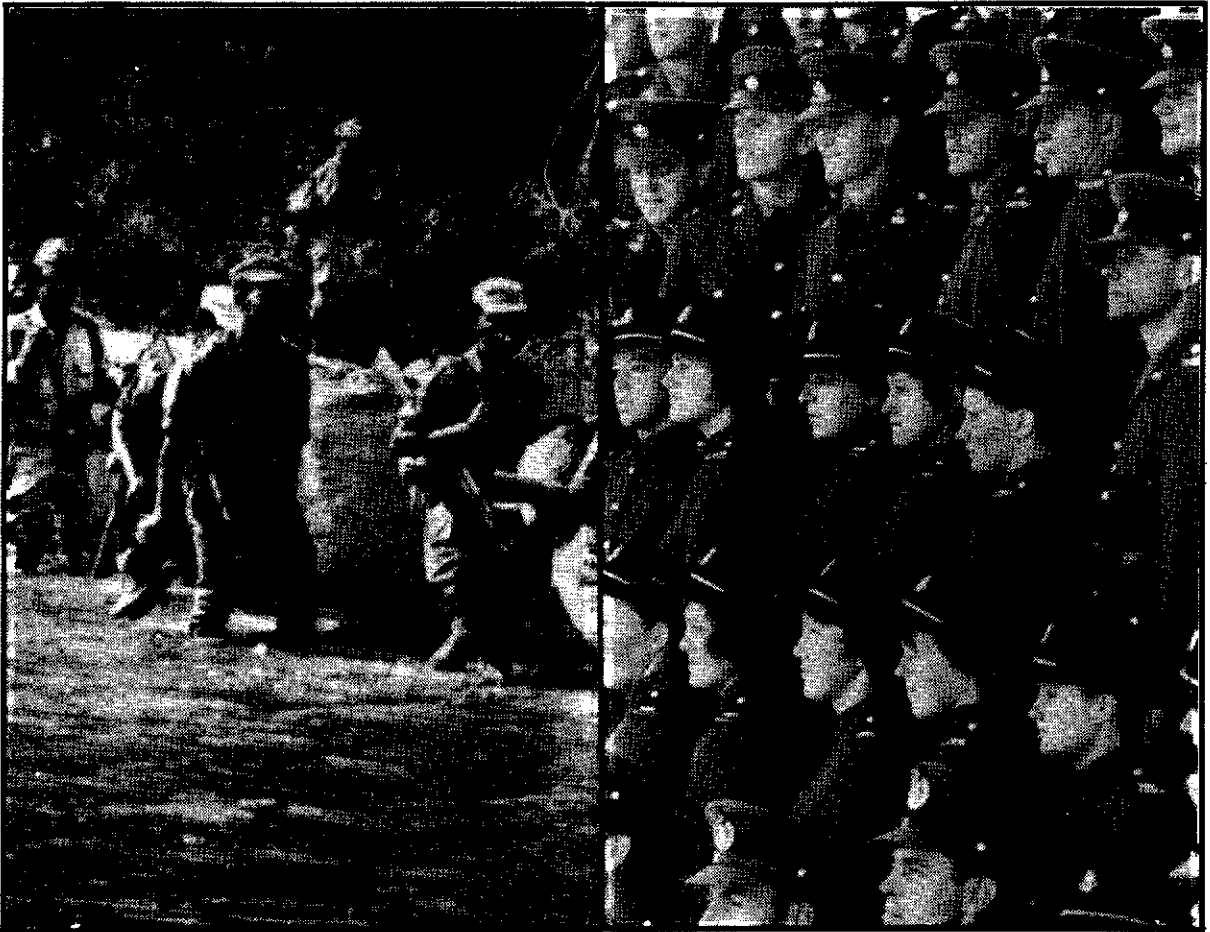


Rhodesia To Zimbabwe – A Chronology

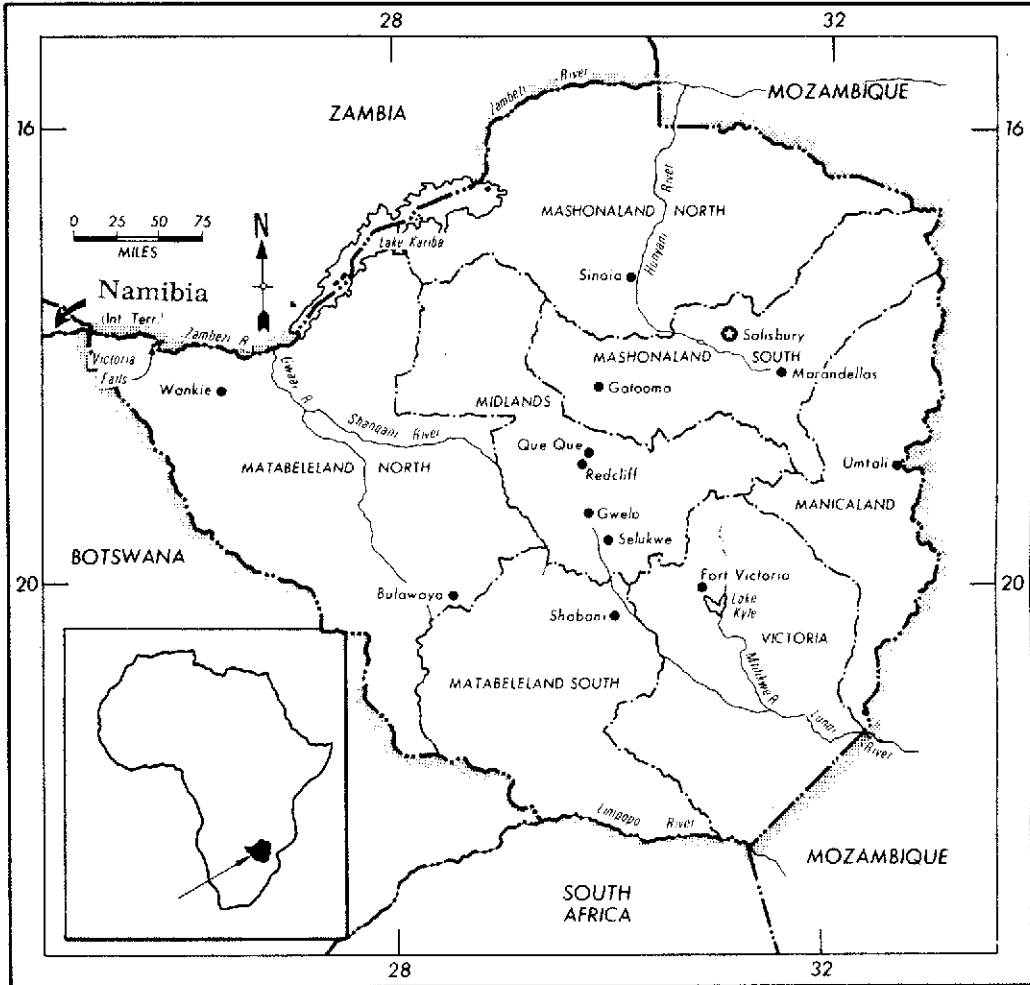
1830 to 1976

by George M. Houser



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Note: Provinces — have no position in regular structure of government

Zimbabwe

FROM RHODESIA TO ZIMBABWE

A conflict of major proportions is now coming to a head in southern Africa, as Africans struggling for a free Zimbabwe confront a white minority government whose sole aim is to protect the political power and economic privilege of the tiny Rhodesian settler population. The white minority numbers less than 280,000 in a population of over 6 million, but it is a minority determined to maintain its power and privilege as long as possible. History, for the white minority, begins with the aggressive expansionism of Cecil Rhodes. His central role in the work of British colonial occupation at the end of the 19th century is reflected in the naming of both Northern Rhodesia (now independent Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia in his honor. The attitude of most white settlers toward African history prior to white occupation is accurately summed up by the white Rhodesian who told a *New York Times* reporter: "The African has no past, very little present without white or yellow help, and no future of his own." Rhodesian settlers use this argument to justify the history of white minority rule, to explain the present repression of Africans and to project continued white rule into the future. If Zimbabwe ever existed, it can have no relevance now and no meaning in the days ahead. Yet while the whites deny the reality of the African past and exclude mention of it from school books, the African majority, in the name of a free Zimbabwe, are claiming the right to independence taken from them in the late 19th century.

World attention has been attracted to the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian conflict since 1975 when the Angola crisis highlighted the likelihood that southern Africa could become the locale for a major international confrontation. Such a confrontation between the U.S. and the USSR was narrowly avoided over Angola, but the Zimbabwe struggle might easily provide new ground for such a conflict.

By 1976 full-scale guerrilla war was being waged in Rhodesia. Main parties to the conflict are the Zimbabwe military units variously estimated as numbering from 5000 to 20,000, and the Rhodesian government forces estimated at 35,000. The purpose of this summary is to try to outline chronologically some landmarks in the development of this conflict, not to analyze its content or problems. Obviously this technique has limitations, excluding, as it does the reasons behind many events of importance. But the hope is that some clarification of the issues will be achieved for those who have not had the advantage of an in-depth study of Zimbabwe.

The main elements in the present conflict can be outlined as follows:

1. **Thousands of Zimbabwe guerrillas.** Several thousand guerrillas are now operating across most of Rhodesia. Actions have been reported in the northeast, the central, southeast and northwest portions of the country. Thousands more are poised on the borders or in camps mainly inside Mozambique and Zambia. Others are in training in Tanzania. Until 1976 these forces were not under one united political or military command. The final months of 1976 saw the initiation of military unity in a Zimbabwe People's Army, ZIPA, with military commanders from ZANU and ZAPU. The front line African states have greeted this move optimistically, viewing it as creating a potentially vital "Third Force".

2. **Three distinct nationalist movements each with considerable following.** The movements, ZANU, ZAPU and the ANC have a long history of intra group conflict, and broken unity agreements.

3. **Neighboring African independent states.** Referred to as the "front line countries", these are Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola. These countries have supported the armed struggle but have also sought to encourage efforts toward a negotiated settlement. They have repeatedly tried to promote Zimbabwe national unity.

4. **The white minority government of Rhodesia.** This represents less than 280,000 white settlers over half of whom have arrived since World War II.

5. **The Republic of South Africa.** Interested in a Rhodesian "solution" that will buy time for continued white minority rule in South Africa.

6. **Britain—the colonial power.** Britain relinquished direct control in 1923 when Rhodesia was established as a self-governing colony. Britain does not recognize the Smith regime as a legal government. The British would like a role in a settlement that would bring them some honor at a minimal cost. So far the British role has been ineffectual and bungling.

7. **Six million Africans.** The black population inside Rhodesia who clearly give mass support to the objective of African majority rule although the degree of support for each of the nationalist movements is not yet so clear.

African resistance to white domination is as old as the first invasions of the territory by soldiers, miners and settlers from South Africa. Since that time, however, white rulers have worked to divide the Africans from each other. The two major regions of Matabeleland (Ndebele speaking) and Mashonaland (Shona speaking) were initially administered separately, with different laws and conditions applied to each population. New divisions were fostered in the 20th century. Tensions grew between the rural and urban African populations, making concerted and coordinated protest difficult. Educational differentiation hampered the process of finding agreement on the focus, aims and methods of achieving rights denied all Africans. Because the prospect (never the promise) of some political rights was held out to a small African educated elite, successive groups split over the issue of whether to participate in the white political process or refuse all but fundamental change and majority rule. The divisions evident between

African liberation movements can only be fully understood in the context of this history, which they reflect. And it is in this context also that one must understand the singular, unifying importance of an African struggle for Zimbabwe.

The name "Zimbabwe" comes from the Shona word "Dzimbabwe" meaning "house of stones." About 17 miles from the town of Fort Victoria there are massive stone ruins which have been positively identified as the one-time center of a vast pre-colonial African state system. The impressive stone walls and the structures on this site were begun in the 11th century, the most recent additions date from the 15th century. This center, like several similar but smaller complexes scattered throughout the region, was the work of Shona people, who have lived in this region for over eight centuries and at the high point of their history had developed a country with rich agricultural production and substantial internal and external trade in many products from clay pots, food, salt, to gold and ivory.

Although the word Zimbabwe was not brought into contemporary political usage by African nationalists until the 1960's, the concept has stood in opposition to a colonial Rhodesia since the European invasion. To destroy it, and to maintain white minority control the colonial settler regimes have used a spectrum of laws, the most important of which are summarized here:

1923 - Voting restrictions. Various constitutions from 1923 on regulated and restricted African voting rights. The law has always denied all but a handful of Africans the right to vote. Under each successive law, Africans must meet financial property, ownership, or educational standards to qualify for the vote. Under the 1969 Constitution for instance, only 6645 Africans out of almost 5 million qualified to vote.

1930 - The Land Apportionment Act. This allocated over a third of the land, including the best acreage, for European use, while less than two-thirds was reserved for the Africans (95% of the population). Unanimously rejected at the time by a congress of existing African Associations, this act has been amplified many times (most recently the Land Tenure Act of 1969) with the result that at present, 45 million acres, comprising 71 per cent of the country's total Grade 1 (most arable) land is owned by whites, and 45 million acres, almost half of which is poor farming land, is in the hands of 6.1 million Africans. Thus blacks average 7.3 acres per individual, whites 162 acres each.

1934 - The Industrial Conciliation Act. This law determines the state of industrial workers, trade unions, wages, etc. Amended many times, the law always discriminated against Africans. Only white laborers were originally defined as "workers", while African labor was controlled by the Masters and Servants Act. The right to strike is still so limited as to make such action almost always illegal.

1951 - The Native Land Husbandry Act. African communal land ownership was abolished and Africans were restricted, as to the number of cattle they could own.

1959 - The Unlawful Organizations Act and the Preventive Detention Act. These were laws under which various African nationalist organizations, beginning with the African National Congress in 1959, were banned and their leaders arrested.

1960 - The Law and Order Maintenance Act. This gave the police extensive power to arrest nationalists and was used frequently to stop meetings simply by arresting speakers. Its ultimate penalty was death.

All these laws enforced and perpetuated inequalities. In 1974 the average yearly earnings of black workers was \$641.00. For white workers it was \$7,152.00. The government spent \$68.14 for each African child in school and \$746.66 for each white child.

Such inequalities and injustices make it inevitable that Zimbabwe and Rhodesia remain in confrontation until the change to majority rule has been secured.

A final word should be said in this introduction. Zimbabwe nationalists have only gradually realized that their objective of independence under majority rule could not be achieved by negotiation and political pressure. Perhaps they relied too heavily on the apparent ease with which other African colonies won independence from Britain. In countries such as Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland both settler and British colonial domination gave way to African majority rule with some political struggle, but very little violence. Only in Kenya was there a period of organized violent struggle, under the Mau Mau. A critical element in this process is probably the presence and size of a white settler population. The larger the number of settlers the harder, and more protracted, the struggle for majority rule.

For a long time Africans assumed that Southern Rhodesia would also change peacefully. The period of the late '50's and the early '60's was characterized by discussions between Africans, the British, and white Rhodesians with the aim of achieving Constitutional changes moving towards majority rule. This process led only to frustration for the Africans. A growing reliance on armed conflict resulted. Now it is widely accepted that white rule will only be ended by sustained African struggle including military conflict. Thus the Zimbabwe-Rhodesian conflict has become akin to the struggle by the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique against Portuguese control. The formal negotiations, chaired by the British, which opened in Geneva in October 1976, did not change the basic pattern of conflict which entered a more active armed stage in 1972. Fighting in Rhodesia expanded even as discussions were taking place. If negotiations ultimately bring a resolution of the Rhodesian-Zimbabwe impasse it will be because the contest by arms gives an urgency to the talks, and makes African demands impossible to refuse.

CHRONOLOGY

- Pre 1830's** For hundreds of years a great African kingdom flourished in the region now covered by Rhodesia and Mozambique—the empire of Monomotapa. Weakened by internal forces and conflict with the Portuguese, this Shona kingdom finally collapsed in the 1830's. The expansion of the Zulu Empire in South Africa sent conquering armies under the leadership of Mzilikazi north to defeat the Mashona. New African states were established, the Ndebele consolidating control over the southwestern part of the country.
- 1870-1880's** Portuguese from the East and Boers and English from South Africa, all began pushing for access to and control in the region.
- October 30, 1888** The Rudd Concession. Lobengula, King of the Ndebele, granted representatives of Cecil Rhodes exclusive mining rights in his territory. The agreement, a verbal one, provided that only ten white men would enter the country to work the mines, and would abide by Lobengula's laws. In return Lobengula was to receive 100 pounds a month and a substantial armory.
- 1889** Rhodes immediately began to use this agreement as a basis for passing laws and regulations, setting up a police force and attempting to act as a government. Lobengula repudiated the agreement but found himself facing not only Rhodes but the British government.
- October 29, 1889** On the basis of the infamous Rudd Concession, the British Crown granted a charter to Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company under which Rhodesia (then called Zambesia) was to be ruled for 25 years.
- September 12, 1890** A "pioneer column" of 200 settlers and several hundred mercenaries selected by Cecil Rhodes raised the British flag at what was named Fort Salisbury in Mashonaland. These were the first European settlers in Rhodesia and this day is remembered as "Occupation Day" by white Rhodesians.
- October 1893** A force of British South Africa Company volunteers invaded Matabeleland (the area where the Ndebele lived) destroying the capitol of Bulawayo. Lobengula died in 1894, and with him, the Matabele Kingdom.
- 1896-1897** Ndebele and Shona peoples took up arms against white invaders in a concerted movement of popular resistance against the white rule imposed on them. Initially 500 of the 4000 settlers were killed in the war, and the authority of the British South Africa Company was seriously threatened. Reinforcements sent from Britain and South Africa eventually defeated the Africans. African resistance led to another war in 1903, but by 1920 the African capacity to resist military and the power of the traditional chiefs was crushed.
- October 27, 1922** The self-governing (i.e. white settler governed) colony of Rhodesia was established on the basis of a referendum of 14, 763 Europeans. Britain retained the legal right to intervene in protection of African majority rights—but chose not to use the powers despite gross settler attacks on African rights.
- October 1, 1923** The constitution under which the colony was to be ruled by white settlers with minor input from Britain for the next 38 years came into effect.
- 1927** The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union was established with branches at Bulawayo and Salisbury. As a trade union movement it was a forerunner of urban mass parties and a proponent of working class solidarity and new radicalism. After the imprisonment of its leaders in the early 1930's the organization died.

- 1934** The African National Congress, first called the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress was formed in Bulawayo. This first Rhodesian ANC did not last long nor did its influence spread much outside of Bulawayo. Essentially an elitist group, it tried to influence the Europeans to govern the African majority a little more justly. Its main work was done through petitions and delegations. The African National Congress was revived in Bulawayo in 1945, but its following was still limited and it did not adopt a militant policy until ten years later.
- 1946** Beginning of a "Second Occupation" by European Immigrants following World War II. Three-fourths of the present white population of Rhodesia have settled since 1946.
- 1947** The African Voice Association headed by Benjamin Burombo was organized. This was one of the first African nationalist groups to link rural and urban grievances. Burombo mounted so successful a campaign against the Land Husbandry Act and the arbitrary actions of the local Native Commissioners, that the AVA was banned in 1952.
- 1948** General strike of African workers in Bulawayo and Salisbury. Initiative was taken by the workers themselves, with support from existing Associations. Territorial guards were mobilized to quell the strike.
- 1953** The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established. Popularly called the Central African Federation, it combined Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation was established at the initiative of white settlers seeking to strengthen their control by uniting their separate forces. United African opposition to Federation was broken by the decision of some Africans to stand for election to special seats in the Federal Parliament. During a brief era of elite multi-racialism and "partnership", two multi-racial organizations, the Capricorn Africa Society and the Inter-racial Association, were created. Garfield Todd, leader of the United Federal Party, became the Prime Minister of South Rhodesia and held office for five years. Seen as a 'liberal', his politics were consistent with the brief period of "partnership" and "multi-racial elitism".
- August 1955** The Southern Rhodesia National Youth League was established under the leadership of James Chikerema and George Nyandoro to challenge elite politics. This was the first modern African nationalist organization to criticize the "tea time partnership" of inter-racial organizations. Civil disobedience was promoted as a tactic to encourage change. Its greatest triumph was the bus-boycott of August, 1956, inaugurated to oppose increased bus fares for Africans living in Harare township near Salisbury.
- September 12, 1957** The Southern Rhodesian African National Congress was formed by the amalgamation of the Salisbury based Youth League and the Bulawayo branch of the African National Congress. Joshua Nkomo was President and James Chikerema Vice-President. The ANC opposed the discriminatory laws esconced in the Constitution, and attracted to nationalist politics as an alternative to trying to achieve more privileges within the white system.
- February 1958** The era of quasi-liberalism ended as Prime Minister Garfield Todd of the United Federal Party was voted out of office and replaced by a conservative, Edgar Whitehead. Throughout the rest of 1958 African opposition to the obviously reactionary government escalated. The Europeans were greatly concerned about the growing following of the ANC. A special congress of the ANC held after Todd's defeat was attended by some 2000 delegates.
- February 26, 1959** The African National Congress was banned, Whitehead declared a state of

emergency and 500 leaders and members of the ANC were arrested. Nkomo was out of the country at the time of the banning and thus avoided detention. Other leaders such as Chikerema and Nyandoro spent the next four years in prison.

- January 1, 1960** The National Democratic Party was founded as the successor to the banned ANC with Michael Mawema as interim President. Joshua Nkomo was elected President in November 1960. During the brief two years of its existence the NDP placed major emphasis on the constitutional issue and on voting rights for the African majority. Nkomo said: "We don't want to swim with you in your swimming pools. We want to swim with you in Parliament." The Constitution of the NDP stated its purpose as "having a government elected on the principle of one man one vote..." It won a mass following and attracted the intellectual elite. In July 1960 a raid on NDP headquarters in Highfields led to a mass demonstration and strike of 25,000 to 40,000 Africans. The government countered by passing the Law and Order (Maintenance) Amendment Act.
- 1960** The rising tide of nationalism in all three member states was shaking the foundations of Federation; Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland wanted independence, nationalists in Rhodesia also wanted change, but still looked to the British to provide it.
- December 1960** The Nkomo NDP attended the Federal Constitutional Review Conference in London and the Territorial Constitutional Conference in Salisbury in January 1961. The proposed new constitution offered Africans minor concessions—15 out of 65 seats in the legislature and a so-called "Bill of Rights". Nkomo did not initially oppose the plan—but opposition in his own ranks ultimately forced him to reject the "compromise".
- 1961** The new constitution was adopted, despite NDP opposition. The NDP organized an unofficial referendum on the constitution which displayed its considerable strength—372,546 voted 'no' and only 471 voted 'yes'. NDP protests against the constitution resulted in mass arrests.
- December 9, 1961** The NDP was banned. For the first time leaflets threatening violence began appearing in the name of General Chedu. "Chedu" is a Shona work meaning "ours".
- December 18, 1961** The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) was founded with Joshua Nkomo as President. The tradition of mass rallies begun by the NDP was carried on by ZAPU. Provocative acts of violence by the police led ZAPU militants to accept the necessity of violence in return. Acts of sabotage began.
- Mid 1962** ZAPU sent some militants abroad for military training, to such countries as Algeria, Ghana, Czechoslovakia, and China.
- September 20, 1962** ZAPU was banned—a wave of violence spread through the country as schools and British South African Company forests were burned and attacks made on government buildings. About 2000 African leaders were arrested.
- December 14, 1962** Rhodesian elections took place. Of the more than 3½ million Rhodesian Africans in 1962 only 60,000 were eligible to vote. Virtually none did, complying with the ZAPU-advocated boycott. Whitehead's United Federal Party government was replaced by the even more conservative Dominion Party headed by Winston Field. The defeat of the UFP marked the end of African efforts to change the direction of the European government by working from within.
- July 1963** ZAPU split, Nkomo suspended national chairman Ndabaningi Sithole, Leopold Takawira (Secretary for External Affairs) Robert Mugabe (Publicity Secretary), and Moton Malianga (Secretary General). These four held a meeting in which

they in turn desposed Nkomo and elected Sithole as President in his place. Hopes had been so high for an easy change that it was not unnatural for tensions to arise within the movement as it became clear that the struggle was likely to be long and hard. A major issue leading to the division revolved around Joshua Nkomo. He had long been the dominant personality in the Zimbabwe nationalist movement, with the largest mass following in the country. Yet, to some, he seemed vacillating. He had contested a seat in the Federal elections of 1952. He had been slow to oppose the adoption of the 1961 constitution. He had been out of the country with the successive bannings of the various nationalist organizations. Yet his supporters recognized his long time leadership, his seniority, and the strength he had with the masses of people. Those who opposed his leadership were looked on as newcomers. One of the concrete issues leading to the split involved Nkomo's proposal after its banning that ZAPU establish an external base in newly independent Tanzania. Mass arrests were taking place inside Rhodesia under the Law and Order Maintenance Act. Although it was finally agreed to set up an external base for ZAPU in Tanzania, tension within the leadership was deep and Nkomo finally forced matters to a head by suspending four executive committee members in early July.

- August 8, 1963** The expelled ZAPU members quickly formed a new organization called the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). An inaugural conference was held at Gwelo on May 21-23 1964 at which Sithole was elected President. The policy statement of ZANU says in part "ZANU is a non-racial union of all peoples of Zimbabwe who share a common destiny and a common fate believing in the African character of Zimbabwe and a democratic rule by the majority regardless of race, color, creed, or tribe... The only form of franchise that the ZANU republic will recognize is one based on one man, one vote... All lands shall belong to the Zimbabwe nation and the government shall merely be the trustee on behalf of the people."
- August 10, 1963** Cold Comfort Conference, held at a farm of this name located near Salisbury. With 5000 in attendance, the banned ZAPU was reconstituted under Nkomo's leadership, adopting the name The People's Caretaker Council.
- April 13, 1964** The Rhodesian Front Party, the most conservative white party, won the elections and its leader, Ian Smith became the Prime Minister.
- April 16, 1964** Nkomo was arrested and placed in detention. He was not released for more than 10 years. .
- May 1964** Sithole was arrested. He was also detained for more than 10 years. By the end of 1964, 2000 Africans were in detention.
- November 11, 1965** Seeking to avoid even minimal British pressure for extending African participation, Ian Smith's government unilaterally declared its independence from Britain after a referendum with 58,091 voting 'yes' and 6,906 'no'.
- November 12, 1965** Britain refused to accept the legality of the Smith regime. The United Nations Security Council condemned UDI.
- March, 1966** ZAPU announced guerrilla activity.
- April 1966** ZANU attacked Sinoia, opening the armed struggle.
- December 16, 1966** The UN Security Council imposed selective sanctions against the Rhodesian government—calling on all members to embargo imports of certain commodities including chrome and tobacco and the export of oil to Rhodesia (Res. 232)

- Late 1966** Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Great Britain held talks on a new constitution for Rhodesia with Ian Smith on the Battleship "Tiger". Enunciating five basic principles, Britain insisted that there must be progress towards majority rule and an end to discrimination before it withdrew from the Rhodesian situation. Africans were excluded and nothing concrete emerged from the discussions.
- August 1967** ZAPU and the African National Congress of South Africa jointly began an armed struggle in northwestern Rhodesia centered in Wankie. This campaign lasted into 1968, with several hundred ZAPU and South African ANC guerrillas involved. South African troops entered Rhodesia to support the government. Prime Minister Vorster said: "We are good friends (with Rhodesia) and good friends know what their duty is when the neighbors house is on fire."
- May 1968** The Security Council passed a resolution (253) imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against Rhodesia.
- October 1968** Harold Wilson held a second fruitless meeting with Ian Smith on the British ship "Fearless."
- June 20, 1969** A new white Rhodesian constitution was put into effect. Almost identical with the '61 Constitution, it allowed for parity of African representation in Parliament at some far-off, unnamed time. The Land Tenure Act was included as part of the Constitution.
- October 6, 1971** The Byrd Amendment was passed in the Senate after prolonged lobbying by U.S. corporations with major interests in Rhodesia. The Amendment lifted the ban on the import of so-called strategic and critical materials from Rhodesia, thus placing the U.S. in open violation of international sanctions.
- October 1971** The Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) was formed primarily by a split among the leadership of ZAPU. James Chikerema had been acting President of ZAPU since Nkomo's imprisonment. His closest ally was George Nyandoro. Increasingly he took unilateral actions without consulting other executive members like Jason Moyo (Treasurer), George Silundika (Publicity and Information), and Edward Ndlovu. Thus he arranged for a British T.V. team to make a film of a ZAPU training camp in Zambia without the knowledge of his colleagues for the Zambian government, and without accounting for the money paid for this venture. Similarly he began negotiation with some ZANU members on the question of forming a united organization on his own. This caused serious internal dissension. Chikerema and Nyandoro were finally expelled by Moyo, and moved into the leadership of FROLIZI. FROLIZI also included some former leaders of ZANU. FROLIZI claimed to represent a union of ZAPU and ZANU, the united front the OAU had been working for. In reality it represented a third movement, and was not recognized by the OAU.
- November 10, 1971** The Byrd Amendment passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 251 to 100.
- November 17, 1971** President Nixon signed the Military Procurement Authorization Bill, containing the Byrd Amendment.
- November 1971** Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Foreign Minister and Ian Smith agreed on amendments to the '69 Constitution which would eventually (in a non-specified time period), give a 10 seat majority to Africans in a Rhodesian Parliament of 110 seats. Ian Smith reassured white Rhodesia: "No European need harbor any anxiety about the security of his future in Rhodesia."

- December 1971** The African National Council organized under the Presidency of Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa was initiated in Rhodesia to oppose the Smith-Douglas-Home agreement and the '69 Constitution.
- January-March 1972** A British Commission under the leadership of Lord Pearce, (the Pearce Commission) was sent to Rhodesia to assess whether the 1969 Rhodesian constitution met the "test of acceptability." In the face of constant police action the African National Council vigorously opposed the constitution. Mass African opposition ultimately convinced the Pearce Commission that the constitution was not acceptable.
- March 1972** First consignments of chrome from Rhodesia began to arrive in U.S. Met by increasing protests, longshoremen frequently refused to off-load ships.
- March 1972** A Joint Military Council of ZAPU and ZANU was established, backed by the OAU. However it was never successfully activated.
- May 31, 1972** Senate attempt to repeal Byrd Amendment failed. Senator McGee attacked the White House for failure to act... "The White House alone must bear the burden and responsibility for the defeat today."
- August 1972** FROLIZI congress elected Chikerema Chairman.
- December 21, 1972** The ZANU military wing, ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) began its military offensive in the northeastern section of the country near Centenary, infiltrating across the unmarked border with Mozambique. They traveled with the help of FRELIMO guerrillas, who were themselves consolidating their victories against the Portuguese in several areas of Mozambique.
- January 9, 1973** The Rhodesian government closed the border with Zambia as an economic reprisal following increased ZANU guerrilla activity in northwest Rhodesia from camps based in Zambia. The closure was triggered by the death of two South African "police" on security duty, and the wounding of 5 Rhodesian servicemen.
- January 11, 1973** Zambia responded by cutting its own links with Rhodesia. It announced the banning of vital copper exports by rail through Rhodesia.
- February 5, 1973** The Rhodesian government reopened the border post with Zambia. Zambia refused to reciprocate.
- April 25, 1973** Guerrilla actions began to increase. Rhodesia announced the death of 4 more of their troops and revealed that 11 members of the armed forces had been killed since December and 26 wounded. Salisbury claimed that 40 guerrillas had been killed. Combat statistics for the first year of the new offensive (from Dec. '72 to Dec. '73) differ widely depending on the source. The Rhodesian authorities reported 200 "terrorists" killed and 26 of their own men lost. ZANU figures for the year indicated they had undertaken 55 major operations, killed 500 enemy forces and wounded hundreds more.
- Mid-1973** Informal talks which continued for almost a year were opened between Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Prime Minister Ian Smith.
- 1973** The guerrilla offensive placed white farmers in northern Rhodesia under a state of siege. Men and women carried guns constantly and barricaded their homes. For the first time in Rhodesian history reserve units composed of men 38 years and over were called up. By the end of the year whites were leaving Rhodesia in significant numbers. The regime began the construction of "protected villages"

in a campaign called "Operation Overlord". Initially nearly 47,000 Africans were forced into 21 "protected villages" at the Chiweshe Tribal Trust Land. The second operation was in Madzliwa Tribal Trust Land where 13,500 people were moved into the villages. By 1976 over 200,000 Africans had been forced into villages in the northeastern region of the country in an attempt to isolate the liberation forces.

December 18, 1973

The Senate voted to pass Resolution 1868 repealing the Byrd Amendment. This initiative was not followed by similar action in the House and sanctions breaking continued.

January 1, 1974

The flight of whites began to worry the regime. A full page advertisement appeared in the Rhodesia Herald asking readers to give names and addresses of people who might want to live in Rhodesia. This campaign, called "Settler 74" was aimed at increasing white immigration. In December 1973, 460 more people left the country than arrived.

June 2, 1974

The ANC Executive finally rejected the terms of a possible agreement with Ian Smith apparently because the proposed plan for a gradual increase in voting rights for Africans would have taken 40 to 60 years to bring African parity with whites in parliament.

September 15, 1974

A 90 mile railroad line was opened connecting Rutenga in southeastern Rhodesia with Beit Bridge on the South African border, thus establishing the first direct rail link with South Africa.

October 23, 1974

Prime Minister Vorster initiated a public detente effort, announcing in Parliament that South Africa seeks a "durable, just and honorable solution" in Rhodesia, and urged "all who have influence to bring it to bear upon all parties concerned . . ."

October 26, 1974

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia welcomed Vorster's statement as the "voice of reason."

December 4, 1974

The Rhodesian government released Joshua Nkomo and Ndabiniingi Sithole temporarily to attend meetings in Lusaka.

December 7, 1974

The Lusaka Agreement. After several days of discussions at the State House in Lusaka with the presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Botswana, Nkomo for ZAPU, Sithole for ZANU, Chikerema for FROLIZI and Muzorewa for ANC signed an agreement. The movements, said the text, "Hereby agree to unite in the African National Council". The agreement provided for the leaders of these organizations to dissolve their organizations and join in an enlarged executive of the ANC for 4 months under the chairmanship of Muzorewa. Then a Congress was to be held to adopt a new constitution and elect a new leadership. Purpose of the unity was to prepare for "any conference for the transfer of power to the majority that might be called." The agreement also recognized the inevitability of continued armed struggle until the achievement of total liberation in Zimbabwe."

December 14, 1974

Ian Smith announced "I have received assurances to the effect that terrorist activities in Rhodesia will cease immediately, and second, that the proposed constitutional conference will take place without any pre-conditions. Accordingly I have agreed to release the African leaders from detention and restriction and their followers as well. They will be permitted to engage in normal activity in terms of the law applicable to all Rhodesians. . . . This will I believe create the right atmosphere for the holding of the constitutional conference."

- December 14, 1974** Sithole flew back to Salisbury and said "There is no way we can reach an accommodation because the Rhodesian government is dedicated to minority rule, and until they change that position I cannot see how we can reach an accommodation."
- December 18, 1974** Bishop Muzorewa said that a constitutional conference with Rhodesia could not begin until there was agreement on majority rule.
- February 9, 1975** The Smith government indicated it was not prepared to hand over power to the African majority. The regime said it would come to a conference table to discuss other solutions, but insisted that the African guerrilla fighters agree to an immediate cease fire. The ANC, on the other hand, said it would agree to nothing less than majority rule within the year and indicated there could be no negotiations for a cease fire until this condition was agreed to in principle. On conditions for a constitutional conference, the African nationalists put forth the following: release of all political detainees; the revocation of death sentences; a general amnesty for all accused of political crimes, including people outside the country; the lifting of the ban against ZANU and ZAPU; an end to political trials and the state of emergency; the creation of conditions for free political activity.
- February 1975** Ian Smith held two formal meetings February 5th and February 13th with African leaders including Muzorewa, Nkomo and Sithole. The talks involved conditions for a full scale constitutional discussion. In preparation for these discussions the South African government announced its decision to pull back at least some of the South African "combat police units" thought to number from several hundred to perhaps 3000. The nationalist leaders again demanded the release of more than 500 political prisoners; despite his promises Smith had only released 130 political prisoners by February.
- March 4, 1975** Sithole was arrested by the Rhodesian regime on a trumped up charge of plotting to assassinate some of his political opponents in an attempt to gain leadership in the ANC. Zimbabwean leaders denounced the arrest. On April 5th he was released to attend a special meeting of the OAU in Dar es Salaam.
- April 15, 1975** The ANC announced that Sithole would not return to Rhodesia following OAU meetings.
- March 18, 1975** Herbert Chitepo, Chairman of ZANU since 1963, was assassinated by a bomb planted in his car in Zambia. The welter of accusation and counter accusation that followed Chitepo's death threw the spotlight on long rumored conflicts within ZANU.
- March 23, 1975** The Zambian government arrested the top ZANU leaders in Zambia. This included most of the Supreme Council of ZANU. An estimated 1500 ZANU guerrillas were placed under detention. The charge against ZANU leadership was possible complicity in the assassination of Chitepo, a charge vigorously denied by the detainees.
- March 31, 1975** The Zambian government established an international commission to investigate the death of Chitepo. The Commission was composed of representatives from Botswana, Libya, the Malagasy Republic, Morocco, Mozambique, the OAU Liberation Committee, Sierra Leone, Mali, Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia.
- April 9, 1975** The Commission published its findings—concluding that Chitepo's death resulted in part from the struggle inside ZANU for high positions in liberated Zimbabwe.
- June 1, 1975** A serious split had developed inside the ANC revolving initially around the holding of a Congress. Nkomo, inside Rhodesia and confident of his political

dominance, was pressing for a congress. Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chikerema, all outside the country, were opposed to it. Chikerema announced in London, "Congress at present would tear the leadership from top to bottom." The split erupted into open confrontation between supporters of the two factions at a meeting in Highfields. Police killed 15 Africans.

- June-July 1975** At least three meetings were held in Dar es Salaam and in Lusaka to work out agreement on the organization of the Zimbabwe Liberation Council, which was to be the external organization of the ANC of Zimbabwe. It was recommended that the Executive Committee of the ZLC would be composed of 4 from each of the constituent original organizations, ANC, ZANU, ZAPU & FROLIZI.
- June 13, 1975** Smith met with Muzorewa and Nkomo to discuss conditions for a constitutional conference. There was disagreement on a venue, the nationalists fearing that exiled leaders might be arrested if they returned to Rhodesia.
- July 1975** Over 100 black students disappeared from two mission schools and were reported heading for ANC camps in Mozambique. The publicity given this and another incident revealed that the steady trickle of young people leaving Rhodesia to join the guerrillas had become a flood. Both training camps and separate refugee camps were soon absorbing thousands in Mozambique.
- August 26, 1975** The representatives of the Rhodesian government and the ANC met for 14½ hours in a train on the Victoria Falls Bridge between Zambia and Rhodesia. The meeting was notable primarily because it brought together arch racist Vorster and Zambian President Kaunda, in their first ever meeting, spotlighting the thrust for "detente." The talks soon broke down. Smith seemed as intransigent as ever, having announced in Bulawayo on August 24th: "We have never had a policy in Rhodesia to hand our country over to any black majority government and as far as I am concerned we never will have."
- Early September 1975** A meeting of the ZLC was held in Lusaka to appoint the Executive Committee. Sithole (ZANU) was chosen as chairman, Jason Moyo (ZAPU) vice chairman, James Chikerema (FROLIZI) secretary, but Moyo did not attend the meeting and the ZAPU group subsequently walked out of the ZLC because Moyo was the only former ZAPU leader given a position on the body, and then only as vice-chairman.
- September 4, 1975** The conflict inside the ANC came to a head with the expulsion by Bishop Muzorewa of Nkomo who he accused of secretly collaborating with Smith.
- September 27-28, 1975** Joshua Nkomo called a Congress of the ANC at a soccer stadium in Highfields. It was announced that 43 out of the 69 members of the ANC Executive agreed to this Congress and attended it. Congress was attended by 6000 accredited delegates. Nkomo demanded majority rule "now, not tomorrow". He pledged continued negotiations for majority rule and said that if this failed armed struggle would be inevitable. He was elected as president, thus settling up another ANC. The ANC led by Bishop Muzorewa condemned the Congress as unconstitutional and non-representative.
- September 25, 1975** The House by a vote of 209 to 187 rejected Resolution 1287 which attempted to repeal the Byrd Amendment.
- October 26, 1975** An ANC rally in support of Bishop Muzorewa was held in the stadium of Highfields with about 40,000 people attending. The meeting had to be closed because of police interference.
- October 31, 1975** Smith and Nkomo began a series of preliminary meetings to discuss arrangements for a full constitutional conference.

- February 1976.** Rhodesia, claiming hot pursuit, made several attacks into Mozambique.
- March 3, 1976** President Samora Machel of Mozambique announced the closing of the Mozambique border with Rhodesia, in support of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, cutting off one of Smith's main lifelines to the outside world.
- March 4, 1976** Secretary of State Kissinger warned Cuba against any intervention in the Rhodesian conflict. In a television interview, Ian Smith expressed the hope that the "free world" would not allow the Russians and Cubans to create an Angolan situation in Rhodesia.
- March 1976** Guerrilla attacks were escalating, British sources reported 12,000 to 14,000 men in a Zimbabwe Liberation Army, 3000 to 4000 fully trained. About 1100 were thought to be operating in small bands inside Rhodesia. The bulk of their weapons were of Soviet manufacture. At this point the Zimbabwe nationalist forces were reportedly divided into three factions. The Nkomo faction of the ANC, the Muzorewa faction, and the "third force." The guerrillas in the third force, which ultimately became known as ZIPA, had reportedly rejected the old political leadership. Its leadership was composed of a Council of 18—9 from ZANU and 9 from ZAPU. The regular Rhodesian army consisting of troops, para-military police and airforce, was put at 12,000 and the organized reserves at about 25,000.
- March 19, 1976** Discussions between Nkomo and Smith were ended after 13 meetings. Nkomo said they had reached an impasse because the government insisted on a transition period of 10 to 15 years instead of agreeing to immediate majority rule. Smith said the breakoff came because Nkomo demanded immediate transfer of government to an interim council headed by a British-appointed chairman and composed of an equal number of government and ANC members. Smith subsequently declared on British television "I don't believe in majority rule ever in Rhodesia—not in a thousand years. I believe in blacks and whites working together." President Kaunda said the breakdown of negotiations left the Africans with no option but to support the armed struggle.
- April 30, 1976** Ian Smith appointed 4 African tribal chiefs to his government saying that he had created a "national coalition" by his move.
- May 2, 1976** The Rhodesian army commander, Lt. General Peter Walls, announced a new offensive policy for the army. It would in future cross the border of neighboring African countries in pursuit of guerrillas. The months that followed brought an increasing number of Rhodesian invasions into Mozambique, with brutal assaults against Rhodesian refugee camps and the Mozambique civilian population.

CONCLUSION

Although the establishment of an independent Zimbabwe is in sight, the struggle has by no means ended. The year 1976 was notable because the conflict between Rhodesia and Zimbabwe took on an urgent international character. The U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, was partly responsible for this. Only two years earlier, Kissinger had considered the southern Africa issues of small moment and almost jokingly told African Ambassadors at the UN that he might take a trip to Africa sometime in the future.

The struggle for power in Angola changed Kissinger's mood. Starting from his failure to put U.S. supported movements into power in an independent Angola, Kissinger feared international involvement in the Rhodesian conflict, with the U.S. again in a weak position. A period of feverish activity ensued. In April, Kissinger traveled to Africa and made an important speech in Lusaka dealing primarily with the problems of southern Africa. Announcing that the U.S. supported majority rule, and a peaceful solution to the struggle between white and black, he opened up a dialogue with black African presidents, particularly Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania, aimed at curtailing what he termed radicalization in Zimbabwe and Namibia. He followed this up with two highly publicized meetings with Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa, first in Germany in June only a week after the African uprising in Soweto and second in Switzerland in early September.

These two discussions set the stage for a second trip to Africa after mid-September for a round of meetings with Nyerere, Kaunda, Vorster and Ian Smith. This "shuttle diplomacy" led to proposals covering the procedure to be adopted for settlement of the Rhodesia-Zimbabwe conflict. Elements in this Kissinger plan were for agreement on majority rule in Rhodesia within two years, the establishment of an interim government with both black and white participation, and the initiation in Geneva of formal negotiations for a settlement between the contending forces. Apparently the plan also provided for the establishment of a very large (\$2-3 billion) fund which could be used both to provide an incentive for whites to stay in Rhodesia and to aid them in resettling elsewhere if they chose to do so.

Under pressure from Kissinger and Vorster, Smith apparently agreed to the formula including majority rule within two years and a Geneva conference. This plan was worked out without discussions with the Zimbabwe leaders. Although Nyerere and Kaunda were in close contact with the Zimbabweans they did not pretend to speak on their behalf. Kissinger, it also appeared later, had said different things to different people. It was not surprising then, that the several parties had very different views as to the terms of the "Kissinger plan" as a basis for the Geneva discussions. Most controversial was Smith's contention that the plan was a guaranteed "package" including provisions for a two tier interim government with a Council of State to be under a white Rhodesian Chairman, and a Council of Ministers with the Ministries of Defense and of Internal Security under white leadership. The Zimbabweans rejected this plan as a basis for Geneva discussions.

Despite these sharp differences, the Geneva conference opened on October 28th. Ivor Richard, U.K. Ambassador to the U.N., was chairman. Ian Smith headed the Rhodesian delegation. Four Zimbabwe movements were represented: the African National Council led by Bishop Muzorewa; ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo; ZANU led by Robert Mugabe; and a delegation led by Ndabaningi Sithole. Sithole had been working with Muzorewa until he resigned on September 9th as a press conference in Dar es Salaam. He called his delegation a ZANU one, but his leadership was rejected by ZANU.

For purposes of unity at the discussions, ZAPU and ZANU formed a Patriotic Front and agreed to present their positions jointly.

The Conference was stalemated for several weeks on the first agenda item—the date for independence. Finally the issue was by-passed as Ivor Richard presented a formula that independence would be no later than March 1, 1978. This formula was not officially adopted—Smith never stated agreement, and the Patriotic Front still talked in terms of December 1, 1977.

The Geneva discussions simply bore out the lessons of past negotiations. The white Rhodesians were stalling for time by making concrete agreements on majority rule an impossibility. The Zimbabweans made clear they were not prepared to compromise on the principle of majority rule even in the interim period and certainly not on control of the key positions of defense and police.

Armed struggle was not suspended during the Geneva discussions. The Zimbabwe Peoples Army (ZIPA) expanded their operations inside the country with Mozambique and Zambia as bases. Rocket and mortar attacks from Zimbabwe troops in Mozambique were made into Rhodesia. Casualties mounted on both sides with questionable official statistics. The Rhodesian army escalated attacks into Mozambique. The danger of greater international involvement was increased by the raid on a Zimbabwe refugee center at Nyazonia in Tete province in early August with 600 Rhodesian refugees killed and wounded. In subsequent months such attacks have become increasingly frequent, large scale incursions into Mozambique in early November killing "several hundred guerrillas" according to Rhodesia security sources.

GLOSSARY

ANC	The initials are used both for the African National Congress, which was banned in 1959, and most commonly for the African National Council, founded in 1971.
FRELIMO	National Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FROLIZI	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
Front Line States	Independent southern African states most involved in supporting the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe: Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.
NDP	National Democratic Party
Patriotic Front	Formed jointly by ZANU and ZAPU to present unitary positions at the Geneva conference, 1976.
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority against nominal British control.
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, the military wing of ZANU
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZLC	Zimbabwe Liberation Council, the external organization of the African National Council.