

LAND TO THE PEOPLE: Peasants and nationalism in the development of land ownership structure in Zimbabwe from pre-colonialism to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD:	Anno Domini
AM:	African Male
ANC:	African National Congress
BAVA:	British African Voice Association
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
BR. Lib. A.:	British Library Archives
BSAC:	British South Africa Company
CAF:	Central African Federation
CSC:	Cold Storage Commission
DC:	District Commissioner
DP:	Dominions Party
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
ICU:	Industrial Commercial Workers Union
LAA:	Land Apportionment Act
LDO:	Land Development Officer
LSE:	Large Stock Equivalent
LSE, A:	London School of Economics Archives
MP:	Member of Parliament
NA:	National Archives
NAD:	Native Agricultural Development
NDP:	National Democratic Party
NLHA:	Native Land Husbandry Act
NPA:	Native Purchase Area
OAU:	Organisation of African Unity
PAC:	Pan-Africanist Congress
PCC:	People's Caretaker Council
PF:	Patriotic Front
RBVA:	Rhodesia Bantu Voters Association
RICU:	Rhodesia Industrial Commercial Workers Union
RNLB:	Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau
SNA:	Special Native Area
SRANC:	Southern Rhodesia African National Congress
TLA:	Tribal Land Authorities
TTL:	Tribal Trust Land
TTLA:	Tribal Trust Land Act
UDI:	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFP:	United Federal Party
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
USA:	United States of America
ZANLA:	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU:	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU:	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIPRA:	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

- Abantwana benhlabathi:** Children of the soil
- Bira:** A ceremony to propitiate the ancestral spirits and spirit mediums.
- Chibharo:** Forced labour
- Chimbwido:** Female guerrilla messenger
- Chimurenga:** War of Liberation
- Conacre:** Irish sharecropping
- Cottiers:** Irish poorest rural workers employed by tenants
- Dambo (vlei):** Wetlands of Rhodesia used by black peasants for crop cultivation
- Dare:** Village council serving as the traditional court system in Rhodesia
- Détente:** French word meaning to relax or loosen. In the Zimbabwean context it meant easing of relations.
- Izinduna:** Ndebele word for Chiefs
- Kaffir farming:** Nick name for sharecropping and rent tenancy in Rhodesia
- Kulaks:** Russia's richest peasants
- Kuronzera:** Cattle loan
- Kurova guva:** Zimbabwean traditional custom of reuniting the dead with the living/ bringing home ritual
- Kuzvarira:** Pledging young girls to elderly and wealthy men in exchange for lobola cattle
- Latifundia:** Large estates
- Lobola:** Bride price or Bride wealth
- Masvikiro:** Ancestral spirits
- Mfecane:** Period of trouble or great crushing
- Mujibha:** Male guerrilla messenger
- Muripo:** Penalties or fines.
- Ngozi:** Avenging spirit
- Operation Murambatsvina:** A large-scale Zimbabwean Government campaign to forcibly clear slums across the country.
- Ugariri:** Labour services to substitute bride price usually offered by the poor to the parents of his girlfriend for a prescribed period of time then get his wife.
- Umvukela:** Ndebele word for War of liberation.
- Usufruct:** The right of enjoyment enabling a holder to derive profit or benefit from property that is either titled to another person or which is held in common ownership, as long as the property is not damaged or destroyed.
- Uzulu:** Ndebele word for the general black population of Rhodesia
- Vadzimu:** Spirit mediums

ABSTRACT

The space between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers now known as Zimbabwe is a diverse state endowed with diverse ethnicities. The vast majority of the people in this space were peasants and cultivators in pre-colonial times. These peasants had a strong attachment to land because of its psycho-spiritual significance as the abode of the ancestors and other natural resources. One of the ethnic groups in this space, the Shona, had a strong attachment to land for cattle which were very important in the Shona traditional religion. The inhabitants of the space Between the Zambezi and Limpopo also traded, specialized in crafts and did small-scale mining. Trade was practiced over a wide area during the Great Zimbabwe period (11th-15th century) with Zimbabwean gold found as far away as China, and Chinese and Syrian goods imported into the country. With the opening of the African continent to overseas trade the peasants took up the cultivation of export crops in exchange for imported goods. The advent of colonialism in the land now called Zimbabwe affected the peasants' way of life in a big way. Indigenous people suffered extremely as a result of colonial land policy which characterised the transition to western-style capitalism in the country. The British South Africa Company (BSAC), representing international capitalism, carved out large areas of land for themselves thereby affecting the close relationship between land, cattle, traditional religion and the local inhabitants. Land ownership between the colonial administrators and indigenous people created conflict which ultimately stimulated black nationalism in the country. This work therefore examines the relationship between the peasantry and nationalism, and shows how conflict over resources can motivate stronger collective action which may lead the conflict to escalate into an armed national struggle as portrayed by the First (1896-7) and Second (1966-79) Chimurenga (War of liberation) in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis enters the field of land studies through two gates; first, the political gate which attempts to place emphasis on nationalism as an ideology and how using land it gained traction among peasants in the colonial period thus arousing the anti-colonial sentiment, and, second, through the historical gate, owing to the historical narratives of land ownership in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. This historical gate becomes important because history is a philosophy of verification (Parekh and Berki, 1972). Accordingly, even before colonisation, land and cattle were potential and actual causes of tension in the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo. This space between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers, that has been reconfigured to constitute present day Zimbabwe, is a diverse state endowed with diverse ethnicity with different narratives of land ownership; its importance to them and their ownership structures. Oral tradition and archaeological evidence maintain that long before the arrival of the first white settlers bloody ethnic wars were fought over land and cattle (cf. Palmer and Parsons, 1977). Although that was the case, there was no land shortage at the time because the area was sparsely populated to the extent that people practised shifting cultivation.

According to Alao Abiodun (2007: 63):

Land is the most important resource in Africa. Its importance transcends economics into a breadth of social, spiritual, and political significance. It is considered as a place of birth; the place where the ancestors are laid to rest; the place which the creator has designated to be passed down to successive generations; and the final resting place for every child born on its surface. Every society in Africa sees land as a natural resource that is held in trust for future generations, and the sacredness of this trust lies behind most of the conflicts over land in the continent. Land is the abode of most other natural resources; a characteristic that means the controversies surrounding these resources often manifest through conflicts over ownership, management, and control of land.

This thesis therefore engages an interdisciplinary approach to illuminate how important it is for social, cultural, political and religious issues to underpin any decisions regarding land ownership in Zimbabwe. This study's contribution to knowledge derives its niche from its uniqueness of combining peasant studies with nationalism thereby bringing a new idea that credits the peasantry's evolving relationship with land at the core of Zimbabwe's political experience particularly during colonial rule. By engaging several theoretical frameworks the thesis challenges the omission in the literature to date, of the role Zimbabwean peasantry played in the forming of nationalist movements that waged several civil wars, based on their

land grievances, in an effort to restore their property rights and their dignity, and this is the study's major contribution to knowledge. The study also shows that the Zimbabwe peasantry, instrumental in fermenting nationalist movements and participating in the wars much more than the elites who took control of the country at independence in 1980 were more than victims. In addition this study contributed to knowledge by identifying similarities between Zimbabwean peasantry and other peasantries worldwide. While Zimbabwean peasantry followed similar routes with the peasantry in the world this thesis has shown that European models of dealing with land ownership in the African environment have led to conflicts that have spanned centuries as evident in Zimbabwe.

Arguably land is a natural resource that has always been a source of conflict among various ethnic groups of people living between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. Two ethnic groups which will feature prominently in this study are the Shona and Ndebele. It is important to note that featuring the Shona and Ndebele does not imply that they are the most important ethnicities; rather they are featured as the broader representation of other ethnic groups in Zimbabwe who are also peasants. It is imperative to point out that an ethnic group does not necessarily translate into a minority. A majority can still be an ethnic group (Cottle 2000; Riggins 1992). In an attempt to define ethnicity, Richard Schermerhorn (1978: 12) provides a comprehensive definition using group identity:

An ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are; kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of some kind among members of the group.

From the definition of ethnic group above, it is clear that ethnicity exists in the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers, that is, present day Zimbabwe. This space (Zimbabwe) has been known by different names since the colonial period (1890-1980) although the territorial boundaries within this space were constantly changed. Therefore, throughout this thesis this space will be referred to as Zimbabwe although its various names; Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia and Zimbabwe are also used in order to ensure that the primary sources used are understood in the context of the social geography of the time. It is important to note that the colonial government in Zimbabwe referred to the original black inhabitants of Zimbabwe as 'natives' and ignored the significance of ethnic differences. Many authors used the word 'Bantu' to refer to a member of a large group of peoples living in Central and Southern

Africa. In South African English, the word ‘Bantu’ is a very offensive word used to refer to individual black people (Soanes, Hawker and Elliot, 2005: 52). In this thesis the terms ‘natives, Africans, blacks and indigenous’ will be used interchangeably reflecting the integrity of the source being used in its social and cultural context. According to Chigara (2004: 72):

Today the term indigenous refers broadly to living descendants of pre-invasion inhabitants of lands now dominated by others. Indigenous peoples, nations, or communities are culturally distinctive groups that find themselves engulfed by settler societies born of the forces of the empire and conquest...

Although this thesis has chosen to focus on the peasantry and nationalism in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial to the UDI period, the researcher is mindful of the trajectory of peasant nationalism in Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2013: 8) in their book *‘Nationalism and the National Projects in Southern Africa’* clearly describe the path, which African nationalism followed. Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2013: 8) point out that nationalism and its national projects emerged within the imperial and neo-colonial context dominated by four epochs. While these epochs present an interesting case for examination, this study will concentrate on the first three epochs as these lie within the confines of this thesis. The first epoch of mercantilism (1500-1845), as observed by Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2013) was characterised by slave-trade, which involved the objectification of black people into commodities and denied them ontological density. The mercantile and slave-trade period is crucial in this study because it invoked African racial consciousness which matured into black racial nationalism and pan-Africanism as ‘laboratories for resisting the negative aspects of modernity, particularly racism and colonialism’ (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu, 2013: 8). Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu (2013) strongly argue that Africans have not meekly accepted subalternism on the grounds that nationalism and pan-Africanism have been deployed to contest Euro-American dominance to make claims for equality of peoples and states.

The second epoch, industrial monopoly capitalism (1800-1945) dominated by imperial encroachments, colonisations and African resistance was followed by what is dubbed the ‘Cold War’ (1945 -1989) marked by ideological rivalry between the East and the West. During the third epoch (1945-1989, *Cold War*) ideologies such as Marxism, pan-Africanism, Leninism, capitalism and Maoism and many others were up for grabs for the people of Africa involved in struggles for decolonisation (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Ndlovu 2013). The role colonialism played in peasant history and the development of black nationalism in Zimbabwe cannot be underestimated in this study. Colonialism led to the emergence of a stratified class-

based society in Zimbabwe. The evolutionary transformation of land-ownership among peasants in Zimbabwe during the colonial period (1890-1980) presents an interesting case for analysis.

The researcher undertakes this study with the determination to represent the lived experience of African people from Africans' perspectives. This thesis was inspired by the ideas of the Dar-es-Salaam School of African Nationalist history, which focused on providing history of nations concerned as a means of filling the gap left by the colonially-based historiography which commonly preceded independence (Denoon and Kuper, 1970). Prior to independence of these (African) nations, there was a 'colonial-minded historiography of Africa' characterised by a strong element of racial arrogance (Denoon and Kuper, 1970). Against this background this thesis uses historiography to examine the development of the peasantry in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe, meaning 'the house of stone' derives its name from the Shona ethnic group within Zimbabwe.

Before the advent of colonialism the Shona depended on land for their livelihoods. Besides providing for crop cultivation land also provided grazing pastures for cattle. Cattle had such cultural significance to the peasantry that money seemed insignificant in comparison. Cattle were important in marriage, funeral (rites of passage) and social justice. As such, the land resource is central to the wellbeing of Zimbabwe's societies, for without access to land it is not possible to hold cattle. The way land is used and managed has implications for food production and the general welfare of the people. Proper use of land has the potential to improve human lives and reduce poverty. It is important to note that unequal and/or insecure access to land and its associated resources, to a great extent, affects the outcomes for already marginalised groups such as women and children. For that reason Zimbabweans have been grappling with the need to gain food security and reduce hunger and poverty since the colonial period.

Prior to the UDI period, Zimbabwe was named 'Rhodesia' in honour of Cecil John Rhodes who led the colonial crusade. Then another name, Southern Rhodesia, came into being during the Federation period (1953-1963). After the collapse of the Central African Federation in 1963 Rhodesia was the name given to the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. Northern Rhodesia became Zambia the following year. Zimbabwe has a rich history dating as far back as 1100 AD (Anno Domini). Oral tradition and archaeological evidence (pottery and ceramic found at Great Zimbabwe) suggest that in the fourteenth century the Great Zimbabwe State

was an important political, commercial and trading centre. The inhabitants of the land traded items such as gold, iron, copper, tin, cattle, ivory, cowrie shells in exchange for glassware from Syria, a minted coin from Kilwa, Tanzania, and Persian and Chinese ceramics. The majority of Zimbabweans remained peasants who supplemented agriculture with various crafts such as pottery, mining, basketry, hunting and gathering.

Palmer and Parsons (1977), Ranger (1960), Loney (1975), Yudelman (1964), Birmingham and Martin (1983), Arrighi (1983), Shamuyarira (1965), Sam Moyo (1996), Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2011), Tomaselli and Mhlanga (2012) and Alexander (2006) have written a lot on the land issues in Africa. They have emphasised that different ethnicities in Africa had a strong attachment to land for subsistence and cultural purposes, although there has been far less emphasis on examining whether global models of peasantry were applicable in a Zimbabwean context. There was also little emphasis within these writings to show that these people equally had a strong attachment to cattle for cultural purposes and which influenced their view on land ownership. This was seen as an omission given that the lived experience of rural Zimbabweans even in the 21st century has cattle playing a central role in a wide range of cultural practices and belief systems. The thesis therefore explored the cultural value of cattle in relationship to land and developed the idea that the peasant class in Zimbabwe existed before colonial rule and became more pronounced with colonialism due to land issues. Jocelyn Alexander (2006) has written extensively on unsettled land in Zimbabwe and analysed settlers' violent dispossession. In summary Alexander (2006: 2) says:

The wars of conquest fought under the auspices of Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) in the 1890s paved the way for a rapacious period of 'speculation and violence' in which African cattle were looted, land alienated, and labour coerced.

Alexander (2006) posits that the issue of land ownership provoked the brutal conflict of the liberation war and ultimately brought about the demise of the settler state. Sam Moyo (2000) has also written extensively on land reform in the post-colonial state. It appears justice has not been done to engage peasants plus nationalism together and the role of land and cattle in this equation. This is the researcher's contribution to scholarship.

The arrival of the British in Zimbabwe in 1890 led to rapid social change. The land use systems in Zimbabwe underwent radical transformation with a concomitant impact on cattle and social structures. The specifications of both the land unit and the land utilisation type changed over time as a result of British land management systems and transfers of ownership. The change in land use systems and associated effects culminated in conflict between races.

The country suffered extremely as a result of colonial land policy, which appeared unresponsive to and unrepresentative of the needs of the indigenous populations. As soon as the British South Africa Company (BSAC) led by Cecil John Rhodes arrived in Zimbabwe in 1890 the history of Zimbabwe took a new outlook. The whole of Zimbabwe's colonial history became a history characterised by conflict over land and this impacted on the ability to own cattle; a critically important cultural asset, affording wealth, status and continuity of traditional ways of social interaction.

The aim of the colonial government was to maximise profits through the use of cheap labour. This could be achieved if and only if the indigenous people were deprived of their means of subsistence, that is, land. In the process the peasantry were slowly being turned into wage labourers. The same strategy had been tried and tested with success in Europe during the Feudal period when the enclosure system was implemented and was the standard European approach in the rush for Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. The colonial government, using various Land Acts, allocated less and poorer quality land to different ethnicities in the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers thereby forcing them out of their land and at the same time developing a taxation system that required participation in a cash-based economy to enable these ethnicities to pay taxes that in turn supported the policies of the colonial powers.

Loss of land and new taxes forced the African peasants to seek wage labour on white-owned farms and in towns. Cheap labour became the embryo of capitalist development. Consequently, a class of compliant workers (proletariat) emerged and those who remained surviving on the more marginal land formed another class, the peasantry. Some indigenous people fortunate to access education became teachers, agricultural demonstrators, nurses and clerks, and made another class, the petit bourgeoisie. The colonisers, the ruling class, owned the means of production, controlled allocation of land and exploited all classes comprising the indigenous people namely; the proletariat, the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. It is worth noting that with this class structure, the history of the country now known as Zimbabwe became not just a history of land struggle but also a history of class struggles; within which land was the major bone of contention. Zimbabwe became a land divided; by its history as a British colony and its experiences of exploitation and liberation struggles.

This thesis presents a picture of the consequences of land resource competition and competition for cattle between white and black races. The thesis analyses Zimbabwe's peasantry and the development of nationalism. Using the political economy paradigm, with a focus on studies on peasants and nationalism as engaged by left leaning scholars, this thesis examines the relationship between land distribution and its influence on the rise of nationalist sentiments from the pre-colonial (before 1890) to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period. Further, the objective is to establish the origins of the land conflict and evaluate the impact of this on Zimbabweans through a consideration of effects on the traditional way of life, the birth of a black Zimbabwean nationalist inclined working class and the genesis of a black nationalist agenda based on land-related grievances. In a bid to engage this study the thesis is guided by key research questions that are spelt out below and which define the study's broad framework.

1.2 Key Research Questions

The following key questions have been identified:

- What is the meaning of 'land' to peasants in Zimbabwe?
- How far did the colonial land policies address the concept of distributive justice in Zimbabwe?
- In what way did land distribution influence the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe?
- Does the mantra, 'Land to the people', adequately address the challenges faced by the peasants in Zimbabwe?

The pre-colonial to the UDI period in Zimbabwe is important because it reflects the evolutionary transformation of land usage systems, loss of cultural heritage as represented in peasantry struggles and the rise of African nationalism. Traditionally, among the Shona in pre-colonial Zimbabwe (before 1890), land was managed through local chiefs appointed by ancestral spirits to monitor its usage (cf. Bourdillon 1982). Furthermore, to Muringaniza (1998), local chiefs used taboos, myths, restrictions and ceremonies in managing land resources. Since pre-colonial societies were closely knit, people were educated on the importance of taboos while they were still young, and because of fear of the unknown such measures were not questioned. This helped to safeguard the value and physical integrity of resources (Muringaniza, 1998). The survival of sacred grooves scattered all over Zimbabwe today bears testimony to the effectiveness of traditional land management systems.

It is worth noting that, during the pre-colonial period, all households among the Shona had access to cattle and land; either through cattle ownership via a system of cattle loan known as

kuronzera; and access to land by residence or by lineages respectively (Conroy, 1945 and White, 1959). Pre-colonial society had social hierarchies, but with systems in place to ensure wealth was filtered down to the poorer groups in society. There was no land shortage among the Shona peasantry, which could extend to the entire country until the colonial period when land use and tenure systems began to undergo an externally imposed transformation (Chigara, 2012). This research traces this transformation from a historical standpoint in order to find answers as to when and why land became a contentious issue in Zimbabwe and to evaluate how land and cattle became a critical issue in the emergence of a class structure. As Santayana (1905: 284) noted; ‘Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.’ The historical perspective is important in that gathering knowledge about past events helps to explain present and prepare for future events.

The colonial period in Zimbabwe is particularly important because it reflects the development of international capitalism based upon commercial farming and export and represented by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) under Cecil John Rhodes. The mass of people in the country greatly suffered as a result of poorly orchestrated land policies designed to support the commercial farming model of capitalism imposed by the BSAC, which resulted in conflict. This conflict derived from intense competition over land and its natural resources. Daniels and Walker (2001) and Wulan *et al.* (2004) concur that conflict occurs in some cases between or within communities and in others, it occurs when outsiders seek to claim land that is already occupied. The beginning of colonial rule in Zimbabwe, which heralded a western model of capitalism, is noteworthy because of the land conflict associated with it.

According to Lenin (1917), imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism; the rush for Africa by the old European powers can be considered the last-gasp of imperialism before the First World War (1914-1918). Lenin viewed capitalism as commodity production at its highest stage of development, when labour power itself becomes a commodity. Lenin singled out some of the features that characterised capitalism and which resulted in the enormous accumulation of surplus capital. These include; the uneven and spasmodic development of individual enterprises, individual branches of industry and individual countries, formation of monopolistic associations and, competition. When surplus capital accumulates it starts seeking outlets where it can make more profits (Lenin, 1917). Whilst taking a Marxist approach is not so fashionable as when Edward Palmer Thompson (1924-1993) wrote in (1991) in his seminal ‘*The Making of the English Working Classes*’ in the case of Zimbabwe

it is particularly appropriate as the nationalist leaders who sought to reclaim their land from imperialism did so under the banner of Marxist ideology and this continues to dominate both the current government and the process of land reform in Zimbabwe to this day.

Cecil John Rhodes, quoted in Lenin (1917: 105), justified his imperialist ambitions in 1895, to his journalist friend, Stead:

I was in the East End of London [a working class quarter] yesterday and attended the meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread! Bread!' and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism... My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e. in order to save the 40 000 000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists (Lenin, 1917: 105).

It is important to note that years later when Rhodes's wishes were being implemented conflicts arose over the control of the means of production in Rhodesia creating classes that were antagonistic and portraying the characteristics of capitalism. As pointed out by Marx in his Communist Manifesto (1848: 2):

The history of all society up to now is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in short, oppressor and oppressed stood in continual conflict with one another, conducting an unbroken, now hidden, now open struggle, a struggle that finished each time with a revolutionary transformation of society as a whole, or with common ruin of the contending classes...

Marx (1848) argued that the system of capitalism, like the system of feudalism before it, brings about its own destruction. In Marx's view class conflict is by no means ever ending. In the same vein Zimbabwe's land conflict, which is more than a century old and still has no resolution in sight, may be viewed as a result of unequal distribution of resources. Lenin (1917: 89) argued that:

As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, and raw materials are cheap.

Lenin's observation depicts the scenario that was prevailing in colonial Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). It is the unfairness of the above scenario which may be seen to have stimulated African nationalism in Zimbabwe and which this thesis explores. Against this background the Marxist model supports the analysis of land policy, capitalism and nationalism during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

The colonial government which owned the means of production while controlling the allocation of land gave less and unproductive land to the indigenous people in Zimbabwe and this created conflict between races. Using various Land Acts, best land was reallocated to the incoming white population. According to Ben Chigara (2004), law has a notorious record, particularly in Africa where the coloniser relied upon it to create different sets of rights for whites and non-whites. Rodney (1972) postulates that the Land Acts were passed to legitimise the theft of African land. Reduction of land among the indigenous people led to reduction of the number of cattle they owned as they sold most of their cattle and migrated to towns searching for employment and selling their labour cheaply. Consequently, a class of compliant workers (proletariat) emerged and those who remained surviving on land formed another class, the peasantry. Indigenous people fortunate to access education became teachers, agricultural demonstrators, nurses and clerks and made another class, the petit bourgeoisie. With the external imposition of this class structure, the history of Zimbabwe became a history of class struggles and land was the major cause for disagreements. Thus this study cross-examines land policy and its impact on the two races, whites and blacks.

This thesis is original because it looks at national identity, cattle, land use and their cultural importance in the development of grievances and struggles in Zimbabwe through history. According to Tosh (1991), history is a strong force in moulding national consciousness. It is the storehouse through which people develop a sense of their social identity and their future prospects. While the individual's sense of his or her past arises simultaneously, historical knowledge has to be produced (Tosh, 1991). Bloomington (1986), Tosh (1991), Cannadine (2002) and Warren (1998) have made an effort to explain what history is and how it places contemporary issues into context. Carr (1961) cited in Cannadine (2002) makes a distinction between history and chronicle in his endeavour to answer the question 'What is History?'

1.3 Significance of the study

This study forms ground-breaking engagement of the peasantry and is important in that it contributes knowledge associated with the development of the peasantry in general and Zimbabwe's peasantry in particular and informs policy. It provides evidence that peasants in Africa followed the same route as peasants in the rest of the world and that the change-over of the peasantry to capitalism in Zimbabwe like in any other country was a difficult and painful process and this change-over contributed its fair share in the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe. The study uses the past to look into the future so that it can help prevent history

repeating itself, and the bottom-up approach whereby voices from below have to be heard as opposed to the victor's history. The study highlights the importance of careful and impartial land allocation in order to appease the marginalised groups such as peasants while giving the people who are still struggling with land issues and the fall out of nationalism, their story in a form that makes sense of the past and helps provide suggestions for the future.

1.4 Historical Significance of the Study

Carr quoted in Cannadine (2002: 1) defines history as 'an attempt to understand and interpret the past, to explain the cause and origins of things in intelligible terms,' and chronicle as 'the mere cataloguing of events without any attempt to make connections between them.' Carr (1961) quoted in Cannadine (2002: 1) elaborates:

The chronicler is content to show that one thing followed another; the historian has to demonstrate that one thing caused another. Establishing that something happened is an important part of the historian's work. It is the foundation on which everything rests. But the really important part of the historian's work lies in the edifice of explanation and interpretation which is erected on this foundation.

In the context of Zimbabwe's history, this thesis adopts both the chronicler and historian's viewpoints in order to show that events in Zimbabwe followed one another and that one thing caused another respectively. The thesis demonstrates how Zimbabwe's peasantry moved from one stage to another in their production process and what caused these changes. A historical trajectory helps to show the transition from peasantry to capitalism as facilitated by colonialism. It also helps in explaining and interpreting African problems emanating from colonialism and which translated into grievances, such as land shortage, loss of cattle and access to the associated status and ability to maintain traditional and strongly embedded cultural practices, forced labour, taxation and exploitation, which stimulated nationalism in Zimbabwe. Although the thesis uses historiography to explain and interpret events in the history of Zimbabwe it also uses the chronicler's viewpoint in order to show that one thing followed another.

Warren (1998) views history as the past, and historians as those who study and write about history. The historian sifts and analyses traces of the past. As an historian Herskovits (1941: 32) suggested, 'A people that denies its past cannot escape being prey to doubt of its value today and of its potentialities for the future.' The past is in the hands of people who are going to shape it to reflect their own political, social, cultural, religious and educational stances. Warren (1998) argues that primary sources or traces are themselves compromised by distortions of the original writers, distortions that we cannot always detect. Barraclough cited

in Bloomington (1986: 8) wrote, 'The history we read, though based on facts, is, strictly speaking, not factual at all, but a series of accepted judgements.' Bloomington (1986) compares history to an enormous jigsaw with a lot of missing parts. According to Bloomington (1986), the awkward thing about history is that bias seems an essential element in it, even in the best of history. He argues that there is no 'objective' historical truths since all historical judgements involve persons and points of view. To him, history is an unending dialogue between the present and past. Bloomington (1986) points out that, history consists of a corpus of ascertained facts, which are available to historians in documents and inscriptions. The historian collects them, takes them home and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him. In the same way this work examines primary sources on the land policy in Zimbabwe and selects facts for interpretation whilst maintaining an awareness of the sources of distortion in the sources being used.

The study also takes cognisance of black history. Black history is a significant strand of this work; a history 'from below', as conceived of by Thompson (1971), is more difficult to develop in a context where the historical record is that largely developed by colonisers, but through careful use of material there are black voices that can be heard and interpreted (Van Onselen, 1976). Black History recognises how blacks strove to liberate themselves from slavery and colonialism, and to reclaim the pre-slavery and pre-colonial past when many African nations had advanced social, cultural and political systems that had been largely forgotten or ignored in the development of a 'victor's history'. This thesis seeks to provide some redress in considering the roots of Zimbabwe's on-going land issue and its relationship to the cultural and social importance of cattle in the light of the significance of land to the people and to the development of a popular Marxist ideology that drove the rise of nationalism and sowed the seeds of an inevitable confrontation with the white-led UDI leadership.

Credit for the unavoidable armed struggle must be given to ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) led by Joshua Nkomo and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) led by Robert Mugabe both of which set the pace for the revolution. Both Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe embraced the Marxist ideology. Hence Joshua Nkomo's freedom fighters (ZIPRA forces) received military training from the Soviet Union, a communist state in the 1960s while Robert Mugabe's freedom fighters (ZANLA forces) received military training from China, also a communist state, in the late 1960s. Black history has a bearing on the land

issue and its associated struggle for independence in Zimbabwe because the land issue reflects class struggles and nationalism. In his foreword to the book, 'The Struggle for Zimbabwe' by Martin and Johnson (1981), in September 1981 the then Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe stated:

The antagonism that expressed itself finally in the form of a liberation war had been nurtured by a host of ever growing grievances, chief among which was that of land hunger. It was mainly on the principle of the recovery of the fatherland that the armed struggle was built. The war represented the final phase in the development of a conflict situation between the colonised and the coloniser, between the land-hungry peasantry and the settler bourgeois land-mongers, between the exploited working class and the capitalist entrepreneurial class.

Black history has been a history of struggle and as such has influenced black nationalist movements in the twentieth century particularly in Zimbabwe. Within each country, the struggle for independence provides material out of which a national identification, as well as pride in African culture, can be nurtured (Tosh, 1991). A strand of black history also helps to trace the origins of sharecropping, a practice that characterised most rural peasant communities in Africa and the world over. Sharecropping was a practice that allowed peasants to provide their labour services to the landowner so that they could be allowed to stay on the landowner's farm and share profits. The commonalties of the peasant experience in Africa and Europe is a significant factor in the decision to explore the Zimbabwean experience in terms of a European-imposed class structure. In Zimbabwe, sharecropping and rent tenancy, which came to be nicknamed '*Kaffir Farming*' were practised by absentee landowners. Wells (1984) writing for *The American Journal of Sociology* noted that sharecropping helped landowners cope with the rising cost and uncertainty of labour. Similar practices were common in the highlands of Scotland after the clearances of the eighteenth century, and in Ireland from the sixteenth century (Donnelly, 2007) and again the commonality of experience is one that makes a Marxist model of analysis attractive here.

In Ireland sharecropping or *conacre* as it was called was a source of friction between the landlord and tenant. It was practised by absentee landlords based in England who not only rack rented their tenancy but allowed farmers to exploit the *cottiers* (the poorest rural workers employed by the tenants) and labourers, and the landed to exploit the landless (Dunning, 1982). According to Donnelly (2005), *conacre* hindered a solution to one of the chief problems of the period, that is, how to deal with an entire social class which had lost its economic reason for existence. Donnelly (2005) highlights that, the 'idleness of the Irish peasants,' which the English considered proverbial, was not due to choice; chronic

unemployment lay at the base of the poverty and misery of agricultural labourers. *Conacre* in Ireland, like sharecropping or *kaffir* farming in Zimbabwe occurred in the context of the development of capitalism.

Rennie (1978), writing for *The Journal of Southern African Studies*, points out that, the development of capitalism in urban, rural and mining areas in Zimbabwe tended to undermine all forms of tenancy and to create landless proletarians, both urban and rural. According to Rennie (1978), when white farmers took land, they also gained control of the people on it through sharecropping. As observed by Rennie (1978) sharecropping and rent tenancy occurred in the context of existing capitalist penetration, a cash economy and the development of an African peasantry in Zimbabwe. Classical economists such as Adam Smith (1848, 1937), John Stuart Mill (1848, 1915) and Alfred Marshall (1890, 1964) cited by Wells (1984) viewed share farming as inefficient on the grounds that it promoted disincentives to the optimal investment of inputs.

It is important to note that classical, neo-classical and traditional Marxist scholars concur that sharecropping is inefficient because it encourages underinvestment of labour and capital. According to Lenin (1956: 192), cited by Wells (1984), production techniques in sharecropping are stagnant because they are in the hands of ‘small peasants crushed by poverty and degraded by personal dependence and by ignorance.’ Black history and history in general are important because they help us understand the wider, global context of such issues. History in general helps us to understand patterns of conflict and social change, and land has long been a source of conflict in Zimbabwe.

Tosh (1991) comments that racial conflict in modern British society, for example, is not only due to unequal access to employment and housing here and now, but to the legacy of plantation slavery and colonial rule which moulds racial attitudes, both black and white. Tosh (1991) expresses concern on the history, which Africans were taught in schools during the colonial period. Tosh elaborates that the history was essentially a white man’s history, a victor’s history, in which African achievements were disparaged or ignored. This thesis seeks to redress shortfalls associated with colonialism by taking an approach that reflects the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe on their own terms, reflecting on the value of land in terms of culture and beliefs as well as outputs and contribution to the wealth of a nation.

1.5 Definition of Terms; Peasants and Nationalism

This thesis adopts the Africanist definition of peasants as outlined in Isaacman (1990).

Peasants are defined in detail in Chapter Four. According to Isaacman (1990: 2), peasants are:

agriculturalists who control the land they work either as tenants, or smallholders; are organised largely in households that meet most of their subsistence needs, and are ruled by other classes, who extract a surplus either directly or through control of state power.

This definition is used throughout this thesis. It is worth noting that peasants have a strong attachment to land because land has a deeper meaning to peasants. Because of the psycho-spiritual importance of land to the peasants (Tomaselli and Mhlanga 2012), they are committed to defending land of their ancestors in the event of outside invasion. Loss of land can stimulate nationalism among peasants. Nationalism embraces many attributes. Tom W. Smith and Lars Jarkko (1998), in their analysis of nationalism, engage a number of issues that help explain nationalism. These include; national identity; national pride; ethnicity; tribalism and patriotism. Smith and Jarkko (1998: 3) define national identity as:

the cohesive force that both holds the nation states together and shapes their relationships with the family of nations and, national pride as the positive affect that the public feels towards their country as a result of their national identity.

According to Smith and Jarkko (1998), national pride is related to feelings of patriotism (the love of one's country) and nationalism. Leonard W. Doob (1964) points out that national pride coexists with patriotism and is a prerequisite of nationalism but extends beyond national pride, and feeling national pride is not equivalent to being nationalistic. Smith and Jarkko (1998: 3) thus define nationalism as 'a strong national devotion that places one's own country above all others.' Smith and Jarkko (1998)'s definition of nationalism will be used throughout this thesis. Anthony D. Smith (1991) contributes to the discussion of nationalism by identifying varieties of nationalism. He views nationalism as an ideology, language, sentiment, symbols, ceremonies, customs of national identity, territorial and ethnic varieties. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2011) argues that ethnicity and nationalism are different but related expressions of collective public identity and they exist simultaneously in the same country. According to Smith (1991), a national identity is fundamentally multi-dimensional; it can never be reduced to a single element, even by particular factions of nationalists nor can it be easily or swiftly induced in a population by artificial means.

Smith (1991: 18) views nationalism as 'an ideology and movement related to national identity, (a multi-dimensional concept) and extended to include a specific language,

sentiments and symbolism, and a nation as a community of common myths and memories.’

Smith (1991: 18) catalogues the benign effects of nationalism as being characterised by:

its defence of minority cultures; its rescue of ‘lost’ histories and literatures; its inspiration for cultural renaissances; its resolution of ‘identity crisis’; its legitimization of community and social solidarity; its inspiration to resist tyranny; its ideal of popular sovereignty and collective mobilization; even the motivation of self-sustaining economic growth.

Critics could attribute these effects to nationalist ideologies (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Mhlanga 2013). Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2009) argues that nationalism has a dual purpose: to construct the nation-as-people and to produce the nation-as-state. Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2009) explains that tribe, clan, nation, nationality, caste, nationalism, tribalism and ethnicity are key problematic terms that are frequently buried in the heart of each other and are loaded. For instance, ethnicity and nationalism are different but related expressions of collective public identity and they exist simultaneously in the same country (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga 2013). Michael Billig (1995: 24), in his explanation of nationalism, seems to share the same views with Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Mhlanga (2013) by pointing out that nationalism carries two interrelated meanings, the first being the process of seeking to unite people across ethnic, religious, gender, generation and class into nation-state, a process called nation-building; the second being the process of construction of the state as a major institution within which people define themselves under a legitimate leadership. It is worth highlighting that nationalism provides the object on which human solidarities can coalesce in their quest for decolonisation and democratisation. In the same vein, peasant solidarity can be explained in terms of nationalism and their strong attachment to the land of their ancestors.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored notions of peasantry and the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial to the UDI period as historiographic snippets. As will be seen in the chapters that follow, much of the research is carried out using primary sources from the archives at Kew, London School of Economics and the British Library as well as secondary sources. Analysis of land policy in Zimbabwe relies largely on archival records of the Ministry of Native Affairs, private correspondence between the Commonwealth Office in London and the officials in Salisbury during the colonial period and debates in the House of Commons in London. The thesis draws on press reports on high profile events such as the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and its subsequent amendments culminating in the Native Land husbandry act of 1951, Nkomo’s speech regarding the unfair

land distribution in Zimbabwe,¹ the response of the missionaries in Zimbabwe and the international community. The thesis highlights the response of the oppressed firstly through passive resistance (weapons of the weak) then through active resistance. The work explores land issues and the importance of cattle to Zimbabwe peasants and their influence on nationalism not only through the victors' voices but also through the losers' voices. This can be achieved through acquiring data from archival materials at Kew, London School of Economics and Political Science and the British Library and complementing these materials with data from secondary sources. Data from the researcher's past ethnographic observations is also used in the process of exploring land, cattle and their cultural value to Zimbabweans and how these impacted on the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The thesis is made up of nine chapters that trace and examine the evolutionary transformation of Zimbabwe's peasantry. Land tenure and land management systems are examined in order to find out the origins and effects of the land conflict.

Chapter One provides an introduction to the study. In the process it identifies the problem, its setting and justification for undertaking the study. The chapter also highlights the importance of undertaking peasant studies from the subaltern viewpoint. The chapter defines the terms peasant and nationalism and examines various components of nationalism before giving an outline of research questions that guide the study.

Chapter Two provides background information to peasants and land issues in Zimbabwe. It evaluates the meaning of land to the Zimbabwean peasant and the concept of '*Mwana wevhu*' (Son of the soil). In addition, the role of cattle and land to indigenous Zimbabweans is laid bare from a political, economic and social point of view. In the same chapter the relationship between land holding and cattle ownership is made clear through the concept of 'carrying capacity.' The importance of land as the abode of the ancestors alongside the importance of cattle in traditional functions helps justify why land is worth fighting for, and to explain the 'Bantu cattle complex' respectively. The 'Bantu cattle complex' was a myth Steele (1981) used to explain the Zimbabweans' reluctance to sell cattle to the white men. The chapter also describes the traditional landholding/tenure system in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. The importance of this chapter lies in the fact that it helps in understanding the evolutionary

¹Nkomo, leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP) was reacting to the new Land Apportionment Amendment Bill and trying to bring the hardships of his own people to the attention of her majesty.

transformation of land use and tenure systems in Zimbabwe. The chapter also helps in determining the origins of the land conflict in Zimbabwe and in dispelling the myths surrounding the origins of the land conflict and to understand the steps taken by the British in acquiring large tracts of land at the expense of the indigenous Zimbabweans. Special emphasis is on the way the British outwitted the blacks using treaties and concessions signed with African chiefs and king most of who were illiterate. Examples of such treaties include the Rudd Concession (1888) and the Lippert Concession (1889) signed between the whites and King Lobengula.

Chapter Three Provides an outline of the research methodology used in this study. This chapter is largely a detailed theoretical engagement of social research as a process and academic venture. In this chapter, research epistemologies and paradigms are analysed together with the methodology to be employed by the thesis namely, the historical method. This method was carefully chosen because it is appropriate for carrying out research on the peasantry, land and nationalism in Zimbabwe. Much as the thesis may want to refrain from politics, the land question in Zimbabwe has always been a political issue, hence a contentious matter which requires careful consideration. The thesis finds the historical method attractive because of its use of document analysis. As advised by Bryman (1988), the historical method is appropriate for any research that covers a number of years and requires historical information. Richie and Lewis (2003) also point out that the historical method is appropriate for situations that cannot be investigated by direct observation and questioning. Hence the historical method is appropriate for researching the peasantry and nationalism in Zimbabwe, from the pre-colonial to the UDI period. The thesis critically engages both primary and secondary sources in order to produce a narrative on the land ownership issues in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial to the UDI period. Chapter three links with Chapter four which attempts to show case the story of the peasants' attachment to land for a purpose.

Chapter Four provides an elaborate literature review section of this thesis. The literature review also touches on peasant conflicts and agrarian capitalism. This chapter is important because it clarifies the conception of peasantries from five perspectives namely; the Weberian, Marxian, Anthropological, Moral economy and Minimalist. It also looks at the social organisation of the peasantry and how colonialism impacted on the peasant agrarian economy. The same chapter analyses peasant differentiation and commoditisation of production. The importance of this chapter cannot be overlooked as it views the peasantry

from a global point of view and draws common characteristics that are applicable to the Zimbabwean context. The chapter draws attention to the relationship between the peasantry and land which obliges the peasantry to defend their land as was the case with the Zimbabwean peasantry during the First (1896-7) and Second (1966-79) *Chimurenga*.

Chapter Five seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge on peasant and land studies. It seeks to illustrate the building up of a land based grievance among Zimbabwean peasantry by providing a critical engagement with various sources both primary and secondary. This chapter critically engages and interrogates the afore-mentioned sources through indigenous lenses as opposed to those foreign to Africa, and seeks to examine the impact of British invasion of Zimbabwe on native land ownership and how natives responded to their new situation. The whole thread of peasant resistance to loss of land in Zimbabwe is woven into Chapter six and all other chapters which follow.

Chapter Six examines land, cattle, colonialism and colonial land policy in Zimbabwe from 1890 to 1945. This period is important because it helps cross-examine settler administration of Zimbabwe and to establish whether settler administration was an experiment which had been tried and tested elsewhere. The chapter attempts to present the political picture that was obtaining during this period (1890-1945) and how it influenced land policy and impacted on peasant ownership of land. It also discusses various strategies used by the colonial government to create a land ownership structure for both blacks and whites. The chapter lays the foundation for analysis of the effects of colonial land policy on the peasants and for critically analysing the behaviour of the two races, whites and blacks. Special attention is given to the wars of resistance, namely the 1893 war of dispossession in Matabeleland and the 1896-7 war in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland. An evaluation of the results of these wars and their effects on sustainability in Zimbabwe at the time is made. In addition, the chapter pays particular attention to The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and its contribution to the building up of grievances.

Chapter Seven explores land management and tenure systems in colonial Zimbabwe from 1930 to the 1950s. This period is important as a precursor to the proclamation of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965. The researcher engages primary sources from the archives at Kew as informants to produce a narrative. The UDI was the settlers' way of rebelling against British influence. This chapter diagnoses land segregation

policies with the view of establishing their role in the development of black nationalism and their effects on agricultural productivity. Steps taken by the settlers in their intention to develop Africans are explored particularly the setting up of agricultural colleges to train blacks in scientific agriculture and the passing of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) in 1951. The chapter also assesses how the setting up of colleges was viewed by the land-hungry natives and interrogates the motives of the settler government in setting up colleges. An evaluation of the effects of colonial land policy on the peasants in Zimbabwe is undertaken.

Chapter Eight is a continuation of native land grievances perpetuated by the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951. The chapter examines the implementation of the NLHA and analyses the success of the implementation while taking note of constraints inherent in the process. In addition, how the implementers dealt with the constraints and how black peasants responded to the NLHA are issues of analysis in this chapter. The chapter demonstrates how the black peasants used ‘weapons of the weak,’ petitions and formed political parties in order to resist the implementation of the NLHA. Furthermore, the chapter views political movements such as the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) and its objectives, and evaluates the implementation of the NLHA and the achievements of native political movements. It also views the response of the settler government and the genesis of the Tribal Trust Land Act (TTLA) in 1967. The chapter scrutinises the importance of the period 1961 to 1967 and this links with chapter nine.

Chapter Nine explores the development of black nationalism in Zimbabwe amidst repressive measures by the settler government. An assessment of factors that influenced nationalism is made. Initially, nationalists in Zimbabwe believed their grievances could be addressed through negotiation but later they realised that the armed struggle was the only solution to their problems. Further, as a chapter that carries the conclusion it seeks to present peasant sentiments leading to the liberation struggle. This chapter closely examines black political parties that culminated in the armed struggle. The chapter highlights obstacles associated with the ‘divide and rule’ policy of the settler government and how these affected the relationship between the Shona ZANU and Ndebele ZAPU. The influence of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in the development of nationalism and the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is also examined and finally offers a closing epilogue to the discourse of peasants and nationalism in Zimbabwe. It also offers a critical engagement of the entire thesis and draws conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO LAND ISSUES IN ZIMBABWE

2.1 Introduction

Land is a natural resource that has always been a source of conflict among groups of people living between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. The history and traditions of Zimbabwe go back millennia and Zimbabwe has a history of trading and farming in the 10th century, when Shona Kings developed extensive trade networks, with gold exported across the Pacific via Swahili region traders while practising shifting cultivation. Accordingly, even before colonisation land and cattle, as resources were potential and actual causes of tension (Chigara, 2012). Oral tradition and archaeological evidence, among the Shona show that long before the arrival of the first white settlers ethnic wars were fought over land and cattle (Palmer and Parsons, 1977). Although that was the case, there was no land shortage at the time because the area was sparsely populated to the extent that people practised shifting cultivation.

Furthermore, peasants among the Shona enjoyed communal rights of access to land. Land was allocated to everyone who needed it by the chief who held land in trust of his people. According to Phimister (1977), in loosely allied Shona chieftaincies, individuals holding political and economic power exercised religious authority. These individuals included rulers and priests who formed the council (*dare*) whose role was to make and enforce various regulations regarding resource use and conservation (Phimister, 1977, Palmer and Parsons 1977, Beach, 1974, Wilson, 1989, and Gumbo, 1993). Under sparse population conditions, shifting cultivation was found to be useful in conserving the land and forests.

With the advent of colonialism whites enjoyed unrestricted access to communal lands expropriated from the indigenous while the majority lived in abject poverty on smaller farms which could not support an average family. This kind of land distribution violated the principles of equality, equity, and need and thereby generating conflict. Thus prompting scholars like Armstrong (2012) to advocate redistributive justice as a way managing tension and promoting stability in society. Although redistribution can be helpful it always has losers who often initiate a conflict of their own as was portrayed in Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Shortage of the land resource among Zimbabweans as a result of colonialism created grievances that stimulated nationalism. Colonialists viewed land as a productive asset and this view continues to influence donor policy prescriptions imposed on poor nations of the world. To colonialists, land as a productive asset meant security which induced investment and improvements in agricultural productivity. It is important to note that

the colonialists innocently held this view of land because they did not really understand the black Zimbabwean peasants' conception of land and their strong attachment to land.

To Zimbabwean peasants from their different societies land had various meanings. It was not viewed only as a productive asset but as a political instrument, symbol of belonging, safety net for the poor, and the abode of the ancestors (Tomaselli and Mhlanga 2012). As a result redistributive efforts aimed at addressing land usage and ownership imbalances can be viewed as part of a broader emancipatory project. Emerging evidence from the fast track land reform programme confirms this nuanced and complex picture whereby land has multiple and often conflicting meanings to individuals, groups and the State (Chavhunduka and Bromley, 2012). The meaning of land changes over time and the differing meanings can both co-exist and yet come into conflict with each other. It is important to examine the meaning of land among the Shona, as is the objective of this thesis, because it helps to locate land as the prime factor behind the liberation struggle (cf. Bruce, 2008).

2.2 The Meanings of Land to Zimbabwean Peasants

2.2.1 Land as an asset of production

Land is viewed as an asset of production because of its links with wealth in a state and wellbeing of the citizens. As stated by Moyo and Yeros (2005a), the peasantisation of Zimbabwe's economy hinges on land as an economic asset. According to Chavhunduka and Bromley (2012), the idea of land as an asset has its philosophical origin in Locke's labour theory of property acquisition in which he argues that one's labour is one's property. He elaborates that when one mixes one's labour with capital (land) to make it productive, he imagines that he is now the owner of the land then may wish to exclude others from a claim on that asset. However the owner of that land cannot defend that claim as an individual but that duty lies with collective authority of the state. Maiese (2013) argues that, for a system of private property to thrive, it has to be legitimate and that there must be a relationship between work and reward. Locke assumed that prior to this act of applying labour; land belonged to no one (Becker, 1977). Crucial to Locke's argument is the socially constructed notion that individual property is necessary as an inducement to labour (cf. Bromley, 1989a).

The justification for individual land acquisition and holding by the developed nations differs from that of a peasant in Africa. To developed nations, land acquisition is necessary as an inducement to labour whereas in African communal systems, (Sjaastad and Bromley, 2000) land rights are held on the basis of accepted group membership. Within the group there are

socially recognised and sanctioned rules and conventions that facilitate the adjudication of individual entitlements. These entitlements are premised on a socially recognised structure of institutional arrangements that both constrain and liberate individuals in their behaviours with respect to other individuals (cf. Bromley, 1989a).

Land is presented as the means of being (Lan, 1985) hence the commonwealth of the people rather than a commodity, and that the return of the land would restore people's control over their destiny. In this regard, the reconfiguring of land ownership under the banner of fast track land reform can be seen as an emancipatory project. It must be noted that there are larger social benefits that arise from exclusive rights in land. Among the Shona, for example, it is liberating to be the masters of the holdings which they plough as it helps them serve all members of the community by contributing to social provisioning that secures a better life for the rest. Tawney (1978: 139) highlighted:

The law of the village bound the peasant to use his land, not as he himself might find profitable, but to grow the corn the village needed...Property reposed, in short, not merely upon convenience, or the appetite for gain, but on a moral principle. It was protected not for the sake of those who owned, but for the sake of those who worked and of those for whom their work provided. It was protected, because, without security of property, wealth could not be produced or the business of society carried on.

Although governments emphasise the symbolic and productive value of land, research carried out by FAO (2006) showed that for many historically disadvantaged rural groups in developing countries, land is not primarily a marketable asset but a secure base on which to shelter and nurture their families and to develop livelihood strategies. According to FAO (2006), the right to land has a dual nature. It is a standing right in certain contexts and for certain beneficiaries. FAO (2006) recognises the right to land as being protected as an element of the right to property, as part of the identity of indigenous peoples, whose special relationship to the lands, territories and resources they have traditionally used, and which international law recognises, or as a component of the right to food. In Zimbabwe people have always relied on land-based resources one way or the other for their livelihoods and social security ever since the pre-colonial period. This reliance has become more pronounced with the failures of structural adjustment programmes (Amanor and Moyo, 2008). In a report by (Utete *et al.*, 2003) on the review of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) 2000-2002), it was noted that land as a place of belonging was an important source of social security (Zimbabwe, 2003a), and was a form of insurance against the hazards of unemployment, relatively low cash incomes and the general insecurity of wage unemployment. The Utete Report (2003) further noted that those who migrate to urban areas

in search of wage labour continue to rely on support from families they left behind and when they lose their jobs they are reabsorbed by their family back in the villages. Due to the importance of land Zimbabwean official policy after the turn of the millennium emphasises competing meanings of land as a means of being and as an economic productive asset. Besides being viewed as a means of being and as a productive asset it can also be viewed as a place of belonging as will be shown below.

2.2.2 Land as a place of belonging

In the official document of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), land is articulated as defining the being of individuals and sovereignty of nations (Utete *et al.*, 2003). This conception views life as coming from, flourishing and ultimately ending in the land, through death and burial; which confirms the notion of *mwana wevhu* (children of the soil) (cf. Katiyo 1976). The phrase *mwana wevhu*, as a central pillar of Shona cosmology also informed the ideologico-political principle of the Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)'s liberation discourse, with the term 'children' referring to all people in opposition to colonialism (Chavunduka and Bromley, 2012). Land as the place of ancestors is presented as a national heritage, a birthright, as patrimony whose ownership and usage stands out as a symbol of political and economic freedom. The fact that the graves of ancestors remain in particular land implies that at birth their umbilical cords were also buried in that land hence their descendants have duties and obligations to protect and defend that land. These obligations are rarely understood by non-African experts (cf. Bruce (2008).

Findings from research carried out by Tomaselli and Mhlanga (2012) show that land has a deeper meaning to Africans. In his research among the #Khomani, Mhlanga concluded that land was of psycho-spiritual significance. He notes that land is regarded both ontologically and teleologically as territory and not property, the reason being that property can be disposed of whereas territory cannot. As noted by Tomaselli and Mhlanga (2012), land forms a causal link with one's nativity and history. Mhlanga observed that the San, for example, believe that their lives will be incomplete if they are disconnected from nature. Further, they view every grain of sand as a blessing as they believe there are spirits in sand which conjures healing power (Tomaselli and Mhlanga, 2012). Similarly, among the Shona, their attachment to land carries the important psycho-spiritual significance.

Following the speech by Benjamin Mkapa,² at the Southern African Development Community (SADC) summit in 2004 the meaning of land to the Shona peasant was echoed:

Let SADC speak with one voice and let the outside world understand, that to us as Africans, land is much more than a factor of production, we are spiritually anchored in the lands of our ancestors (Alden and Anseeuw, 2009: 174).

In support of the above Tomaselli and Mhlanga (2012) add that the psycho-spiritual significance of land to the Africans in general and the #Khomani in particular, suggests that, land as the abode of the ancestors is a gift from God, as is water and air. The fact that land is presented as a place of belonging, as the abode of the ancestors, as a symbol of political and economic freedom is proof enough of the multiple meanings of land among the Shona. Furthermore, land can be viewed as a political instrument as is shown in the next section.

2.2.3 Land as a Political Instrument

Land ownership remains a highly contested political issue in Zimbabwe since the early 1800s. The land issue in Zimbabwe has been used as a tool for political manipulation at strategic eras by leadership during and after colonisation. As in many African countries land in Zimbabwe means human dignity as people depend on it for survival. Land issues have always been manipulated for political gain by inspiring the landless to fight for what is rightfully theirs (ancestral lands). It can be emphasised that the meaning of land to Zimbabweans prevails in the context of distributive justice. While the concept of distributive justice was not pronounced during the colonial period in Zimbabwe, Jeremy Waldron (1992: 5) posits, 'It is a well-known characteristic of great injustice that those who suffer it go to their death with the conviction that these must not be forgotten.'

Amongst the reasons why these injustices are recounted over and over again throughout generations is the fact that this act of recollection and telling the story becomes an important aspect of the victim's identity (Waldron, 1992). Sam Moyo (1995) reiterates that the feeling of having been unjustly treated forms an integral part of the identity of those who suffer it. Moyo (1995) and Kaulemu (2008) agree that the majority of black Zimbabweans are poor and landless as a result of colonial legacy.

²Benjamin Mkapa is the former president of Tanzania who succeeded Ali Hassan Mwinyi. His term of office spanned the period – 1995-2005.

During a campaign to end poverty in the developing world Mandela had this to say:

Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity; it is an act of justice. Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by actions of human beings (The Telegraph, 17 December, 2013).³

According to the theory of relative deprivation, a sense of justice is aroused when individuals come to believe that their outcome is not in balance with the outcomes received by people like them in similar situations (Maiese, 2013). Neglecting the fact that black poverty in Zimbabwe is, to a large extent, due to concrete historical acts of deliberate dispossession (Waldron, 1992) is thus a continued act of violence against them, hence an injustice. Armstrong (2012) suggests that the land issue in Zimbabwe be viewed from the minimalist and egalitarian perspectives of global distributive justice. Both minimalists and egalitarians agree that people ought to act to reduce deprivation or to meet basic needs (food, clothing and shelter).

Kaulemu (2008) treats justice as righting the wrongs of the past and paying reparations to those, who as a result of those past injustices, find themselves disadvantaged in the present. Those blacks who suffered injustices expected the injustices to be redressed at independence in Zimbabwe in 1980. Robert Mugabe, the then Prime Minister elect, however, told the nation on independence eve:

We are called to be constructive, progressive and forever forward-looking, for we cannot afford to be men of yesterday, backward looking, retrogressive and destructive... If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and an ally with the same national interest, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten... (Robert Mugabe, 1980 as cited in De Waal, 1990: 48-9)

It can be argued that Zimbabwe's model of reconciliation without justice at independence is partly to blame for the prevailing land crisis. Moyo (1995) argues that unless the underlying causes of the war of liberation are brought to the fore and squarely faced in the process of creating a new future, reconciliation cannot take place. According to Kaulemu (2008), to resolve the injustices, the ugly stories of what happened in the past must be recounted by both victims and aggressors in a process in which both participate. Kaulemu (2008) elaborates that reconciliation and even forgiveness, requires that people actually face these wrongs in order to create the possibility of redress and the symbolic handshake that says we can now put the past behind us. Such gestures have been hailed as avenues of mending broken bridges (Kaulemu, 2008) as shown by Germany's acknowledgement of its Nazi past and its payment

³ This was on 3 February 2005 at Trafalgar Square, London, United Kingdom when Nelson Mandela (1918-2013), a South African black civil rights leader gave a speech on poverty in the developing world.

of reparations to the Jews; Japan's admission of wrong-doing in its treatment of its Asian neighbours during the Second World War, and America's admission of maltreating its citizens of Japanese descent in the Second World War.

As noted by Simon Mawondo (2009), in many societies unresolved hatred and desire for revenge tends to lie underneath the façade of peace and harmony. From time to time these pent up emotions burst out in violent conflicts which may in turn create new scars (Mawondo, 2009). The fact of the story that blacks were victims of colonialism continues to be told, paradoxically even by the current president in some of his political rallies; and the invasion of commercial farms by poor Zimbabwean peasants, for example, the people of Svosve, claiming the farms belonged to their ancestors suggests that people have not forgotten or forgiven.

The prevailing land crisis in Zimbabwe can be attributed to colonial legacy of an unequal land distribution policy which forcibly and violently moved black Zimbabweans off their ancestral lands thereby destroying the traditional concept of land whereby land was communally owned and administered by the community chief. As it is argued that the land question was the motive that drove the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, the leadership has pronounced that liberation can only be complete after the recovery of the land of their ancestors (Raftopoulos and Hammas, 2003). In 2000 Robert Mugabe told his supporters that there was need to liberate the land and that the white man was not indigenous to Africa; thus Africa was for the Africans (Raftopoulos and Hammas, 2003). Land has a deeper meaning to Zimbabwean peasants than perceived. The vast majority of Zimbabweans still remain poor and landless and still stay in Gwaai and Shangani and all those marginal lands allocated to them by the successive settler regimes (Kaulemu, 2008). The next section examines pre-colonial and colonial land tenure systems in Zimbabwe in order to trace the building up of the land grievance that is more than a hundred years old and how it led to the present situation of deprivation and poverty to black majority.

2.3 Land Tenures systems in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, among the Shona people

Land tenure and access are acknowledged as key features in the development of grievances amongst groups that feel dispossessed of their traditional patterns of land use. This has been noted in settings as diverse as Ireland, Russia and Africa. In the case of Zimbabwe (Ranger and Hobsbawm, 1983, Bromley, 1991 and Metcalfe, 1996) it is difficult to reconstruct the pre-colonial system of landholding and resource use, so great pains have been taken to

explore accounts that report on such structures in order to understand the evolutionary transformation of land use and tenure systems in pre-colonial and colonial Zimbabwe.

There are a number of significant works and eminent academics who have written about aspects of Zimbabwe that are critical in developing an understanding of the wider context of the role of land, as a factor, in the development of a nationalist agenda based upon long standing grievances. These include the seminal works of Ranger and Hobsbawm (1983), Alexander (2006), Rukuni and Eicher (1994), Phimister (1988), Moyo and Yeros (2005). According to Metcalfe (1996), tenure systems define who can own (and who cannot own) land, and under what circumstances; and shed light on the relationship between people and land. Land tenure encompasses a bundle of rights and responsibilities to land (Metcalfe, 1996). White (1959: 172) defines land tenure as ‘...the rights of individuals or groups over arable, grazing and residential land, how such rights are acquired, what they consist of, how they operate in the holding, transfer and inheritance of land and how they may be extinguished.’ Sjaastad and Bromley (2000) describe land rights in African communal systems as being governed by group membership and that within the group there are socially recognised and sanctioned rules and conventions that facilitate the adjudication of individual entitlements.

According to Bromley (1989b), the group is usually defined by common descent, common residence, or some combination of the two principles, such as an extended family, a lineage, or a village, and these will often restrict alienation of land to outsiders, and thus seek to maintain the identity, coherence and livelihood security for its members. Bromley (1989b) elaborates that each member of the group has a duty to obey the rules of the group and a right to expect others to obey the rules in a set-up of mutual duties and rights. ‘It is the rights of the members limiting group size along with the rights of members proscribing the use that each will make, that together constitute property’ (Bromley, 1989b: 871). Cousins and Claasens (2004) describe communal property as comprising variable bundles of individual, family, sub-group and larger group rights and duties. They point out that communal property rights are shared and relative, with flexible boundaries between social units while conferring high levels of security of tenure. It should be emphasised that the way land is used has implications on food production and the general welfare of the people.

Kajoba (1993) develops the notion that land use refers to the usage under which any given piece of land may be put for a given period of time under prevailing environmental and technological conditions; a factor that is significant in considering the evolution of post-colonial land use in Zimbabwe. Pritchard (1979) notes that, land use in Tropical Africa evolved from hunting and gathering through shifting cultivation in the pre-colonial period. Oral tradition agrees that in the pre-colonial period the Shona practised shifting cultivation because of less population density and abundance of land and associated resources.

The mode of land use associated with shifting agriculture was the axe and hoe cultivation. This system of land use involved clearing land for cultivation and growing crops on ash from burnt felled trees. The period of agricultural use of land was limited to a few years of not more than 4 years (Kajoba, 1993). The shifting of fields was usually accompanied by the relocation of villages. The choice of relocation was determined by the availability of grazing land for cattle. According to Rukuni (2001), livestock production was a major activity in Zimbabwe and at the time of colonisation cattle were estimated to be about 500 000. Bromley (1991) identifies effective traditional collective management regimes over natural resources in pre-colonial Zimbabwe which he believes were undermined by the advent of colonialism and markets.

Dore (1993) argues that the economics of property rights in pre-colonial Zimbabwe shows that communities would have had little incentive to create rules governing the use of resources, first, if there was relative abundance of that resource, and where supply is perfectly elastic, and, second, if the costs of enforcing exclusive use exceeded the benefits. As such shifting cultivation continued and evolved into semi-permanent hoe cultivation. According to Schultz (1976), under this system, continuous arable land use lasted up to 10 years followed by short fallow periods to allow the soil to recover. The system made it possible for small land requirements per family and facilitated a more stable land settlement and land tenure system (Schultz, 1976). It should be noted that, the system enhanced sustainability in terms of food production. White (1959) identifies two of the African land tenure systems which apply to pre-colonial Zimbabwe. These include:

- societies in which an individual obtains land rights by residence, without allocation through a hierarchy of estates, and land holding under the control of lineages.

Due to the availability of land and sparse population, individual families within a given village usually acquired land by clearing virgin bush; by land transfer; and by inheritance

(Conroy, 1995); all important signifiers of status and all land tenure systems that were rapidly lost or significantly restricted under colonialism. As long as individuals were politically acceptable in the community/village, they acquired a piece of land after consulting the village headman, who in turn had contact with the sub-chief or chief. Having acquired the piece of land, the community protected the individual's rights to the use of land as long as he continued to use it. Conroy (1945) and Kajoba (1993) agree that when land was not in use it reverted to the community. The individual did not own the land but enjoyed its *usufruct* and the chief did not own the land either but held it in trust of his people (Kajoba, 1993).

The chief and his subjects participated in direct production of their own food for subsistence. Cabral (1969) and Yudelman (1964) point out that, under this system of subsistence production and communal tenure, society was egalitarian and not sharply differentiated. It can be argued that the tenure system in pre-colonial Mashonaland was an ideal socialist-type of society and that the attraction of Marxist ideology later in Zimbabwean nationalism was partly a harking back to an idealised vision of an egalitarian society. This is supported by Metcalfe (1996) who reiterates that, all members of the community had a right of access to land for cultivation, pastoralism, hunting, fishing and residence. Although land was held by the community, individual rights were secure. The security enjoyed by different ethnic groups was based on an inalienable right to share in communal land (Metcalfe, 1996).

Yudelman (1964) gives credit to traditional land tenure system on the grounds that the system was flexible and resilient enough to survive the racial land apportionment process of settler domination. The strengths of traditional tenure can also be viewed through the ownership and better management of commonage than cropping land. Yudelman (1964) attributes the strength of traditional tenure to authority over and management of common property resources which were united; collective decision-making which was effective; and rules that were enforced. He goes on to say, by not allowing a land market to develop, traditional tenure managed to prevent early speculation, land grabbing and alienation.

While the traditional land tenure system had much strength, Yudelman (1964) criticises it on the grounds that it does not fit well with the statutory system of property rights and the land market; it is uncertain because it provides a limited security of tenure, based on community membership, not individual title; and this can discourage conservation and improvement of natural resources as individuals externalise conservation costs to the community. It is worth noting that the traditional land tenure system accommodated more cattle than the land could

support, hence the carrying capacity of land was stretched. Overgrazing and soil erosion became common. Steele (1981) justifies the Zimbabwean's desire to have many cattle on the grounds that cattle were stores of value which played productive and reproductive roles in creating potential new income. It can be argued that while cattle were an asset to Zimbabweans, rural communities in the country relied disproportionately on common property resources such as pastures resulting in land degradation and the tragedy of the commons.

Further weaknesses of the traditional land tenure system are noted by Yudelman (1964) who points out that, the traditional land tenure system can perpetuate clan rivalries and tribal divisions. The system clashes with the 'democratic' ideal of gender equality as it is patriarchal. It can be argued that although traditional land tenure had its weaknesses, there was no critical food shortage in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Even in times of drought, cattle became a very important source of food to Zimbabweans. According to Beach (1977), when the white settlers arrived in 1890, they found traditional agriculture dating back some 2000 years. In support of Beach (1977), Rodney (1972) comments that, when Cecil Rhodes sent in his agents to rob and steal in Zimbabwe, advanced agriculture and mining had come into existence over centuries of evolution. According to Rukuni and Eicher (1994), the traditional economy had developed beyond agriculture in the nineteenth century; thereby allowing local barter trade to thrive.

Further, Rukuni and Eicher (1994) point out that, in the pre-colonial period, the land use system was similar among the Shona. A system of land rotation was used to maintain soil fertility. A wide range of crops was grown. These included finger millet, bulrush millet, sorghum, maize, groundnuts, potatoes, rice, pumpkins, melons and many others (Palmer, 1988). According to Holleman (1969), a distinction was made between grazing area and ploughing area. Since there was little or no control over the movements of villages in search of suitable arable land, cattle were in practice allowed to graze wherever there happened to be food for them, as long as they did not trespass upon fields under cultivation (Holleman, 1969). This practice was soon impossible under colonial rule and therefore suggests that finding a place for cattle was important and significant in the Zimbabwean understanding of the place of land in their social structures and maintaining order. Rodney (1972) elaborates that Zimbabwe was a zone of mixed farming systems, with cattle being very important since the area is free from tsetse fly. There was no single dam or aqueduct comparable to those in Asia

or ancient Rome, but countless streams were diverted and made to flow around hills, in a manner that indicated an awareness of the scientific principle governing the motion of water (Rodney, 1972).

Sithole (1997) argues that traditional systems of land tenure empowered communities to manage their resources more sustainably. Common property management regimes and collective action characterized traditional systems of land tenure (Sithole, 1997). It is important to note that land was seen as being more than a means of production. It represented a hereditary right to belong to a community. According to Metcalfe (1996), the cardinal feature of customary tenure, before its gradual erosion under the impact of colonial policies and population pressure, was its consonance with traditional land use systems, which in turn were well adapted to ecological limitations. Ranger and Hobsbawm (1983), however, argue that traditional land tenure systems were not destroyed by colonialism but were actually reinvented when Europeans believed themselves to be respecting age-old African custom. Ranger further comments that, what were called customary law, customary land-rights, customary political structure, to mention a few, were in fact all invented by colonial codification. It is worth noting that, in pre-colonial Zimbabwe people used either one land tenure system or blended elements of two tenure systems one of which is examined hereunder.

2.3.1 Land holding under the control of lineages

White (1959) notes that, in this system, access to agricultural land was exclusively reserved for use by the members who traced their heritage from a common ancestry; a pattern of land holding closely related to patrilineages. The land belonged to the founder of the lineage and passed on to his descendants (White, 1959). This was a common practice among the Shona to access land. Although communal land customarily had no market value, it did not mean that it was freely accessible to anyone and everyone (Yudelman, 1964). The finiteness of land and natural resources was recognized and rationed through an allocation procedure based on kinship and local conventions (Yudelman, 1964). It should be noted that, there was no food shortage in Zimbabwe at the time even if simple technology was associated with the semi-permanent hoe cultivation.

According to Rukuni and Eicher (1994), it was during the early 19th century that the Ndebele migrated from South Africa to western Zimbabwe and set up a rival state. Both the Shona and Ndebele practised the semi-permanent hoe cultivation. When the Ndebele arrived, the Shona

traditional agriculture was the centre-piece of a vibrant traditional economy (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). The arrival of the Ndebele before the colonisation of Zimbabwe affected the Shona agricultural activities as the Ndebele began raiding and extracting tribute from surrounding Shona villages for grain, cattle and people as part of their nation building exercise (Dore, 1993). Scoones and Wilson (1989) point out that, the dominant farming system of the southern Shona was based on intensive, continuous farming of *vlei* areas (wetlands), the major portions of which were held by petty warlord chiefs, and largely worked by commoners as tribute in exchange for food and wives. According to Holleman (1969), in areas beyond the reach of Ndebele influence, the most common form of Shona settlement was based on shifting rather than continuous cultivation. The process met with little difficulty because land was ample and dwellings easily built.

The semi-permanent hoe cultivation was followed by the permanent hoe and ox-plough which coincided with the advent of colonialism. It is important to note that, the arrival of the Pioneer Column in Zimbabwe in 1890 marked the origins of Zimbabwe's land problems. The Pioneer Column, under Cecil John Rhodes (British) began the process of land expropriation that created serious land shortage among 'native' Zimbabweans (Rukuni and Eicher, 1996). Land shortage among the Shona resulted in overcrowding, overgrazing, deforestation and soil erosion. These problems were identified as being directly attributable to colonialism and were likely to create a grievance. Although the British were not initially interested in agriculture they later became determined to revolutionise agriculture in Zimbabwe after they had failed to find a lot of minerals as they had hoped.

According to Kajoba (1993), in areas where there was a marked presence of European commercial settler farmers on state land, there developed a semi-commercial ox and tractor plough cultivation on traditional land. A widespread adoption of oxen and tractors took place leading to permanent cultivation on relatively large rectangular holdings. Shifting cultivation was eventually replaced by permanent cultivation. Permanent cultivation among the Shona was imposed from outside and made possible by the application of fertilisers and cattle manure (Kajoba, 1993). Dore (1993) attributes permanent cultivation to the colonial government's centralisation programme and to population growth which made it increasingly difficult to maintain a culture of shifting cultivation. Dore (1993) notes that, the land scarcity and the colonial government's centralisation programme, brought about a more settled lifestyle, based on continuous cultivation. Dore (1993) and Kajoba (1993) agree that, with

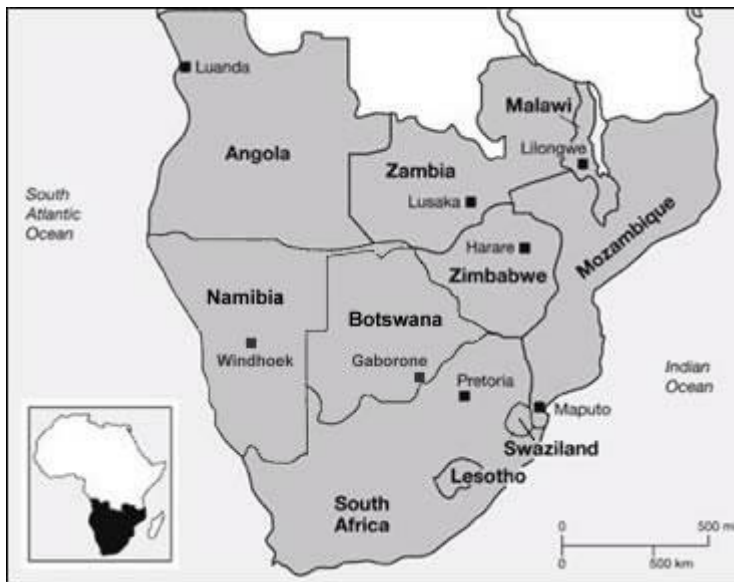
colonialism, came dramatic changes for the indigenous people. There was a boom in agriculture in the native reserves. With the introduction of the plough, more extensive areas could be cultivated and indigenous population increased (Dore, 1993 and Kajoba 1993). According to Alvord (1958), colonialists criticised native farming. They pointed to the inefficient and wasteful methods of traditional cultivation: breaking up and ‘scratching’ of the soil, broadcasting seed over an extensive area without the use of fertilisers, and lack of crop rotation or conservation contours. The cultivation of small and scattered patches of land required excessive labour to keep cattle out of crops. It also meant that while pasture around cultivated fields went to waste, areas set aside for grazing were denuded (Alvord, 1958).

While colonialists criticised native farming, Bromley (1991) accuses colonialists of having undermined traditional collective management regimes over natural resources. He argues that the individualisation of property led to the breakdown of traditional authority and community regulation over resources. Consequently, common property resource regimes degenerated into open access. Metcalfe (1996) points out that by co-opting traditional authority into district administration, the colonial system created a problem of split authority. As long as communal land resources are both formally state, and informally customary lands, authority and management will be compromised, and open access tendencies will thrive (Metcalfe, 1996). As a result the evolution of a peasantry in Zimbabwe and the development of class-consciousness were all related to land and cattle. The geography of Zimbabwe was a contributory factor to the bitterness felt by the black peasantry. This is because the colonisers allocated land with poor soils to the blacks while they took all mineral bearing and fertile land.

2.4 The Geography of Zimbabwe

The geography of Zimbabwe was a key factor in the development of conflict over land as the region offered farming and cultivation opportunities as well as significant mineral deposits and reasonable rainfall; all elements making the land a highly desirable resource for any group of people. The customary use of land in pre-colonial Zimbabwe relied on shifting cultivation, a cattle-based economy and social system and extensive and complex trade networks, the significance of which was not fully realised until recent archaeological endeavours revealed in detail how trading in the region may have worked.

Fig. 1: Location map of Zimbabwe within Southern Africa

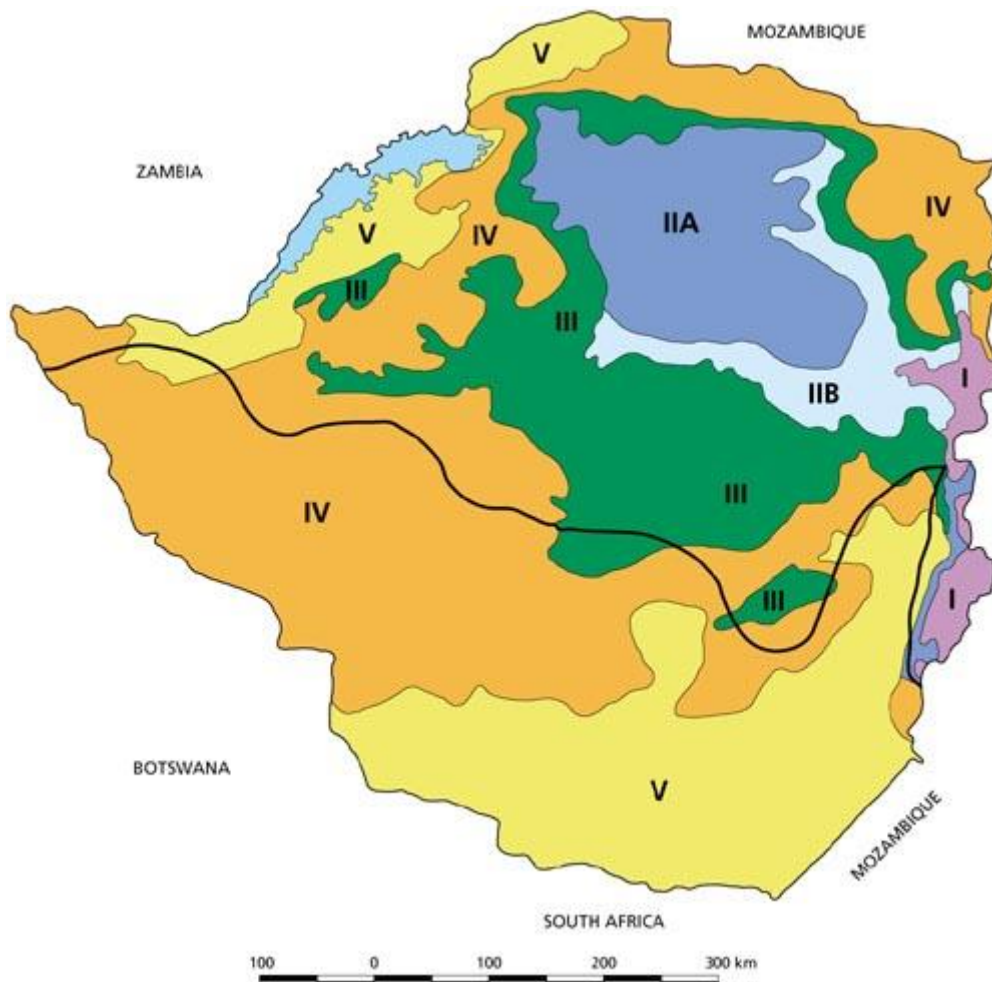


As shown in the map above, Zimbabwe is a land-locked country, occupying the high plateau between the Zambezi River to the north and the Limpopo to the south, with a mountainous region in the east (Commonwealth Office, 2007). Inyangani is the highest mountain in Zimbabwe at 2 592 metres and the lowest point is the junction of the Runde and Save rivers, 162 metres. Victoria Falls is a popular tourist destination on the Zambezi River (Pritchard, 1979). Zimbabwe's total area is 390 580 square kilometres (sq km) comprising 386 670 sq km land and 3 910 sq km water (Commonwealth Office, 2007). Natural hazards such as recurring droughts, floods and severe storms are rare in Zimbabwe. Environmental concerns in Zimbabwe include; deforestation; soil erosion; land degradation; air and water pollution; poaching leading to near extinction of the black rhinoceros; and poor mining practices leading to toxic waste and metal pollution (World Development Report, 2005). Because of its landlocked position, Zimbabwe's colonial economy depended for its successful operation upon extensive links with neighbouring territories, links of historical association as well as of trade and communication (Wetherel, 1979). This involved the Zimbabwe's colonial community in the affairs of those territories for which the Colonial Office and Dominions Office were responsible. These territories included Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Southern Rhodesia, as Zimbabwe was called.

Zimbabwe has a tropical climate, moderated by altitude. The rainy season is from November to March. Mineral resources include coal, chromium ore, asbestos, gold, nickel, copper, iron ore, vanadium, lithium, tin and platinum group metals (World Fact Book, 2008). The country is divided into 5 agro ecological zones with rainfall ranging between 400-1500 millimetres

(mm). These zones have a variety of soil types that support a diversity of flora and fauna (Pritchard, 1979). Soil types include clays, sands, loamy sands, deep fine sands as well as poorly drained heavy soils. Major farming activities include ranching, livestock production, plantation agriculture and crop production. Crops grown for domestic consumption and commercial purposes include tobacco, maize and cotton. Timber, coffee, tea, sugar and fruit are also produced within the five natural regions of Zimbabwe for domestic consumption and export. The distribution of land in the five natural farming regions of Zimbabwe between the whites and black Zimbabweans has been a major cause for concern for the black Zimbabweans. These natural regions are very important in the history of Zimbabwe because they determine areas of high productivity and those of low productivity. Describing the regions is significant in analysing land apportionment and its failures. Some of the natural regions, for example Region 3 contain the most precious minerals of Zimbabwe. People whose settlements were on land with minerals were evicted by the colonial Government. The quality of land within the different regions determined how land was allocated to both the whites and black Zimbabweans.

Fig. 2: The five natural regions of Zimbabwe



Source: Derived from "Natural Regions and Provisional Farming Areas of Zimbabwe", 1:1,000,000 (Surveyor-General, 1998); Information supplied by the department of Agricultural, Technical, and Extension Services (Agritex) in Zimbabwe.

Natural Region 1

Pritchard (1979) describes the five natural regions of Zimbabwe in terms of rainfall regime, soil quality and vegetation among other things. Pritchard (1979) noted that the quality of the land declines from Natural Region 1 to Natural Region 5. Region 1, lying east of the country, is characterised by rainfall of more than 1000 millimetres a year, low temperatures, high altitude and steep slopes. The country's timber production is located in this region. Natural Region 1 is suitable for intensive diversified agriculture and livestock production, mainly dairy farming. Tropical crops such as coffee and tea, deciduous fruits, such as bananas and apples, and horticultural crops, such as potatoes, peas and other vegetables are also grown in Natural Region 1.

Natural Region 2

Natural Region 2 is located in the middle of the north of the country. The region has generally good soils, and because of reliable rainfall of about 700 to 1000 millimetres a year from November to March/April Natural Region 2 is suitable for intensive cropping and livestock production. Suitable crops for the region include flue-cured tobacco, maize, cotton, wheat, soyabeans, sorghum, groundnuts, seed maize and burley tobacco. Irrigated crops include wheat and barley. The region is also suitable for livestock production based on pastures and pen-fattening utilising crop residues and grain. The main livestock production systems include beef, dairy, pig and poultry.

Natural Region 3

Natural Region 3, located in the mid-altitude areas of the country, is characterised by annual rainfall of 500-750 millimetres, mid-season dry spells and high temperatures. Production systems are based on drought-tolerant crops and semi-intensive livestock production based on fodder crops. Extensive beef ranching is an important activity. Cash crops grown include maize, cotton, groundnuts and sunflowers. It is in Natural Regions 1, 2 and 3 that the British South Africa Company carved out more land for all its members and white settlers while the black Zimbabweans were allocated more land in Natural Region 4.

Natural Region 4

Natural Region 4, located in the low-lying areas in the north and south of the country, is characterised by annual rainfall of 450-650 millimetres, severe dry spells during the rainy season, and frequent seasonal droughts. Though unsuitable for dryland cropping, smallholder farmers grow drought-tolerant varieties of maize, sorghum, pearl millet and finger millet in Natural Region 4. The region is ideally suitable for cattle production under extensive production systems and for wildlife production.

Natural Region 5

Natural Region 5 covers the lowland areas below 900 metres above sea level in both the north and south of the country. Although the region receives highly erratic rainfall of less than 650 millimetres a year in the northern part of Zimbabwe along the Zambezi River, its uneven topography and poor soils make it unsuitable for crop production. Generally, the area is

suitable for extensive cattle production and game-ranching (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994 and Pritchard, 1979).

Table 1: Farming regions of Zimbabwe

Natural Region	Effective rainfall (in inches)	Actual rainfall (in inches)	Recommended farming system
1	Over 25	Over 42	Specialised and diversified (fruit, tea, intensive livestock)
2	20-25	28-42	Intensive crop production (tobacco, maize)
3	17-20	22-28	Semi-intensive crop production (livestock and crops)
4	14-18	18-24	Semi-extensive ranching (some drought-resistant fodder crops)
5	16 and under	20 and under	Extensive ranching only

Source; *Fed. Of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Agricultural Survey of Southern Rhodesia, Part 1, Agro-ecological survey (Salisbury, 1961).*

According to Wetherel (1979: 279), Rhodesian white settlers occupied the fertile highveld and constructed a network of roads and railways to facilitate development of their mining and agricultural industries; while the bulk of the Colony’s indigenous population was relegated to impoverished lowveld reserves. Under these circumstances the indigenous population depended on their cattle. In spite of the availability of mineral resources cattle have remained of paramount importance since the pre-colonial period (before 1890).

2.5 Pre-Colonial land ownership among the Shona and the impact of colonialism

The Shona in the pre-colonial period conserved their land through shifting cultivation. Palmer and Parsons (1977) highlight the occurrence of periodic droughts during the 1880s which stimulated trade between the Shona and the Ndebele, during these times cattle, goats and beads were sold to the Shona in return for grain and also to white missionaries and traders. During this period (1880s) many Europeans tried to acquire concessions that would allow them to secure land for settlement peacefully without resorting to war. It was during this period that the BSAC under Cecil Rhodes took an interest in Zimbabwe and signed treaties and concessions with different Chiefs. Having failed to get a second rand, Cecil Rhodes used a system of land concessions to reward companies and individuals for past services and to encourage speculative interest in Matebeleland (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). These concessions caused concern among the Ndebele and later among the Shona; it stocked the nationalist sentiments among the peasants and the indigenous.

Ranger (1960), points out that the first white settlers exerted pressure on the Ndebele king, Lobengula, to grant concessions to Europeans because there was no central authority with whom to bargain among the Shona. Loney (1975) disagrees with Ranger (1960) on the grounds that Lobengula had no control over territory in Mashonaland. Loney (1975) argues that it was in the interest of the early white settlers to claim that Lobengula had control over the territory in Mashonaland, and to present themselves as protectors of the peaceful Shona against the 'warlike' Ndebele. Against this background, various concessions were made, notable among them being the Rudd Concession (1888) and the Lippert Concession (1889), signed between the colonialists and the Ndebele and Shona Chiefs, respectively. These concessions were then used by Cecil John Rhodes to cheat the local indigenous owners of their land.

The Berlin Conference (1884-1885), which laid the principles of 'effective occupation' and 'sphere of influence' motivated European powers to embark on the scramble for colonies. European powers sent representatives to sign treaties with Shona chiefs. Rhodes on the other hand believed Britain had a right to bring all uncivilised nations under its rule and that, sharing British imperialist ideals would benefit all humans (Gross, 1957). Rhodes's views can be considered as paternalism in action. Hence Rhodes proclaimed:

I contend that we are the finest race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. I contend that every acre added to our territory means the birth of more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to this, the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars. The objects one should work for are first the furtherance of the British Empire, the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule, the recovery of the United States, the making of the Anglo-Saxon race but one empire (Gross, 1957: 61).

According to Gross (1957), Rhodes had a vision of Africa painted red, British red, that of the Union Jack. Rhodes made a fortune from the De Beers Consolidated Mines and considered investing the fortune in the transportation industry. Rhodes envisioned a railway line that stretched from the cape of South Africa to Cairo, Egypt. The 'Cape to Cairo' concept helps to explain why Rhodes was that interested in the colonisation of Zimbabwe.

2.6 - The era of treaties - 1880 – 1889: their bearing on land usage in Mashonaland

The period between 1880 and 1890 was characterised by the signing of treaties between colonial mediators and the African traditional leaders across the continent; these included, Chiefs, Kings and Religious leaders. The signing of treaties was part of a broader scheme aimed at gradually usurping political power, control and ownership of land as a major resource. Among the Shona, for example, the Lippert Concession (1889) stands out as an

example. Then among the Ndebele, the Rudd Concession (1888) also features prominently. Paying particular attention to the fact that the Rudd Concession (1888) had no direct bearing on the Shona, it should be noted that nationalists among the Shona have used it as political currency to present a narrative of the Ndebele King, Lobengula as having sold out. However, what remains important in terms of its bearing is the fact of it being one of the major concessions signed during that period. This has further caused other people to speculate that the Rudd Concession could have been taken to include Mashonaland but it had no bearing on the Shona land tenure system and how they were dispossessed by the colonialists. The latter is a contested position but popularised by nationalists. The period around the signing of the Rudd Concession was marked by the scramble for treaties, as can be seen with the signing of different treaties between the colonialists and the different Shona chiefs, culminating in the Lippert Concession, for example.

2.7 The Lippert Concession, 1889

The Lippert Concession, 1889, preceded the actual occupation of most areas in Mashonaland, in 1890, and allowed would-be settlers to acquire land rights from the indigenous people. According to Loney (1975), the Lippert Concession (1889) was sold to Rhodes's group. The arrival of the Pioneer Column and the hoisting of the Union Jack flag at Fort Salisbury in 1890 marked a new era in the lives of indigenous people and the beginning of grievances over land. Using the Lippert Concession (1889) BSAC settlers carved out large areas of land for themselves. Some of this land had been used by indigenous peoples during the pre-colonial period. The Lippert Concession, used as a basis for land expropriation, gave Rhodes and his men the rights over land in the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo.

When the Shona chiefs, who had not been involved in any negotiations regarding land, saw the BSAC settlers, they assumed that the whites, who had arrived, like many before them, were transients looking for gold and trading opportunities before moving on (Loney, 1975). The Shona treated the settlers with hospitality but later came to realise the settlers had permanent intentions. The settlers seized the best land for white farming, irrespective of local rights or tribal customs (Loney, 1975). The white settlers changed the African land management practices and replaced them with their own. Traditional land tenure underwent an evolutionary transformation with the advent of British settlers.

With the Rudd Concession (1888) in his hands, Rhodes obtained a charter (the Royal Charter) from the British Queen in 1889, which authorised him to colonise the country for Britain.

With the Royal Charter in his hands, Rhodes and Jameson raised settler columns on the promise of land and mining claims yet to be won, and set out to manufacture a war for the seizure of Matabeleland (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). Rhodes and his group of men, the Pioneer Column, marched to Mashonaland in 1890. On 12 September 1890 they took possession of Mashonaland by hoisting the Union Jack flag at Fort Salisbury (Ranger, 1960). Maxey (Fabian research series, 301) points out that the Shona welcomed the Europeans, not knowing that they had come as conquerors. The Shona were surprised to find the members of the Pioneer Column carving out large areas of land. Each member had been promised 3000 acres of land on arrival in Mashonaland. This reduced the size of land owned by the local Shona and displaced them (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994).

According to Palmer and Parsons (1977: 227), 'Europeans helped themselves liberally to land in Rhodesia.' Loney (1975) argues that when Rhodes's party entered Mashonaland, Rhodes had still obtained no concession, which gave him any entitlement to land hence Lobengula tried to repudiate the Rudd Concession. He wrote to the Queen Victoria in 1889:

The white people are troubling much about gold. If you have heard that I have given my whole country to Rhodes, it is not my words. I have not done so; Rhodes wants to take my country by strength (O' Meara, 1991: 27).

Lobengula's efforts in repudiating the Rudd Concession proved in vain. In spite of Lobengula's disapproval, Rhodes and his BSAC went ahead to colonise Lobengula's country for Britain. The determination of the BSAC to proceed at any cost is made clear by the comments of the Company's Secretary:

The consequences of this new final plan are two in number. Firstly, if Lobengula looks on in silence and does nothing the Charter will occupy Mashonaland...If on the other hand, Lobengula attacks us, then the original plan [the armed invasion of Matabeleland]...will be carried out to the very letter...he must expect no mercy and none will be given him...If he attacks us, he is doomed, if he does not, his fangs will be drawn, the pressure of civilisation on all his borders will press more and more heavily upon him, and the desired result, the disappearance forever of the Matabele as a power, if delayed is yet the more certain (quoted in Ranger, 1968: 135-6).

According to Rukuni and Eicher (1994), the arrival of the Pioneer Column under Cecil John Rhodes in 1890 began the process of land expropriation that created serious land shortage among the locals. Birmingham and Martin (1983) comment that a mixture of poor luck and faulty judgement combined to drive Rhodes' Pioneer Column northwards in search of a 'Second Rand.' This is supported by Gann and Duignan (1978) who point out that Rhodes believed that a second rand lay buried beneath the northern veld, and hoped to use its wealth to finance his colonizing venture. According to Palmer and Parsons (1977: 225), 'It was not

until twenty years after the white occupation of the country that white farming began to offer any serious threat to Black cultivators.’

Rodney (1972: 165) noted:

When the colonial government seized native lands in Zimbabwe they achieved two things simultaneously. They satisfied their own citizens who wanted mining concessions and farming land and they created conditions whereby landless natives had to work not just to pay taxes but also to survive.

Thus the seeds of the land conflict, which has been on-going for more than a century, had been sown. The loss of land by natives remained a thorn in their flesh and the bitterness they felt over their loss of land to the whites was passed from one generation to another. The Ndebele were the hardest hit by the presence of the British settlers in Mashonaland because it affected their way of life. The Ndebele were used to receiving tribute from the Shona or raiding them if they failed to pay tribute. Now the Ndebele were to become a source of cheap native labour to assist Europeans in amassing capital (Loney, 1975).

Palmer and Parsons (1977) state that during the age of the fortune hunters, 1890s, about one-sixth of the entire country of Zimbabwe passed nominally into white hands and nearly two-thirds of this land was in the hands of speculative companies. It is important to note that the land which the whites acquired, but did not immediately occupy, contained a very high proportion of the best land in the country, most of which was situated on the fertile highveld (Palmer and Parsons, 1977). According to Wetherell (1979), white settlers occupied the fertile highveld and constructed a network of roads and railways to facilitate the development of their mining and agricultural industries; while the bulk of the colony’s indigenous population was relegated to impoverished lowveld reserves. It can be argued that the settler occupation of Zimbabwe disrupted the indigenous economy in a big way.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided the background to land issues in the area between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers, that is, present day Zimbabwe. It is important to note that land ownership in pre-colonial epoch among the Shona was not an issue because owning land was considered a birth right. The chief held land in trust of his people. It was during the age of imperialism that the British took an interest in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers. The area had great economic possibilities by virtue of its good climate, fertile soils and reasonable rainfall patterns. Although the British were initially interested in mining they turned their attention to agriculture after having failed to secure a lot of minerals. The colonial government passed

discriminatory land policies that disadvantaged the blacks in Zimbabwe. The bitterness felt by the blacks culminated in wars of resistance namely; the 1893 war in Matebeleland and the First *Chimurenga* in Mashonaland. This study explores these issues, notions of peasant uprisings and their land ownership structures through historiography (historical method) that will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY – PRESENTING A HISTORIOGRAPHIC STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on research epistemologies, paradigms and the methodology that were used as a research pattern for this study. The chapter presents the constituent tenets that informed the selection and use of historiography (historical research) as a method. Further it outlines the theory of knowledge that informs the chosen research methodology. It explores four main issues that guide the research pattern; first, the research epistemology that determines whether the historical research methodology embraces objectivism or subjectivism and; second, it focuses on the philosophical stance that informs the research paradigm (whether qualitative or quantitative) and this in turn determines which strategic philosophical stance will then be used. In this case both interpretive and critical theory will be engaged. Third, historiography (historical research) methodology is analysed alongside the influence of phenomenology in the creation of a strong epistemological pattern on which qualitative research paradigm is embedded. In the process the strengths and weaknesses of historical research are highlighted. While engaging philosophy and epistemologies might appear unnecessary and laborious to some scholars, failure to locate research within its proper epistemological and philosophical foundations is tantamount to failure to locate history of a nation while seeking to understand its progression into the future.

3.2 Epistemological Underpinnings and Research Knowledge claims

The framework of this research chapter underscores the need for the provision of a philosophical background to the research in terms of epistemology (knowledge i.e. how we know what we know), ontology (the nature of reality), and methodology (the research processes involved) (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). It is these philosophical underpinnings that provide the basis and understanding of historiography and the kind of data and information gathered from it. According to Creswell (2004: 06), a researcher must always consider the values embedded in an inquiry (axiology) and how they will then have to be presented, given the processes available in a study. It should be remembered that this research on peasants and nationalism among the Shona, in particular, their land ownership structures also uses social constructivism as the basis of its knowledge claim, the reasons being that, as a researcher, one's understanding of the world is developed in association with the acceptance of subjective meanings conjured up by individual experiences (cf. Gadamer, 1976; Fischer, 2003; Shepperson, 2008). The researcher is aware of the human element of subjectivity, which

characterises historical research interpretation and permits the researcher the choice of presenting a narrative. Sandra Jovchelovitch and Martin Bauer (2000) maintain that there is no human experience that cannot be expressed in the form of a narrative. Needless to say the research on peasants and the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe embraces the narrative paradigm. Such an approach allows for socially constructed meanings to be generated and negotiated (cf. Fischer, 2003). It is worth noting that a negotiated process has the advantage of historical link and of being linked with cultural narratives and norms as is with the case of land studies among the Shona. According to Roland Barthes (1993: 251):

Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting... stained-glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is, nor has been, a people without narrative....narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.

Since there is no single explanation for social phenomenon, the narrative and phenomenology paradigms are used alongside the historical research method to quiz and tease out information from the sources at the researcher's disposal. The phenomenological paradigm is appropriate in examining peasants and nationalism in Zimbabwe because the researcher is part of the phenomenon she sets out to explore thus making her beliefs and values part of the research. Using this paradigm this study strives to understand the different constructions and meanings that people place on their experiences. This is made possible through engaging primary and secondary sources as informants.

The influence of phenomenology in the creation of a strong epistemological pattern on which the historical research methodology is rooted is acknowledged. It is pertinent in this chapter to explain the historical research methodology in detail, at the same time highlighting its strengths and weaknesses. Reasons for the choice of historiography and how to overcome its weaknesses are given. Further, the chapter explains how best historiography can be used in order to provide answers to the research questions. This thesis relies largely on archival material such as newspapers, memos, private correspondence between the colonial office and officials in the colony of Rhodesia, letters, minutes of meetings and various documents from libraries. Historiography is preferred in this research on Zimbabwe's peasantry and the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe because it is well suited to research that requires historical facts.

3.3 Historical Research: A definition

Baker (1994: 276) defines the historical method as ‘the process of critically examining and analysing the records and survivals of the past.’ Historical research generally centres on the study of written materials such as archival material, records, letters, diaries, or handwritten manuscripts; or printed books, pamphlets or periodicals (Baker, 1994). According to Garraghan (1946), historical research is not a mere accumulation of facts and dates or even a description of past events. It is a flowing; dynamic account of past events which involves an interpretation of these events in an attempt to recapture the nuances, personalities, and ideas that influenced these events (Garraghan, 1946). One of the goals of historical research is to communicate an understanding of past events. The historical approach is appealing in researching the peasantry, land policy and nationalism in Zimbabwe because it involves examining and analysing historical documents with the view of interpretation. Document analysis is appropriate for any research that covers a number of years or requires historical information (Mintzberg, 1985 in Bryman, 1988). As such document analysis is appropriate for researching the peasantry, land policy and nationalism among the Shona from the pre-colonial to the UDI period.

This work takes into account varieties of history as discussed in Cannadine (2002)’s book; *What is History Now?* Varieties of history include; social, political, economic, religious, ideological and cultural history, to name just a few. It should be noted that these varieties of history do not operate in isolation but are interdependent. The economy of a country for example, operates within a political framework. Against this background a holistic view of historiography is adopted for researching on Zimbabwe because its history today is concerned with virtually every area of human activity. Sources such as Acts of Parliament, Standing Committee Reports, Native Commissioner’s Reports, letters, diaries, memoirs, minutes of meetings, speeches, private correspondences, parliamentary proceedings and debates, autobiography and extracts from newspapers are all valid in constructing an account of Zimbabwe’s peasant history and providing material for analysis.

The primary and documentary sources above are important because they have the most objective connection to the past. Whether accurate or not, primary and documentary sources offer new input into historical questions. Newspapers, for example, are important sources for researching on the peasantry, land policy and nationalism in Zimbabwe because they provide a day-to-day record of political, social and economic views that make the most impact at the time. The Rhodesian Government Gazette, 9 January 1973, for example, illustrated the

indigenous people's feelings of bitterness over the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) in a story told by a young man who was to become one of the first guerrillas to go for training in Ghana in 1964.

When the Act was introduced in 1951, the young man tended his father's cattle; his father had given him one cow as an incentive to look after the herd carefully. When the act was introduced the father was forced to take a number of cattle, including his son's, to market to reduce the herd to the prescribed maximum. He returned from the market and gave his son one shilling for the cow, which he instructed him to keep in an earthenware pot, the shilling representing the nominal sum he had received for a cow which was worth far more and in traditional terms was a conspicuous sign of wealth. Each day the father asked his son whether the shilling had multiplied and, somewhat perplexed by his father's seemingly abnormal behaviour, the son replied that it had not. This process went on for several weeks until one day the father told his son that it had not because they were oppressed. The cow now belonged to a white man and it was producing calves and increasing its value for that white man; but the shilling the white man had paid would never produce, his father said, and the Act was simply a device to keep blacks poor while the whites grew rich (Rhodesian Government Gazette, 9 January 1973).

Tosh (1991) comments that newspapers, from time to time present the results of more thorough enquiries into issues that lie beyond the scope of routine news-reporting. The Bulawayo Chronicle (1943), the Rhodesia Herald (1945), the Times (1945), the African World (1946) and the Southern Rhodesia Government Gazette (1943-6) all recorded very important views about the land issue in Zimbabwe during the colonial times and these views are important for analysis and interpretation. Alongside newspapers private correspondences are analysed to complement the weaknesses of newspapers in terms of potential bias and incompleteness of evidence. Tosh (1991: 39) had this to say about the weaknesses of newspapers:

Newspapers contain only what is considered to be fit for public consumption, that is, what governments are prepared to reveal, what journalists can elicit from the tight-lipped informants, what editors thought would gratify their readers, or MPs their constituents. In each case there is a controlling purpose which may limit, distort or falsify what is said.

Private correspondences are appealing in this research on Zimbabwe's peasantry, land issue and nationalism because much of this correspondence by-passes official channels and is intended to be seen by none other than the recipient. The advantage here is that such records are much closer to the truth because some influential people such as politicians and policy makers confide much in friends without any formal position in politics at all (Tosh, 1991). In addition, the private correspondence of public figures reveals much that is scarcely hinted at in the official record. During the colonial period in Zimbabwe, a lot of private correspondence unknown to the Dominions Office were common, for example that between Sir Evelyn Baring (1903-1973) Governor of Southern Rhodesia between 1942 and 1944 and Sir Eric Machtig (1889-1973), Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (1925-1947), and Permanent

Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (1940-1947), provides a lot of additional information about the thinking behind various political decisions at the time.

Furthermore, documentary analysis is relatively more affordable than other forms of research and data collection methods (De Vos *et al.*, 2002). Robson (2002) underlines the use of secondary analysis as another advantage of document analysis. According to Robson (2002), secondary analysis has the advantage of allowing the thesis to concentrate on analysis and interpretation while capitalizing on the efforts of others in collecting data. Although this work focuses on document analysis to a large extent, the method has a number of limitations that are viewed in the next section.

3.3.1 Limitations of document research

Robson (2002) states that document analysis is disadvantageous in that those documents available may be limited or partial and may have been written for some purposes other than research. The relevant data may not be available. Tosh (1991) attributes the survival of documents from the remote past more to luck than good management, the reason being, many archival collections have perished by accident. The fire which swept the Palace of the Westminster, for example, took with it most of the records belonging to the House of Commons. Other holdings can be deliberately destroyed for political reasons. In Africa during the 1960s, for example, departing colonial officials sometimes destroyed their files for fear that sensitive material would fall into the hands of their African successors (Tosh, 1991). For the same reason, important primary sources were transferred from Zimbabwe at independence to the Dominions Office in London.

Tosh (1991) points out that, written documents are fragile because they can be exposed to the ravages of damp and rodents. As such using primary sources (documents) can be frustrating for the researcher hence there is need to cast the net widely and amass as many pieces of evidence as possible from a wide range of sources which have a bearing on the peasantry and land policy in Zimbabwe, from the pre-colonial to the end of the UDI period. In this way the inaccuracies and distortions of particular sources are more likely to be revealed, and the inferences drawn by the researcher are likely to be corroborated (Tosh, 1991). Mason (1996) views weaknesses of historical documents in terms of their being amenable to manipulation and selective influence. Mason (1996) advises researchers to be aware of these influences and not assume that documents are simply neutral artefacts from the past.

It can be argued that uncritical reading of texts can reproduce and reinforce marginalisation of groups and this is a particularly important caveat in seeking to write black history. Some criticisms of document research methods can be attributed to authors who inevitably, may decide to leave out information informed by their social, political and economic environment of which they are part. In support of this argument, Deyes (1999) comments that, an important disadvantage of document analysis is that it may be subject to selective-deposit or selective-survival bias. To overcome the weaknesses of document research documents from various sources such as newspapers, diaries, private correspondences, memos and Acts, to name a few, should be critically examined.

Baker (1994) advises historical researchers to be attentive to the authenticity of documents and written records, which they use because documents and written records may be false and biased. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) and Scott (1990) posit that documents may not be what they seem. Berelson (1952), Neuman (2000), Shafer (1974) and Gilbert (1946) agree that documents, especially primary sources, have a number of limitations. They point out that primary sources, especially handwritten documents, may be difficult to read. The documents may contain obvious errors and internal inconsistencies in terms of style, content, handwriting and so on. According to Berelson (1952), Neuman (2000), Shafer (1974) and Gilbert (1946), some documents, such as letters and diaries, may use abbreviations and coded references for individuals, practices and relations that may be difficult to interpret and the documents are always context-specific, thereby making empathy and understanding quite demanding. Furthermore, gatekeepers to the sources may not grant access to them (Berelson, 1952, Neuman, 2000, Shafer, 1974 and Gilbert, 1946). However, this is less of an issue for this period and subject matter where handwriting and spelling generally conform to modern standards, typewritten correspondence and reports were increasingly common and government documents follow a consistent pattern of abbreviations.

Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996) offer more advice about authenticity of documents to researchers. They advise researchers to answer a list of questions when doing document analysis. These are: who the author is, their position and biases; where and when the document was produced; why and how the document was produced; for whom and in what context the document was produced; its underlying assumptions; what the document says and does not say; how the argument is presented; how well supported and convincing the argument is; how the document relates to previous ones and later ones; and what other

sources have to say about it. Gilbert (2001) observes that answering the above questions in order to establish the authenticity of documents involves reading through large quantities of written material. For that reason, it is necessary to comb through large quantities of written material about Zimbabwe's land policies from the pre-colonial to the UDI period.

Gottschalk *et al.* (1945) and Robson (2002) reiterate the importance of accuracy of documents. In their view, researchers need to make a distinction in document analysis between witting and unwitting evidence. They regard witting evidence as that which the author intended to impart, and unwitting evidence as everything else that can be gleaned from the document (Gottschalk, 1945 and Robson, 2002). To determine the accuracy of documents, researchers need to address the following questions:

- Was the ultimate source of the detail (primary source) able to tell the truth?
- Was the primary witness willing to tell the truth?
- Is there any external corroboration of the detail under investigation? (Gottschalk, 1945 and Robson, 2002).

The above advice will be remembered during the research process on Zimbabwe's peasantry.

Nachmias and Nachmias (2008) identify two kinds of inauthentic records namely; records that have been produced by deliberate deceit, and those that have been unconsciously misrepresented. Such records are often found in sensitive areas like in the writing of black history. Nachmias and Nachmias (2008) point out that, records may be falsified or forged for various purposes, a primary one being prestige or material rewards. Some writers, for example, sell bogus biographies to publishing companies. Nachmias and Nachmias (2008) give further advice concerning authenticity of documents. They stress that researchers need to establish the date of the document and verify the dates of events mentioned. If the timing of the event cannot be corroborated by other documents, the accuracy of the original document should be taken as suspect. This important advice is taken into consideration during the process of this research.

Letters, diaries or biographies are critically examined because of a number of reasons some of which are; the authors may not remember the facts; they may be trying to please or amuse their readers by exaggerating; or perhaps, they may be constrained by social norms and conventions and thus compelled to present a somewhat distorted picture (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2008). To overcome the above problems, Chapin (1979) encourages researchers to answer three questions hereunder;

- What did the author mean by a particular statement? Is its underlying meaning different from its literal meaning?
- Was the statement made in good faith? Was the author influenced by sympathy, vanity or by public opinion?
- Was the statement accurate? Was the author a poor observer because of a mental defect or abnormality? Was the author badly suited in time and place to observe the event objectively?

In examining the peasantry, land policy, and nationalism in Zimbabwe and based on the advice given above this work grapples with a variety of questions in order to establish the authenticity and accuracy of documents relating to Zimbabwe's land question. It should be noted that the same questions to be addressed to establish the authenticity and accuracy of documents hold for both primary and secondary data. Secondary data are important in historical research. Blaxter *et al.* (1996) outline reasons for the importance of using secondary data alongside primary data in historical research.

3.3.2 Why use secondary data?

Blaxter *et al.* (1996) advocate the use of secondary data on the grounds that it presents interpretations, conclusions or knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report or the inquiry as a whole and its main results. Because researchers can never have enough data, it makes sense to use secondary data if the data the thesis wants already exist in some form (Blaxter *et al.*, 1996). Secondary data on Zimbabwe's land policy can be found in libraries therefore it is important to use secondary data alongside primary data. Using secondary data is appealing because secondary analysis offers economies of time, money and personnel (Blaxter *et al.*, 1996). This is particularly attractive at times when funds for new research are scarce. Documentary analysis is relatively more affordable than other forms of research and data collection methods (De Vos *et al.*, 2002). According to Robson (2002), secondary analysis has the advantage of allowing the researcher to concentrate on analysis and interpretation while capitalizing on the efforts of others in collecting data.

Given the situation in Zimbabwe at the moment, the scarcity of adequate funds for research implies secondary analysis is sensible. Furthermore secondary analysis may shed light on, or complement, the primary data already collected (Blaxter *et al.*, 1996). This would allow the researcher to focus attention on analysis and interpretation thereby saving time. Secondary analysis is a necessity because no research can be conducted in isolation from what has already been done (Blaxter *et al.*, 1996). As already alluded to, this work relies solely on the

historical method and its use of document analysis because of the nature of the topic under study. The land issue in Zimbabwe is a contentious matter.

It can also be argued that the advent of computer technology has added to the limitations of document research. While new technologies such as the Internet offer possibilities for acquiring documents, researchers have to exercise a critical reflexivity since many of the documents on the Internet are produced by powerful political, cultural and economic groups, who want to ensure that particular images reach the public domain, and wish to counter bad images with more favourable representations (Andrew *et al.*, 2003). While digital technology provides opportunities for new forms of research, it should be borne in mind that it lends to the creation, modification, destruction and replacement of information with very little effort and cost (Andrew *et al.*, 2003). Against this background, there is need to view online documents on Zimbabwe's land policy critically and to gather data from a wide range of sources namely, primary, secondary and tertiary sources, private and public documents, and solicited and unsolicited reports. This research on Zimbabwe's peasantry and nationalism relies on various documents both primary and secondary sources in a bid to triangulate. As advised by Whitman (2000), there is also need to consider the cost and availability of financing, the degree of comparability and the quantity of information available. Perseverance in examining various documents relating to the topic in question to see if there is any corroboration is required.

3.4 Conclusion

It is evident that document analysis is a method associated with historical research which can add value to data collection. Historical research is 'the process of critically examining and analysing the records and survival of the past' (Baker 1994: 276). The method generally centres on the study of written materials such as archival material, records, letters, diaries, or handwritten manuscripts, or printed books, pamphlets or periodicals (Baker, 1994). The Historical method is appropriate for any research that covers a number of years or requires historical information (Bryman, 1988). Hence the method is appropriate for collecting data on the peasantry, land policy, and nationalism among the Shona; covering many years and requiring historical information. It is worth noting that written records and documents may be false and highly biased. For that reason it is advisable not to take documents at face value but to examine documents from more than one angle critically and to take heed of all advice offered by different authors to ensure reliability, authenticity, credibility, meaning and representativeness of data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

PEASANT PERSPECTIVES, GLOBAL NARRATIVES AND SIMILARITIES AND COMPARISON WITH THE ZIMBABWEAN PEASANT NARRATIVES

4.1 Introduction

There has been considerable academic interest with peasants and their roles in the development of capitalism. Historically, pre-capitalist peasants were people who relied solely on the land for survival. As population increased there was competition for land and with the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and colonialism; land assumed a very important role in the emergence of classes. Competition for land eventually contributed to proletarianisation. It is these issues associated with the evolution of the peasantry that have provoked a wave of research into peasant agrarian studies. This thesis undertakes peasant agrarian studies with the view of having a deeper understanding of the conception of the peasantry. By combing through definitions by various scholars it will be possible to devise a working definition of the 'peasantry.' These definitions are important in that they help to distinguish peasants from other classes in society. Examining examples from different regions of the world helps to compare and contrast the evolution of peasantries together with the development of agrarian capitalism.

The thesis will draw insight from pre-capitalist agrarian formations in Feudal Europe and the path of agrarian change to capitalism, the importance being to trace the evolutionary nature of the peasantries. In the process, the thesis examines a number of issues such as peasant social structures, nature and logic of peasant agriculture, peasant differentiation, politics and the dynamics of peasant agrarian structures together with the role of women in the peasant village. A close analysis of these issues helps expose the contradictions within classes in society which ultimately enhance our understanding of the conception of the peasantry which will be manifested in various definitions given in the next section.

4.2 The Conception of Peasantries

Various attempts to define the term 'peasant' have been made by different scholars and these have resulted in peasants bearing many labels. According to Isaacman (1990: 1), peasants are 'an ambiguous social category' because they are difficult to define and their political behaviour defies most generalisations. In the African context, the peasantry means different things. To some, peasantry means poverty (Guy, 1987); to others, the peasantry is hopelessly backward-looking and politically fragmented while others view peasants as representing one real hope for revolution (Cooper cited in Guy, 1987). Most Africanist scholars agreed that

peasants refer to agriculturalists who control the land they work either as tenants or smallholders; are organised largely in households that meet most of their subsistence needs, and are ruled by other classes, who extract a surplus either directly or through control of state power (Isaacman, 1990: 2).

Elaborating on the definition given by Isaacman (1990), Roberts (1990) describes peasants as ‘an awkward class’ because peasants are portrayed as living on the margins of subsistence, in which their survival depends on the web of family and communal relationships. The family farm is the basic unit of peasant ownership, production, consumption and social life. According to Shanin (1971), the balance of consumption needs, available family labour and the farm’s potential, strongly influence a peasant’s activities. The head of the family appears as ‘the manager rather than the proprietor of family land and has rather the character of management of common family property’ (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918: 92 and Mukhin, 1888: 62) in Shanin (1971). The family social structure determines the division of labour, the locus of status and social prestige while family labour is an essential requirement for conducting a farm adequately (Shanin, 1971).

Redfield quoted in Shanin (1971: 240) defines peasants as ‘a kind of arrangement of humanity with some similarities all over the world’ in which their partial involvement in the market and their partial subordination to the state or approaching class are their most salient characteristics. To Redfield, the peasantry appears to be a ‘type without localization.’ According to Redfield (1956) in Shanin (1971: 240), the peasantry consists of small agricultural producers who, with the help of simple equipment and the labour of their families, produce mainly for their own consumption and for the fulfilment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power. Kroeber (1948: 284) considered peasantries ‘part-societies with part-cultures,’ because they are definitely rural yet live in a relation to a market town.

Kroeber (1948) adds that peasants lack the isolation, political autonomy and self-sufficiency of a tribal population, yet their local units maintain much of their old identity, integration and attachment to the soil. Thus in the case of Zimbabweans, the tribal population with its ancient and time-honoured customs was severely diluted and ultimately irrevocably damaged by the movement of people into the reserved areas where peasant subsistence replaced shifting cultivation and political autonomy, traditional tributes and trading patterns. These changes, it

is postulated, were the central underpinning that was required for the Zimbabwean peasant class to develop a nationalism based on grievances over land.

It is important to note that these definitions were deduced at different stages of peasant development and with peasants from different countries. Shanin (1971), for example, defined Russian peasants who were on the path to capitalism. To enhance our understanding of the conception of 'peasantry' it is also important to explore subaltern studies. Bernstein and Byres (2001: 33) posit that:

the rationale for doing subaltern studies derives from the division of subaltern and elite, and the desire to write history from the viewpoint of subalterns (peasants and workers) as autonomous agents who create their own forms of oppositional culture and identity, who are not victims and/or followers, and whose ideas and actions are not to be represented by elite agents and discourses that claim to speak on their behalf.

In spite of the difficulties faced in trying to define peasants many schools of thought have come up with different dimensions in an attempt to define 'peasant.' Kurtz (2000), writing for the *Journal of Theory and Society*, identified five approaches used by these schools of thought namely: the Weberian, Marxian, anthropological, moral economy and minimalist. Moore (1996) posits that the Weberian school of thought views peasants as rural people who own or control the land they cultivate, who are socially subordinate to a rural dominant class, and who are typified by distinctive cultural practices. According to Weber (1979: 179), the peasant, 'was and remains a smallholder, furnished with land as compensation for subordination to his master...' Cultural norms are hierarchical and personalistic, rather than the individual and rational pattern that prevails in the cities (Kurtz, 2000). The Weberian conception believes that, to be a true peasant, rural producers have to own land, be subordinate, and culturally distinct from urban dwellers (Kurtz, 2000). Shanin (1972), who subscribes to the Weberian approach, describes the characteristics of a true peasant as: (1) family farm based production, (2) a farm economy of a low level of specialisation, (3) a specific traditional culture related to the manner of living in small villages, and (4) a relationship of domination by outsiders, which could be enforced variously through land tenure, direct physical coercion, and abuse of market power (Shanin cited in Kurtz, 2000).

The Marxian tradition subscribes to the Weberian conception of peasants but focuses on the combination of land ownership and social subordination (Paige, 1983). Marx (1987) cited in Kurtz (2000), working on the French peasantry, established that peasants are at once small land-owners, and subordinate within the prevailing mode of production. For Marx, there is no peasantry without landholding or without subordination. Marx viewed peasants as small

landholders, isolated from each other, and engaged in competition in a way that inhibits collective action. As long as peasants live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests, and their culture from those of other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class (Marx, 1987: 332). For Marx, this class of peasants is involved in petty commodity production which Friedmann (1978) calls 'simple commodity production.' The Marxist conception of peasantry fits the Zimbabwean situation very well. Marx in Mann and Dickinson (1979) compares petty commodity production with capitalist production on the grounds that, both were forms of production for exchange; and both provided a basis for private accumulation. He, however points out the differences in the social relations which characterises petty commodity production and capitalist production.

Marx describes petty commodity production as production for exchange which is characterised by the unity of labour and capital. The petty producer owns his means of production and family members provide the labour force for this economic unit. Under such conditions there is no proper class exploitation since the petty producer is not chiefly engaged in the hiring of wage labour and hence the extraction of surplus value (Marx, in Mann and Dickinson, 1979). In pre-colonial Zimbabwe such production was characterised by crop production on a small piece of land worked by family labour. Long before the advent of colonialism the Zimbabweans grew a variety of crops such as finger millet, bulrush millet, sorghum, maize, groundnuts, potatoes, rice, sweet potatoes, cow peas, pumpkins, squash, cucumber, tomatoes, marrow, melons, yams, cassava, cane, pineapple, lemons, paw-paws and others (Palmer, 1977). Some of these crops were bartered to early European traders. According to van Onselen (1976), between 1890 and 1912 the competitive Zimbabwean peasants sold large quantities of grain and fresh produce to the mines and by so doing earned sufficient income to avoid having to do wage labour in the mining industry itself. It follows therefore that Zimbabwean peasantry were petty commodity producers even before significant colonisation impacted on their ways of life. Phimister (1974) argues that Zimbabweans had had varied trading experience in pre-colonial times and hence possessed a 'perception of market opportunities.' Friedmann (1978) elaborates that in simple (petty) commodity production there is only one class directly involved in production and in the distribution of the product. The household purchases means of production, puts them in motion with its own labour, and owns the final product. All elements of the productive process consist exclusively of productive and personal consumption. Household specialised commodity production is

different from capitalist production in its internal supply of labour and its lack of a structural requirement for a surplus product (Friedmann, 1978). Where land is owned by a class not in any way related to the productive process, there results a more complex set of class relations and different demands on the distribution of the product, but these arise on the basis of existing relations of production (Friedmann, 1978).

Paige (1975), a contemporary neo-Marxist, cited in Kurtz (2000), states that all cultivators are socially subordinate but reserves the term 'peasant' for those rural cultivators who are characterised by landholding. To Paige (1975) it is only the wage-labouring cultivators and not the peasants that are potentially revolutionary. Scott and Kerkvliet (1986) do not view peasants as being unrevolutionary. They point out that, peasants subjected to social and cultural subordination create continuous, mundane and hidden ways of resisting oppression through avoidance, ridicule and acts of petty revenge. Scott (1985) further argues that these 'weapons of the weak' have a greater cumulative effect in ameliorating their condition than organised collective action and dramatic but intermittent outbursts of rebellion. In the same vein, White (1986), Hart (1991) and Korovkin (2000) have identified in Ecuador a shift from 'hidden resistance' to overt oppositional politics and organisation in conditions of increasing democratisation among peasants. Thompson (2004) noted that in Rhodesia both the wage-labouring cultivators and peasants were revolutionary. In their resistance to the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951), the Rhodesian peasants avoided confrontation but chose to expand their arable holdings by moving beacons, working the areas designated for conservation works such as contour ridges, or taking over land proclaimed as grazing (Thompson, 2004). They also refused to give authorities information about their stock and land holdings or simply ran away during the initial survey and census phases of implementation. It follows therefore that these 'weapons of the weak' are employed by peasants as an important strategy for communicating feelings.

The anthropological tradition agrees with the Weberian but centres its understanding on the cultural distinctiveness (Redfield in Kurtz, 2000). According to Kroeber cited in Kurtz (2000), peasants have a defined set of cultural practices which could be embodied in the form of local dialects, patterns of dress, religious rituals and so on, that are distinct from the urban pattern. While peasant structure and society are distinct from urban culture, they share common features throughout the world. One example, the local village community, is the principal unit of organisation for the peasants (Redfield in Kurtz, 2000). In Zimbabwe the

village community comprises households united by the same language, traditional practices, ethnic beliefs and custom. The Zimbabwean village community, for example, attaches great importance to cattle in marriage ceremonies and as bride price (*lobola*).

The moral economy approach takes embeddedness as its starting point. The central idea here is that pre-modern forms of economic organisation are inextricably linked with social structures and institutions. Thus economic objectives and processes are necessarily structured by non-economic aims and processes (Polanyi, 1957; 1977 and Scott, 1976). Scott (1977: 4) sees peasants as individuals that 'live in small, relatively homogeneous villages where much of their life is governed by local custom.' Peasants, unlike urban workers, have communal norms, beliefs, and histories that form the core of their identities (Scott, 1979: 101). For peasants, spatial boundaries shape the very 'nature and meaning of agrarian social structure' (Magagna in Kurtz, 2000). However, in Zimbabwe spatial boundaries dictated by custom and culture were tampered with by colonialists who imposed new spatial boundaries in line with their agrarian policies. Zimbabwean peasants viewed the imposed spatial boundaries as an infringement on their land rights and this to a large extent explains peasant resistance in Zimbabwe. In short, Scott (1979) defines peasants as 'a culturally articulated community set in a subordinate structural position relative to outside social actors.' Cultural patterns such as reciprocity, forced generosity, and communal landholdings are typical ways in which peasants provide themselves with subsistence insurance for times of dearth (Scott in Kurtz, 2000).

The moral economists assume that when villages are 'closed' or 'corporate' and when there is communal land, the workings of such communities are more humane and protective than open villages with private property and fewer restrictions on the ability of non-villagers to involve themselves in the local economy. According to Popkin (1980), non-market systems are assumed to be more benevolent, humane and reliable than market systems. Moral economists argue that before capitalism or colonialism, individuals starved if and only if the community as a whole was endangered. They link peasant protest accompanying state making, commercialisation of agriculture, and colonialism to loss of subsistence, security and welfare by peasants (Popkin, 1980). According to Popkin (1980), moral economists interpret violence as a defensive reaction against capitalism and as an attempt to restore the pre-capitalist structures that provided peasant welfare. The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was driven by the loss of land; hence it can be viewed as peasant protest to commercialisation of agriculture and colonialism.

It should be noted that peasants are assumed to be anti-market because they prefer common property to private, and dislike buying and selling. However in the context of the African peasantry, Bundy (1979) argued that peasants responded with alacrity to the growth of a market in foodstuffs, a response which included technical innovation, adaptation of the household to the use of the plough, crop diversification as well as expansion output. They developed new wants, not only for consumption but for goods (ploughs) that had become necessary to farming. As observed by Bundy (1979) cash became a necessity and wage labour the only alternative if cash crop production was subsequently hampered. Bundy showed how the marketing system narrowed the possibilities for accumulation within peasant production and made peasants vulnerable to indebtedness. This trend was reversed after the old mining industry developed its voracious appetite for cheap labour and the produce market finally made capitalist forms of production on white-owned farms economically viable, and its reversal required not only the grabbing of immense quantities of land, but the determined intervention of state to keep land from the hands of the most successful African farmers and to drive smaller-scale tenant farmers into wage labour (Cooper cited in Bundy, 1979). Evidence from Bundy (1979)'s research indicates that Africans with the least ability to produce for the market were often the first to become dependent on wages, and the most successful peasants among the last. On the whole, the moral economy definition of peasants includes a moderate spectrum of cultivators such as landholding peasants, sharecroppers, tenants and agricultural wage labourers (Kurtz, 2000).

The minimalist approach and the Weberian tradition share the same view on peasant status as rural cultivators (Popkin, 1980). Popkin emphasises that peasants are individual rational actors. It is important to note that the differing usage of the concept 'peasants' categorises rural cultivators into distinct sub-groups which, according to Chayanov (1925) in Bernstein (1977), can properly be considered peasants. Shanin (1971) noted that under certain circumstances different segments of the peasantry can come to play diverse historical roles with important consequences for the pattern of historical development. Shanin (1971) elaborates that there can be different peasantries among the peasants differentiated according to their structural position at a specified moment of time.

In their study of the Russian peasantry, Chayanov (1925) and Lenin (1956) cited in Bernstein (1977), categorised Russian peasants into three groups namely; poor, middle and rich peasants. Although the categorisation of peasants was done in Russia it fits the Zimbabwean

situation very well. The poor peasants in Zimbabwe do have a piece of land but do not have the objects of production such as a span of oxen for ploughing, a plough or many hoes. These provide labour services to middle peasants in return for having their land ploughed. The middle peasants own cattle, a plough and a number of farming tools. The rich peasants in Zimbabwe are those who own large plots and can afford to have a tractor for ploughing and hire labour. There is still yet another class of very rich peasants in Zimbabwe. These own very large farms with labour highly mechanised. This class compares well with the rich kulaks of Russia and can rightly be called capitalists because they reap huge profits from their enterprises.

Chayanov (1966) observed that poor peasants unable to reproduce themselves by household production exchange their labour-power on a regular basis and come to form a category reproduced through the sale of labour power. Lenin (1899) quoted in Bernstein (1977) elaborates that, the access to a small plot does not make them 'peasants' but in so far as it contributes to their subsistence reduces the wages paid by those who employ them. Thus they constitute a rural proletariat in the process of formation (Bernstein, 1977). Chayanov (1966) describes the 'middle' peasants as those who are able to reproduce themselves through family labour and land but in specific relations with other strata of the peasantry and with other forms of production (Bernstein, 1977: 170). Chayanov (1966) comments that, it is these relations through which middle peasant households are constituted which determine the relative stability or instability of the reproduction of a middle peasantry. According to Engels, Kautsky and Lenin, cited in Bernstein (1977), the ability of simple commodity producers both to reduce their standards of consumption and to continue to produce commodities in the face of deteriorating terms of exchange, means that they compete effectively with capitalist enterprises producing the same commodities.

As opposed to the poor and middle peasants, the 'rich' peasants or Kulaks accumulate sufficiently to invest in production through the purchase of superior means of production and/or labour power (Chayanov, 1925 in Bernstein, 1977). As long as they initiate and maintain a cycle of extended reproduction based on accumulation, these Kulaks come to form a category of capitalist farmers (Bernstein, 1977). Roberts (1990) reiterates that the class basis of the peasantry contains, in an irresolvable way, both the individual interests and strategies of peasant households, and their common interests in defending themselves against powerful outsiders, and using the community as an insurance against misfortune. Roberts (1990) noted

that peasant communities are riven by factionalism and internal conflicts and this is evidenced by Zimbabwean communities.

While there are common features that describe all peasants in the world, for example, rural cultivators, the Russian example shows that the conception of the 'peasant' varies with countries and regions. Bundy (1979) argued that it was the processes of peasantisation and proletarianisation that brought about the re-organisation of peasant class structure in Africa. His evidence points to the emergence of differentiation among peasants as some accumulated more land and cattle than others in a situation where all were constrained by the land-grabbing of whites. This hastened the alienation of the less successful from the means of production (Bundy, 1979). However, many scholars agree that peasant households form the basic nuclei of peasant society (Kurtz, 2000, Roberts, 1990, Scott, 1976 and Shanin, 1972).

From the above analysis of the conception of peasants there are common outstanding features that distinguish peasants from other classes. These are that peasants:

- Are rural agriculturalists/cultivators
- Have a distinct culture from urban dwellers
- Are labourers on the land which they own and control
- Rely on family and communal relationships for subsistence
- Have a subsistence ethic
- Work to meet subsistence needs and not profit
- Are subordinate to the state
- Are risk averse
- Have division of labour according to age.
- Balance production and consumption.

Summing up, Guy (1987: 286) notes:

The concept of peasantry lumps together a cultivator who faces a state that wants its taxes and its large share of marketing board receipts and a sharecropper facing a landlord whose power of eviction and control of credit allows him to intervene in every significant decision throughout the production process.

Throughout this thesis the Africanist scholars' view as outlined by Isaacman (1990) is used. As noted by Moyo (1996) referring to Zimbabwe, land underpins the economic, social and political lives of the majority of people. From a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, Gutto (1986) argues that 'he who owns land owns everything extending from the heavens to the depths of the earth.' Such conceptualisation of land is very much consistent with the view held by most peasantries worldwide. The next section therefore examines the social organisation of peasant communities.

4.2.1 The Social Organisation of Peasant Communities

Shanin (1971) and Roberts (1990) agree that the basic unit of the peasantry is the household, characterised by a nearly total integration of the peasant's family life and its farming enterprise. Chayanov (1977) and Wolf (1966) in Adams (1988) state that the unit of production is either itself self-sufficing or able to reproduce itself through interchange with similar units. Use values, rather than exchange values, regulate production (Chayanov, 1977 and Wolf, 1966) in Adams (1988). It is worth noting that households vary with countries and regions. Some households comprise the nuclear family only while others include the extended family. Shanin (1971), for example, observed that a Russian peasant household consists of blood relatives of two or three generations. Peasants' villages shape the nature and meaning of agrarian social structure (Magagna in Kurtz, 2000). Shanin (1971: 40) defines village as 'a social group with many functions, not all of them explicit, and to which people are committed by birth or marriage, and bound by many ties.' In the Zimbabwean context, a village was big enough to accommodate a man's children and children's children but was small enough to know everyone who lived in it (Yudelman, 1964). Yudelman (1964: 11) describes a typical Zimbabwean peasant village:

In a Zimbabwean village, the people felt they belonged so closely together that they would help each other cultivate their fields or build their homes. The people thought of themselves as one big, old family because most people in one way or the other were related to the village head. The village, the land and its people, and the invisible spiritual bonds with the ancestors who lived and died there for generations, made the intimacy of the village. Even a man who left this place to settle elsewhere, would leave it in such a manner that the door was never closed behind him; for he knew that there would come a day when he would want to come back to it, if only to die there and be buried in the soil that contained his ancestors.

In pre-colonial Zimbabwe the traditional concept of security was premised on the knowledge that one could always return to the village where one would always be accommodated as a member of the tribe (Yudelman, 1964).

According to Scott (1976), to be a fully functioning member of village society, a peasant household needs a certain level of resources to discharge its necessary ceremonial and social obligations as well as to feed itself adequately and continue to cultivate. Scott (1976) elaborates that, to fall below this level is not only to risk starvation; it is to suffer a profound loss of standing within the community and perhaps to fall into a permanent situation of dependence. For the village, the territory is an administrative area as well as a symbol of village identity (de Planhol, 1958 cited in Shanin, 1971). All members are expected to defend the village regardless of quarrels which constantly divide them (Shanin, 1971).

The family provides the work team for the farm, while the farm's activities are geared mainly to production of the basic consumption needs of the family plus the enforced dues to the holders of political and economic power (Shanin, 1971). Priority is given to maintaining the household and community and in times of emergency or when labour resources are insufficient such as at harvest periods, the household calls on the aid of others (Roberts, 1990). Shanin (1971) reiterates that the household was the basic unit of production, consumption, property holding, socialization, sociability, moral support and mutual economic help. The population balance is produced by high fertility and high mortality (Laslett, 1979 and Tilly, 1978). Long and Roberts (1978) cited in Roberts (1990) echo Chayanov (1966)'s views when they highlight that differences in family size and in fortunes of inheritance and farming result in peasant communities often internally differentiated between strata of rich, middle and poor peasants.

It should be noted that some peasant households imply living together under the authority of a patriarchal head while others live together under the authority of a matriarchal leader. Women had functional importance in a peasant household by virtue of their heavy burden of labour (both housework and fieldwork) but they were considered second-rate citizens and nearly always placed under the authority of a male (Shanin, 1971). Although Shanin (1971) noted division of labour between males and females, and young and old among Russian peasant households, this was common in both developing and developed countries. In Zimbabwe women did all agricultural work while their husbands went to work in mines and farms. However, decisions on important crops like maize and millets were made by men. Women only made decisions on crops such as pumpkins, groundnuts and cucumbers. Chayanov (1925) cited in Roberts (1990) highlights that decisions over crops or the amount of land to farm are determined by the number of mouths to feed and by the available number of household workers. From this perspective, the peasant seeks not to maximise income or profit, but to ensure that all family members are adequately fed and employed (Chayanov in Roberts, 1990). While pre-capitalist peasant society was singularly ill-equipped to provide for its members in the event of collective disaster, it did provide household social insurance against the 'normal' risks of agriculture through an elaborate system of social exchange. In Zimbabwe cattle provide social insurance (Steele, 1981).

Although Chayanov (1966)'s analysis was based on the specific conditions of the Russian peasant village, the analysis holds for all peasant villages in the world because every peasant

village is primarily oriented to secure the subsistence needs of its members. In his study of the Russian peasantry, Scott (1976) identified social arrangements that helped to even out the inevitable troughs in a family's resources which might otherwise have thrown them below subsistence. These arrangements included patterns of reciprocity; forced generosity; communal land and work sharing. Polanyi (1957) cited in Scott (1976: 5) states, 'It is the absence of the threat of individual starvation which makes primitive society, in a sense, more human than market economy and at the same time less economic.' Scott (1971) comments that, the fear of food shortages has, in most pre-capitalist peasant societies, given rise to what might appropriately be termed a 'subsistence ethic or safety first.'

It is worth noting that the 'subsistence ethic' has been shared by many countries in many parts of the world because most peasants live close to the margin. Kurtz (2000) comments that the need for such mechanisms of minimum subsistence insurance derive from claims made to peasant surplus by outsiders. According to Roberts (1990), peasants are closely linked to wider institutions such as urban markets and the state. Peasants provide food to feed the cities, are subject to taxes, and share, if marginally, in the dominant culture of the metropolis hence they must maintain a balance between external demands and internal needs (Roberts, 1990). They play a role of economic agent responsible for a household and its continuity. Ensuring survival from one year to the next means, that peasants must be conservative in their farming practices, sowing those crops or rearing those animals that minimise risks rather than maximizing gains (Roberts, 1990).

In Latin America, for example, the peasant populations exist on land that is barely adequate for survival, so they diversify their economies off-farm employment, commerce and craft activities (Roberts, 1990). The growth of a family creates consumption pressure and the head of the family tries to expand his farm by buying or renting additional land and equipment (Shanin, 1971). The precarious subsistence equilibrium of peasant society results in fluctuations in population size with disasters such as famine and plague. Over time, stability is based on high fertility and high mortality (Roberts, 1990). As in Latin America, Zimbabwe peasant population increase exerted pressure on land and this threatened survival and made them supplement farming with crafts, trade and employment.

Wolf (1982) cited in Roberts (1990) argues that the internal processes of peasant communities, including their conservatism, their occasional rebelliousness, and their disintegration need to be understood in terms of the expansion of the European states from the

fifteenth century onwards. According to Bernstein (1990), there were various interests involved in the production and supply of cash crops in the colonial economies. These included:

- the metropolitan industries which consumed the crops as elements of constant capital;
- the large trading companies which organised the collection of cash crops (directly or through intermediaries) and their subsequent export to the industries of the particular colonial power or to the world market; and
- the colonial state which was interested in the extension of commodity relations simply because it wanted to increase its source of revenue for administrative and infrastructural development (Bernstein, 1990:165). In addition, it wanted to ensure the supply of raw materials to the industries of the home country and to turn Africans into 'economic men' as part of the 'civilising mission' (Bernstein, 1990).

Needless to say, the need for raw materials for European industries was the main motive for the colonisation of Africa. For that reason the British South Africa Company (BSAC) colonised Zimbabwe for Britain. The Oxford English Dictionary (2005) defines colonialism as the practice by which one country acquires control over another, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. In Africa colonialism strengthened the cohesiveness of peasant communities. For generations, peasant communities served a vital role in offering camaraderie and acting as a support system. According to Chatterjee (1986) peasant communities have a sense of solidarity around which peasant resistance can coalesce. Describing the conception of African communalism with reference to Zimbabweans, Munro (1998) stressed the community as the most fundamental social unit in African society. The then Secretary for Internal Affairs in Rhodesia, Nicholle (1966: 1-2), seemed to agree with Munro when he vividly described the idea of African communalism:

In an African tribal system, the life of an African is communal not individual. His personality, his attitude to life is bound up with a sense of identification with 'family,' and that is a family so extensive that it is more accurately called a kinship system.... Thus it is that a tribal African lives in an intricate network of kinship bonds, of rights and duties assigned by that network and he does not exercise his freedom of choice as an individual to make his own self-interest, judgements and choice. The traditional African society has never emphasised the free individual. It has comprehended individuals only in the context of the community, protecting them with a cocoon of fine-spun relationships.

Jane Addams (1893: 116) appreciated the importance of communities in terms of security when she proclaimed:

The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life.

It should be noted the community spirit remained in spite of colonialism in the world in general and in Zimbabwe in particular. According to Roberts (1990), the impact of

colonialism and the expansion of mining production and plantation agriculture changed the agrarian structures of the world outside Europe as will be shown in the next section.

4.2.2 Impact of colonial rule on the agrarian economy

In terms of subsistence security, Scott (1976: 56) argues:

Colonialism created as many problems as it solved. It did, on the one hand, create the transport networks and political capacity that could move grain from surplus to deficit areas, thereby easing the threat of local famine. On the other hand, that same transport and political capacity could be used to move grain out of an area in the form of rent and taxes. On the one hand, colonial policy and capital breached the agricultural frontier and, thanks to the labour of peasant pioneers, brought vast new tracts under the plow. On the other hand, much of this new land was controlled by a small class of landlords whose power over an exploding rural population tended to eliminate any improvement in living standards the peasantry might otherwise have realised.

According to Scott (1976: 57), the growth of the colonial state and the commercialisation of agriculture complicated the subsistence security dilemma of the peasantry in at least five ways as follows:

- It exposed an ever-widening sector of the peasantry to new market-based insecurities which increased the variability of their income above and beyond the traditional risk in yield fluctuation.
- It operated to erode the protective, risk-sharing value of the village and kin-group for much of the peasantry.
- It reduced or eliminated a variety of traditional subsistence ‘safety-valves,’ or subsidiary occupations which had previously helped peasant families scrape through a year of poor food crops.
- It allowed landholders, who had once assumed responsibility for some of the hazards of agriculture, not only to extract more from the peasantry in rents but also to collect a fixed charge on tenant income, thereby exposing the peasantry more fully to crop and market risks.
- The state itself was increasingly able to stabilize its tax revenue at the expense of the cultivating class.

Scott (1976)’s views are echoed by Palmer and Parsons (1983) who argue, in line with the dependence theory that, Western capitalism promoted underdevelopment by permeating Third World countries, reducing them to dependency, and then creaming off their surpluses. It is interesting to note that at a time when colonialism was having an impact on the European peasantry it was also creating a new class of African peasantry. Arrighi (1970) seemed to agree with Scott (1976) when he brought out the historical contradictions inherent in capitalist development, first stimulating the growth of a peasantry to supply its foodstuffs, and then proceeding to break-up that peasantry in order to obtain its labour.

Bhaduri (1973) seems to share the same view with Arrighi (1970) when he states that landlords manipulate indebtedness over labourers and tenants to maintain a very tight hold over their freedom. Chatterjee (1986) states that colonial rule led to changes in the legal structure of the agrarian property and resulted in the process of commoditisation or 'commercialisation' of agriculture. Bundy (1979) reiterates that in the context of African states the entire process of 'peasantisation' and 'proletarianisation' were both part of 'peripheralisation,' the incorporation of independent producers into the world system and the consequent 'development of underdevelopment.'

It has been argued that the establishment of a 'colonial bourgeois state' with its 'bourgeois' legal and institutional framework creates conditions in which agriculture undergoes a revolutionary transformation (Chatterjee, 1986). Findings from studies carried out in India show that the permanent settlement, the predominant legal form of property arrangements in land meant that the peasant was dispossessed of the land which now became the property of the landlord (Chatterjee, 1986). In his study of agricultural colonisation in India, Farmer (1974) in Prakash (1985) noted that the codification of many practices under British Rule often tended to freeze relationships within the village. Chatterjee (1986) and Arrighi (1970) in Palmer and Parsons (1983) concur that the 'bourgeois' character of the legal structure erected under colonial rule was contradictory and ambiguous. Whereas commercialisation or commoditisation started a process of differentiation among the peasantry, it also led to a strengthening rather than weakening of 'semi-feudal' forms of bondage and exploitation (Chatterjee, 1986).

Chatterjee (1986) attributes the bondage and exploitation to debt-credit mechanism which was used as an extension of effective control over part of the product of small-peasant agriculture by landlords/money-lenders/traders. This created antagonism between classes. Katz (1993) noted that throughout Western Europe, the peasantry succeeded in loosening the grip of aristocratic rule because Western Europe was densely populated by an 'old' peasantry whose collective life was deeply rooted. The peasantries had had many centuries to evolve institutions, common practices and a consciousness of their own interest (Katz, 1993) and had developed the requisite solidarity and strength to resist aristocratic encroachments. The economic emancipation of the peasantry developed earliest and furthest in England, where peasant class struggle irreparably crippled the extra-economic mechanism whereby the lords had extracted a surplus from the village economy (Katz, 1993).

Bundy (1979) noted that peasants developed new wants, not only for consumption goods (ploughs) that had become necessary to farming but also for cash and wage labour, as a result of colonisation. Ownership of these new wants contributed towards the differentiation of the peasantry in the developing countries such as Zimbabwe. According to Bundy (1979), cash became a necessity and wage labour the only alternative if cash crop production were subsequently hampered. The poor peasants in Zimbabwe, for example, ended up selling their labour cheaply to the middle and rich peasants in order to get the much needed cash. The poor peasants in Zimbabwe who had no cattle or plough were distinguished from those peasants who owned cattle and a plough and from the rich peasants who owned large farms and machinery such as tractors, planters and water engines for irrigation purposes.

Summarising changes brought by colonialism to Zimbabwe, Munro in 1945 in his letter to the Secretary of State, pointed out that the European and Native should develop on parallel lines even if the two races are mutually inter-dependent. Munro proclaimed:

It is obvious that the present high standard of the European economy is only maintained by having a cheap source of labour in the African. The African economy is no less dependent on European direction and supervision. Change is a natural law to which all must adapt themselves in order to avoid extinction. The advent of the European to Africa has enormously accelerated the rate of change and the native must adapt himself to this intrusion. The more advanced European is under a duty to assist the backward native peoples to progress and for that purpose to enforce discipline without oppression. At the same time the more backward peoples must do all in their power to assist in their own advancement and to observe discipline (N.A. Kew, DO 35/1169).

It should be noted that the treatment of Zimbabwean peasantry as sources of cheap labour created conflict. While the colonial government might have been informed by paternalism in their administration of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean peasantry were not too pleased with this new social outlook which helped to increase the gap between the poor and the rich. It can be argued that the advent of colonialism in Zimbabwe contributed a fair share to peasant differentiation.

4.2.3 Peasant differentiation and petty commodity production

According to Isaacman (1990), anthropologists and historians have linked peasant diversity and differentiation to labour migration and the growth of an urban working class. They focus on oscillating peasant workers who played a critical role in the colonial history of Eastern and Southern Africa. First (1983), Kitching (1980), Parkin (1975), Stichter (1982) and Isaacman (1990) concur that oscillating peasant workers straddle the boundary between rural and urban, and, therefore, represent a distinct and important social force as a partial peasantry in the countryside. The quoted scholars view straddling as an effective coping strategy to ensure the

social reproduction of the peasant household. Cliffe (1978), Murray (1981) and Isaacman (1990) argue that the concept of a peasant worker is too blunt an instrument and that these oscillating migrants were proletarianised workers with a rural residence and a patch of land. It should be noted that the arguments above carry important implications in the study of peasant politics since they highlight the question of how rurally based migrants actually perceived their own social identity.

Bernstein (1988) distinguished peasants according to labour processes and property relations. Other indicators of peasant differentiation, as noted by Chayanov in Bernstein (1990), include; inequality derived from issues of privilege and deprivation; variations in relative wealth and poverty of households; differences in accumulation and consumption of use-values; vulnerability of individual households to disasters; and the demographic differentiation which correlates the size and relative prosperity of households with their position in the cycle of generational reproduction. According to Chayanov (1966) in Prakash (1985), since the career of a family took it from a small nuclear family to a larger one with grown-up children who then married and split away, the circulation of resources among peasants took on a cyclical character. Chayanov's argument was criticised for assuming that each peasant household will have a child at a given interval, and add on from three to five offspring to each family. It can be argued that this condition may not be met by peasants in different cultures, regions or periods. According to Prakash (1985), recent demographic studies have talked of fertility patterns oscillating according to health, hygiene and education levels. Prakash (1985) highlights that the age of marriage, prevalence of a joint family system, village co-operation, the availability of bonded labour, and the migration of individual family members can alter the consumption needs and labour supply of the peasant household in many ways quite independently of the growth of a nuclear family. Furthermore, it has been noted in various regions of colonial India that mortality caused by famine and disease can have a random impact on the demographic structure of peasant families.

Bernstein (1988) and Friedmann (1980) identified and differentiated the following groups of peasants; petty commodity producers, forced commodity cultivators, independent household producers, sharecroppers, labour tenants (squatters), and oscillating peasant workers, each of which was enmeshed in different labour processes and property arrangements which varied additionally by gender and generation. They viewed petty commodity producers as those who controlled their own labour and means of production but rarely the terms of exchange. Petty

commodity producers stand in sharp contrast to both those peasants forced to grow specific crops under a highly regulated labour and marketing system, and to independent household producers who sought to resist or minimize commodity production in favour of production for use (Little, 1987, Pelisier, 1978 and Sturzinger, 1983 in Isaacman, 1990).

Unlike other peasants labour tenants or squatters had only conditional access to the land acquired by giving up control of a portion of their labour while sharecroppers, on the other hand, jealously guarded their labour and instead yielded a percentage of their crops to get temporary access to land (cf. Groff, 1980, Keegan, 1986 and O'Brien, 1983). Cooper in Bundy (1979) highlights that African squatters were the key to the flourishing of peasant agriculture and were the prime targets of the state's assault on the peasantry. Bundy (1979) emphasizes that the attack on African squatters did not always result in immediate and total victory. In Zimbabwe peasant squatters used 'weapons of the weak' to resist white attacks. Bundy (1979) noted that in spite of the attack on the African squatters, marketed agricultural produce in the late nineteenth century came from the peasant and from the capitalist in the twentieth. Although Zimbabwean squatters were offered employment their refusal to accept agricultural employment unless some access to land, however minimal, was offered prolonged the labour system (Morris, 1976). Isaacman (1990) elaborates that peasant households in which members periodically worked in towns or on estates notably in Zimbabwe were involved in a distinctly different labour process and property relations from the domestic unit remained intact. Because of differences within the African peasantry the degree of the peasants' partial autonomy varied.

According to Scott (1976), although the vulnerability of peasants in general to subsistence crises grew under the colonial transformation, some peasants were naturally more vulnerable than others. Scott (1976) further argues that a more undifferentiated peasantry will experience economic shocks in a uniform fashion since structurally its members are more or less in the same boat. A head tax, for example, would stir almost unanimous resentment in a village where the relatively even distribution of income makes the burden comparable for most villagers. Scott (1976) highlights that communitarian structures not only receive shocks more uniformly but they also have, due to their traditional solidarity, a greater capacity for collective action. Hence, the more communal the village structure, the easier it is for a village to collectively defend its interests. Although Scott (1976)'s findings related to Lower Burma, they apply to the peasantries in many parts of the world with Zimbabwe being a good

example. The First *Chimurenga* (1896-7) in Zimbabwe, which united the Shona and Ndebele, was a resistance to hut tax.

Isaacman (1990) identified hidden forms of peasant resistance as they struggled against both claims on their labour and produce and the denigration of their cultural heritage. He noted that these hidden forms of peasant protest succeeded only if they remained clandestine. When, for example, colonial officials discovered actions such as feigning illness, illegal intercropping, and sabotage, they almost invariably depicted them as an indication of the 'lazy and uneconomic nature of the African' (Isaacman *et al.*, 1980, and Watts, 1988 in Isaacman, 1990). This is clearly evident in the letter from the Governor's Office in Salisbury to the Secretary of State on 22 August 1945 in which Mr. Munro describes the Zimbabwean man, 'the male native in the Reserves appears to suffer from an extraordinary form of lethargy.' This victor's history of the view of the male native as suffering from bone laziness is present in primary sources left by those running the system.

In India, like in many parts of the world, colonial rule undermined the viability of small-peasant subsistence production and replaced it with control by landlord/money-lender/traders that used the debt-credit mechanism as a form of 'debt-bondage' (Chatterjee, 1986). Bhadhuri (1973) points out that the 'debt bondage' depended on lack of alternative employment in a labour-surplus economy and on the ability of the semi-feudal landlords to resort to extra-economic, and often extra-legal, means of coercion to secure the conditions of bondage. According to Banaji (1977), the continuation of such forms of exploitation of peasant labour should be viewed as a case of formal subordination of labour by capital, and as the extension of capitalist domination. In Zimbabwe *kaffir farming* created a form of debt-bondage which tied the peasants to their landlords.

4.3 Labour control strategies employed on the peasantry

Bernstein *et al.* (1990) explain the achievement of labour control in terms of farming contracts. These farming contracts link 'independent family farmers' with a central processing, export or purchasing unit which regulates price, production practices and credit arranged in advance under contract, thereby replacing open-market exchange (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Contract farming marks a critical transformation and recomposition of the family farm sector as capital saturates the entire agro-industrial complex without directly taking hold of production (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). As observed by Kenny (1986), contract production is no longer confined to advanced capitalism and Euro-American agro food complexes but

operates through global circuits of capital as part of international commodity markets. In Mexico for example, US transnationals engage in contract farming for strawberries, tobacco, tomatoes and cocoa, while state corporations contract heavily for sorghum and soy (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). ‘Contracting appears in this case as the recomposition of peasant producers and independent growers institutionally captured by and socially integrated into new production complexes’ (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990: 150).

Bernstein *et al.* (1990) emphasize that the contract is clearly a means of subordination. They elaborate that the company often retains legal title to crops and inputs and temporary rights in the farmer’s land and labour. The exploitative nature of labour contracts is evident in van Onselen (1976)’s work in colonial Zimbabwe. According to van Onselen (1976), the contracts are signed by peasants most of whom are illiterate and the contracts are often misunderstood. This leaves the peasants at the mercy of contractors who can either evict or dispossess peasants of their produce if peasants fail to meet the terms of the contract as was happening in colonial Zimbabwe. It has been noted that contractual relations further subordinate growers to buyer-processors through ties of credit which can threaten to transform the independent growers into bonded non-wage labourers (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). On the other hand, the contract is also a source of tactical resistance as growers themselves renegotiate and subvert the terms of the contracts.

Bernstein *et al.* (1990) noted that contract relations may systematically exclude large segments of the rural poor and target middle class peasants or local capitalist farmers. In the third World, Bernstein *et al.* (1990) identified three patterns of contract farming namely:

- large, centralized and frequently state-owned nucleus-estate schemes with thousands of peasant outgrowers and a central processing unit.
- contracts primarily with large capitalist growers, whose associations negotiate with state and labour.
- small peasant contracting usually with local, and sometimes foreign, merchants or exporters.

It has been noted that in all forms of contracting with household producers the contractor exploits a peasant ‘labour market’ rather than a class of rural proletarians. The grower provides labour power, land and tools, while the contractor provides inputs and production decisions, and holds title to the product (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Authoritarian forms of contracting, control work conditions in a manner that renders household labour unfree in the sense that it is directly distributed, exploited and retained through political-legal mechanisms

(Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Isaacman (1990) argues that the appropriating classes were not always interested in destroying the peasantry but in controlling it more effectively as was evident in South Africa. Although the peasants on the other hand were reluctant to become involved in confrontation as long as they maintained their partial autonomy, sometimes they found it necessary to join broader insurgency movements to maintain or expand their degree of autonomy (Isaacman, 1990). Cordell and Gregory (1982), Guyer (1978) and Isaacman *et al.* (1980) single out labour flight as the most commonly chosen way used by peasants to maintain control over their own labour.

Porous colonial boundaries and the availability of large unoccupied tracts of arable land facilitated the flight of millions of disgruntled peasants to neighbouring colonies and to sparsely populated areas where they reconstructed refugee communities beyond the effective control of the colonial regime (Isaacman, 1990). It should be noted that this flight of peasant labour was precipitated by a variety of forced labour and tax policies, which threatened the food security and viability of households (Guyer, 1978 and Cordell and Gregory, 1982). It should be noted that African peasants preferred migration or flight as a form of protest because it was far less costly to them and had much the same effect on the colonial authorities as did the other more militant forms of protest. Not all African peasants chose to flee, some opted to live in overcrowded reserves or be subject to capitalist labour discipline, or to become involved in sharecropping or tenant farming (Guyer, 1978 and Cordell and Gregory, 1982) while other tenants and sharecroppers sought to exercise leverage by skipping to less harsh landlords or by threatening to do so. The practice was more pronounced in South Africa (Keegan, 1982 and Reilly, 1984 in Isaacman, 1990).

It is important to note that, unlike male peasants, female peasants did not prefer flight. Instead, they withheld a portion of their daily labour from commodity production and this increased the possibility of meeting household food requirements (Isaacman, 1990). Where the colonial state sought to impose new labour demands on an already overburdened population, covert labour struggle was most intense. Anti-erosion schemes, for example, imposed by the British colonial regimes caused a lot of discontent among peasants (Isaacman, 1990). Women in particular opposed anti-erosion programmes because by eliminating marginal terrain, often the only land available to them, it reduced the amount of accessible farmed land. Labouring long hours building ridges on their hillside farms was an intolerable burden which reduced the time to work in the fields (Reilly, 1984 in Isaacman, 1990).

Throughout the African continent opponents of the anti-erosion schemes faced harsh retribution if they were caught; yet cooperating often meant perpetuating the cycle of impoverishment and vulnerability. Garcia (1970) comments that, whatever their role in the labour process, peasants also pursued a variety of evasive tactics to minimize surplus extraction.

As observed by Scott (1976), peasant welfare is most precarious in precisely those areas where commercial progress is most impressive. Popkin (1980: 415) seems to subscribe to Scott (1976)'s view by pointing out that:

The destruction of the peasant's accustomed institutional context for reducing risks creates the tensions that mount toward peasant involvement in rebellion and revolution. The ensuing violence reflects 'defensive reactions' or desperate efforts to maintain subsistence arrangements that are under assault, or to restore them once they have been lost.

The desire to defend land involves peasants in struggles as will be noted in the next section.

4.3.1 Peasantries and struggles

Roberts (1990) noted that throughout history, peasants have formed the basis of a centralized political order. Because of their apparent economic conservatism and political localism, peasants are viewed by outsiders as constituting a problem for political and economic modernization. As such they are incorporated into the wider society through formal and real subsumption (Roberts, 1990). Formal subsumption occurs when old forms of production are assimilated into the circuits of capital while real subsumption occurs when the very processes of production are transformed by capital, that is, modern factory farming (Read, (2003).The concept of formal subsumption is relevant to the Zimbabwean context where most peasants were vertically integrated into agro-industries. Peasant labour was reduced to wage labour and all things were produced as commodities. Marx (1818-1883) used the concept of subsumption to demonstrate how capital revolutionised the productive process. In Zimbabwe real subsumption transformed the nature of the labour process and its actual conditions. In Zimbabwe like in any other parts of the world peasant subsumption was characterised by struggles.

Shanin (1971) identified technological backwardness in the fields of communications, weaponry and tactical expertise as having militated against many attempts at peasant political action. As a result the peasantry has proved no match for smaller, closely knit, better organised and technically superior groups, and has been double-crossed or suppressed

politically and by force of arms (Shanin, 1971). Although the peasantry's basic weaknesses have stood out the peasantry cannot be ignored as politically impotent and its actions dismissed. According to Roberts (1990), peasants have never been passive recipients of changes from above, and they continue to be important social actors in transformations at the national level. It is worth noting that the struggles of agricultural workers have a long history from earlier transitions to capitalism and colonial capitalism to current processes of capitalist development/underdevelopment. According to Bernstein and Byres (2001), what are often termed 'peasant movements' turn out to be movements of agricultural workers and poor peasants. Hobsbawm (1997: 283) had this to say about peasants:

Time and again, in studying the political behaviour of peasants in a state of oppression, we discover the practical value of stupidity and a refusal to accept any innovation: the great asset of peasants is that there are many things you simply can't make them do, and by and large no change is what suits a traditional peasantry best.

Scott (1976) emphasises the defensive nature of peasants' rebellion in seeking its roots in the peasant moral economy. Insecurities generated by fluctuations in the world economy and practices such as unvarying taxes, which signal to peasants a lack of reciprocity in the relations with powerful outsiders give peasants the impetus to challenge authority (Scott, 1976). Wolf (1969) cited in Jenkins (1982) concurs with Scott (1976) by pointing out that the rapid expansion of the commercial market destroys the economic security of the peasantry, thereby stimulating rebellions. Wolf in Jenkins (1982: 490) asserts that capitalism necessarily produces a revolution of its own; and elaborates that:

The intrusion of the market economy transforms the agrarian economy and destroys security measures. Plowlands are transformed into unalienable commodities, purchased on the market rather than available as a social right; commons and forests traditionally open to the villagers are forcibly enclosed by the landowners, available only upon the payment of rent; the landowners abrogate their traditional protective responsibilities, reorganising their estates to turn the maximum profit; the peasants find themselves forced increasingly into the market, where grain and consumption items are priced according to market principles rather than the 'just price.'

Chirot and Ragin (1975) in Jenkins (1982), highlight that the peasantry is threatened by the high insecurity of a rural economy in which world prices and the impersonal market determine the availability of land and the actual reward received by peasant producers. The likelihood of rebellion, then, is greatest during the period in which the traditional economic culture of the peasantry remains intact but is being challenged by the rapid expansion of the market economy (Jenkins, 1982). Studies from colonial India, for example, have shown the existence of a strong interest group among rich peasants of the countryside which mobilised itself and other peasants to influence provincial and national politics (Prakash, 1985).

Chayanov (1966) cited in Bernstein and Byers (2001) comments that, the relations of peasants with other social groups and entities are relations of subordination and exploitation which also define the peasant condition and generate the politics of peasant resistance. Peasants' chances of influencing the political sphere increase sharply in times of national crises and peasants react bitterly to changes in traditional order that they viewed as legitimate when, even in the presence of widespread poverty; it provided a stable basis for subsistence (Roberts, 1990 and Shanin, 1971). Paige (1983) attributed peasant rebellions to class conflict between landowners and the landless. According to Friedmann (1978), the sudden impoverishment and dislocation of people whose form of production has provided a stable life for many generations can be so dramatic as to make the prosaic reproduction of long-lived forms of production seem static.

Chatterjee (1986) posits that a prolonged period of modern colonial rule in pre-capitalist societies establishes the conditions for the rise of capitalist relations of production in agriculture. Although Chatterjee's findings related to India they are applicable to many countries. Chatterjee (1986) argues that colonial rule in India led to changes in the legal structure of agrarian property and the emergence of the process of commoditisation or 'commercialisation' of agriculture. Different agrarian forms were replaced, modified or retained and pre-capitalist forms of labour exploitation underwent a revolutionary transformation (Chatterjee, 1986). As has already been alluded to, commoditisation started a process of differentiation among the peasantry. Lenin cited in Bernstein and Byres (2001) emphasized the class differentiation of the peasantry and its dynamics as the principal path of development of capitalism in the Russian countryside. As opposed to Lenin, populism tends to champion 'middle peasants' as representing the 'natural' conditions of the peasantry, 'the backbone of peasant society' (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Lenin noted that a wide range of variation in the relative wealth or poverty of households prevailed in many rural situations.

Lenin's concept of class differentiation of the peasantry was challenged by Chayanov in Shanin (1972) who argued that variations in size of holding between peasant households were explicable by the cycle of generational reproduction (demographic differentiation) and by the levelling mechanism of social mobility within the peasantry. Bernstein *et al.* (1990) share the same views when they point out that class formation among the peasantry does not happen everywhere in the same way or with the same results. Roberts (1990), for example, differentiated Latin American peasantries from the European peasantries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the context in which they worked while the peasantries of

contemporary developing countries were differentiated from one another by their varying histories of incorporation into the world system and their differences in farming systems. In Latin America, because of modern technological change and improvements in communications, rural-urban differences have been eroded. Roberts (1990) explains that the Latin American peasant has access to media and to urban markets and consumer goods, while beset by more external intervention than in the past, whether by private entrepreneurs or by state and international agencies.

Bernstein *et al.* (1990) observed that on one side of the middle peasants are poorer peasants, many of whom are unable to reproduce their means of production in the face of multiple pressures such as competition with other peasants over land, labour, access to inputs, to credit or to markets. According to Bernstein *et al.* (1990), these poorer peasants become marginalised as farmers or are ultimately dispossessed and proletarianised. Lenin's observation in Russia seems to support Bernstein *et al.* (1990)'s views when he argued that the impact of the growing home market was disintegrating the peasantry and gradually creating only two classes in the countryside namely; rich peasants or agrarian capitalists who would produce crops for sale on an expanding scale and the rural labourers who worked for them and whose wage labour was a principal source for the accumulation of capital by the rich peasants (Prakash, 1985). Lenin in Prakash (1985) predicted the necessary decline of the 'middle peasant' in line with Kautsky (1967)'s view that in Germany the technical superiority of the large latifundia was driving out the backward 'middle peasant' holdings.

Kautsky (1967) and Lenin's line of argument was criticised on the grounds that single individuals rather than entire family households were migrating to the cities and that urban growth would not necessarily cause the end of peasant farming (Prakash, 1985). Findings from the studies of the Mexican peasantry have shown how the 'middle peasants' can meet their growing cash requirements through a deliberate strategy of relay migration whereby the eldest adults in turn migrate to the city for recycling resources back to the farm as and when needed (Arizpe, 1982 in Prakash, 1985). Loney (1975) witnessed the same situation in colonial Zimbabwe when males from the age of sixteen left rural areas to seek cash employment in mines, farms and factories to support families in rural areas. Another example from South East Asia shows that labourers involved especially in 'informal' sectors of the economy run often through 'casual' labour to return regularly to their village for the main

agricultural operations, and thus run their farming enterprise through circulatory migration (McGee, 1982 in Prakash, 1985).

Hoffman, cited in Kurtz (2000) argues that peasant communities were deeply divided, and that the defenders of the commons were more often privileged strata, not the poor. Rich peasants are described as those who have been able to accumulate and to employ the labour of others (Patnaik, 1976 in Prakash, 1985). It follows therefore that peasant differentiation manifests the contradictions of capitalism namely; the divisions, exploitation and oppression of class and gender relations. Bernstein *et al.* (1990) argue that the contradictions reflected by peasant differentiation are internal to the peasantry and generated by its relations of production. To the populists the relations of production between peasant communities' result from the 'external' world of wider divisions of labour, markets and state structures and these are viewed as relations of exchange (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Populists argue that peasants are 'exploited' through the terms of trade for the commodities they sell and buy in markets controlled by others as happens in Africa, for example. It should be noted that the strategic differences between populist and socialist perspectives on 'peasant differentiation' are not only theoretical but also practical and political as evident in the two prescriptions of agrarian populism in the African context.

It is worth noting that like the peasantry in England, peasant class struggles were also evident in Africa. The structural-functionalists viewed peasant disputes and violence in Africa as a necessary adjustment to reproduce the social order rather than as a force for systemic change (Isaacman, 1990). Lonsdale (1981) identified only one theory of government within the African peasantry and its constitution was a sacred value system. In his letter to the Secretary of State on 22 August, 1945, Munro identified the sacred value system in Zimbabwe in terms of land allocation. Munro wrote; 'Prior to the advent of the Europeans the land was vested in the King and the Paramount Chiefs and the Chiefs allocated to each family sufficient arable land for its needs.' Lonsdale (1981) elaborates that even 'rituals of rebellion' were portrayed as structural safety valves in which hostilities towards rulers were acted out by their subjects in a way that preserved the social order.

Modernization theorists attribute peasant opposition to colonial rule to their dislike of a variety of betterment schemes. According to Staudt (1987), cited in Isaacman (1990), rural Africans, particularly peasant women, were generally resistant to innovation. Palmer and Parsons (1977) and Phimister (1974) cited in Isaacman (1990) argue that innovative African

peasants were invariably strangled by the forces of colonial capitalism. Johnson (1983: 43) noted that in America, 'a movement of protest by the poor, commodity producing periphery of agraria against its dominance by industria' emerged. This movement called populism arises when the modernisation of a society produces growing interaction and growing interdependence between agraria and industria (Johnson, 1983). Further, in relationships of dependence, agraria is the weaker party and that growing interaction and dependence engender a sense of threat. Johnson (1983) highlights that awareness of this threat raises political consciousness, enhances a sense of group identity, and leads to a combination of protest, demands for structural change, and attempts to withdraw from the relationship of dependence.

It is worth noting that the discussion on peasant struggles seems to overlook the role of women in commodity production in colonial Africa. According to Isaacman (1990), feminist scholars, rejecting the assumption about the complementarity of men's and women's work, have argued that commodity production further divided rural societies along gender and generational lines. They stress that the organization of labour, the control of critical resources, the process of social reproduction, and the forms of peasant struggle are all inexorably related to gender (Bernstein *et al.*, 1990). Ranger (1986b) cited in Isaacman (1990), highlights that the thriving African peasant agriculture that threatened the profitability of white settler farming was, for the most part, the work of women. Ranger's observation fits the Zimbabwean context to a great extent. Based on participant observation during the period 1975 to 2003, the researcher concluded that peasant agriculture in Zimbabwe is mostly done by women.

According to Roberts (1990), in many parts of the world, the peasant disappears in the face of the modernization of agriculture or survives by combining agricultural work with non-agricultural work or migration. For that reason, Katz (1993) likens the peasant economy to a nursery school of capitalist farmers. Moore (1996) observes that the gradual elimination of the peasantry through market forces and their transformation into rural or urban labourers, and the emergence of a substantial middling stratum of farmers and urban merchants, inhibits the concentration of power and favours democracy. Research however, indicates that peasants are not doomed to extinction in the face of the spread of capitalism although most peasants are turned into proletarians.

Trotsky (1977: 33) cited in Roberts (1990: 366), comments: 'the reservoir from which the Russian working class formed itself was not the craft-guild, but agriculture, not the city, but the country.' Findings from studies carried out in Mexico and Argentina in the 1960s and South Korea in the 1970s show that even the industrial proletariat of cities are migrants from villages and small towns, many of whom are of peasant origins (Deyo 1986, Munoz *et al.*, 1982 and Marshall 1978). Mouzelis (1978) highlights processes that draw peasants into the market. These include; the occupational structure of the village and the link between the local and the urban bourgeoisie, the migratory movements or the degree of state penetration into the countryside. It is therefore not surprising that with the intrusion of western capitalism, the reaction of the peasant to the ensuing disruption varied with countries. For this reason, the Bulgarian and Greek peasant reaction to capitalism differed (Mouzelis, 1978). Under the stress of capitalism, the Bulgarian peasant, for example, was more available for mobilisation by leaders with a populist, anti-bourgeois, anti-town platform (Mouzelis, 1978). According to Roberts (1990), proletarianisation in Europe seems to have been an important variable in accounting for the changes in the domestic economy and in the roles of different family members.

Findings from Latin America made Benaria and Roldan (1987) to conclude that in developing countries the classic proletariat is a small proportion of even the non-agricultural population and seems destined to remain so. The small size of the industrial proletariat, and their privileged position with respect to peasants or the urban casually employed, has been used to explain the populist character of demographic regimes and their instability (Benaria and Roldan, 1987). Roberts (1990) noted that the rural economies of developing societies have been distorted by uneven modernization. Walton (1988) cited in Roberts (1990) posits that proletarians are the basis of effective trade union movements, but their resistance in the face of harshly coercive governments is likely to be less enduring than that of the peasants.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the conception of peasantries. Literature has shown that the term 'peasant' is elusive because it is difficult to define and that the conception of peasantries varies with countries, region and time while the basic unit of the peasantry, the household, also varies with countries and regions. Some households, for example, comprise the nuclear family only while others comprise the extended family. However, a close scrutiny of definitions by different scholars resulted in the identification of common characteristics of peasants namely; their status as rural cultivators; the presence of social subordination; cultural

distinctiveness of village communities; ownership or control over agricultural land and; their strong attachment to land. It was noted that the peasants initially worked to meet subsistence needs and not profit while at the same time relying on family labour and communal relationships for their subsistence. With time peasantries evolved as a response to capitalism which led to the creation of classes which were antagonistic as evident in Zimbabwe. The dominant classes owned the means of production and exploited the weaker classes and this invoked peasant nationalism and created conflict. In the case of Zimbabwe, for example, conflict over land was exacerbated by the desire by the tribal peasants to increase their cattle numbers.

The advent of colonialism was also an important factor in the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe. Peasants showed their rebellious nature first through 'weapons of the weak' then through active resistance. The importance of this section lies in the fact that it provides examples of peasant collective opposition to expropriation of rural lands. Peasant village communities play an important role in fostering solidarity necessary for a successful rebellion in defending interests. Land has always been the main cause of peasant rebellions and conflicts in colonial Zimbabwe as will be noted in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF THE BRITISH INVASION OF ZIMBABWE ON NATIVES' LAND OWNERSHIP

5.1 Introduction

There are two important issues that make up a significant element of the approach of the British colonialists in the guise of the British South Africa Company (BASC) to indigenous people in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers (now called Zimbabwe) and the issues of land and cattle. These are the place of paternalism in Victorian society in general and also the application of 'divide and rule' tactics. Paternalism was not enshrined in law but was so socially entrenched in British society that the legal system, government policy, the media and the whole tenor of society reflected these attitudes (Roberts, 1979).

The way the colonial government dictated policies and rules for the ethnicities in Rhodesia without empowering them to make decisions suggests that the government was inspired by the widespread paternalism of Victorian society. Considering the way in which paternalistic norms informed the actions of the colonial administrators the paternalist outlook emphasized among others, discipline, obedience, punishment, respect and order. Viewing the actions and decisions of the colonial government through the lens of paternalism sheds light on many of the decisions that they took, and shows that paternalistic attitudes set the scene for the land conflicts that arose as time progressed. Chaturvedi (2000) has shown how paternalism impacted on colonial decision-making in other settings. It is crucial to remember that paternalism of Victorian England is significant in this study because it falls within the age of imperialism and influenced colonial rule in Rhodesia.

5.2 Paternalism in Victorian England

Paternalism was seen as a social outlook that informed social attitudes at all levels of society and expressed itself in various ways (Roberts, 1979). In Victorian England this outlook was held by landowners, captains of industry, clergymen, Members of Parliament and justices of peace, civil servants, newspaper editors, novelists, poets and university dons. It was even held as habits of deference by agricultural labourers, operatives and the worth poor (Roberts, 1979). There were three principal duties which paternalists felt they should perform: ruling, guiding and helping. The assumption that paternalism should be authoritarian followed naturally just like the way fathers command and exact obedience. Roberts (1979) points out that paternal authority was however not absolute in all spheres because it was tempered by common law and ancient liberties. Although that was the case paternalism could still be, in

certain areas, severely, even cruelly, authoritarian. According to Roberts (1979), the typical paternalist believed in capital punishment, whipping, severe game laws, summary justice for delinquents, strict laws defining the duties of servants, and imprisonment of seditious writers.

It is important to note that paternalism in Victorian England borrowed heavily from Christianity and viewed paternal authority as sacred. Roberts (1979) argued that the paternalists never doubted that God had created a hierarchical society and that such a hierarchical society was necessary and beneficial. The paternalists believed that without inequality of property there would be no incentive for the poor to work or the wherewithal for the wealthy to rule, develop the arts of government, and do charitable work (Roberts, 1979:3). Paternalism compared agricultural labourers, servants, tenant farmers, and curates dependent on those of higher ranks to children who are dependent on those above them in the hierarchy of the family. It should be noted that at the heart of a paternalist's hierarchical outlook was a strong sense of the value of dependency, a sense that could not exist without those who are dependent having an unquestionable respect for their betters. The colonial government's treating indigenous people as labourers rather than land-holders and ruling them in such a way as to encourage dependency suggests a paternalist outlook.

Newby (1975) cited in Newby *et al.* (1978) posits that paternalism is a relationship in which management involves the super ordinate class being drawn into an inherently contradictory relationships with its subordinates. On the one hand its interest is to maintain a degree of hierarchical differentiation from those over whom it rules; on the other hand it wishes to cultivate their identification by defining the relationship as an organic partnership in a cooperative enterprise (Newby, 1975 in Newby *et al.*, 1978). The paternalists believed in the body politic, one in which every part had an appointed and harmonious place. Each individual had his function, his place, his protectors, his duties, his reciprocal obligations, and strong ties of dependency (Roberts, 1979). Property was the single most important source of authority over others, and it was the basis of political power. It follows therefore that, the colonial government, owning the means of production in Rhodesia, had authority and political power over indigenous people.

According to Newby *et al.* (1978), historically ownership of land conferred enormous economic and political power, as well as social prestige, upon the tiny minority of the population fortunate enough to take advantage of it. Land, not money, ruled because money was rootless, mobile, free of obligations, knowing no duties (Roberts, 1979). The duty to rule

flowed directly from wealth and power (Roberts, 1979). It was noted that like the politics of nostalgia, a hatred of the power of money was an attitude that had a strong affinity to the paternalist outlook (Roberts, 1979: 6). Until the nineteenth century the British Ruling class was a landowning class (Newby *et al.*, 1978). A paternalist lord, for example, owed his subordinates protection, protection both from themselves and others. He imposed on them the laws of the realm and his own sovereign commands. The colonial government gained control of land in Rhodesia and in the manner of medieval kings, shared this land amongst a relatively small number of favoured people with no original claim to the land and through this process became the ruling class.

Roberts (1979) highlights that it was the lord's duty to rule his estate and his parish firmly even if it meant fining tipplers, locking up petty thieves, jailing poachers, transporting arsonists and terminating the leases of slovenly farmers. It was his duty to suppress crime, riot, and disorder, to put to work the idle, to reprimand servants, to tell bailiffs how to manage the farms, and to see that vagrants were to be expelled from the parish (Roberts, 1979). Abercrombie and Hill (1976) emphasize that paternalism is typically a diffuse social relationship which covers all aspects of a subordinate's life, which deals with the 'whole man', rather than confining itself to a more specific set of activities. A paternalist relationship entails 'total involvement' (Abercrombie and Hill, 1976). Through control and redistribution of land; through laws and regulations about where indigenous Rhodesians could farm and live and how they should manage those small areas of land they had access to; the government followed the principles of paternalism.

According to Roberts (1979), in Victorian England the paternalist had to exert a firm moral superintendence over the poor. To enhance discipline, the village parson preached morality to the poor every Sunday while the jail was used as an instrument of discipline. All this was evident in colonial Zimbabwe. Roberts (1979) elaborates that paternalist authorities believed they knew what was good for those dependent on them just as fathers knew what was good for their children. They believed in the inevitability of poverty and were not reformers. They believed the ills and evils of society could be lessened but not removed (Roberts, 1979). Like the paternalist, the colonial government believed that society could be best managed and social evils best mitigated by men of authority, property, and rank performing their respective duties toward those in their community who are bound to them by personal ties of dependence (Roberts, 1979).

Abercrombie and Hill (1976) describe paternalism as primarily an economic institution concerned with the manner of organising a productive unit and regulating relationships between subordinates and the owners of the means of production or their agents. The description above fits factory paternalism in an industrial economy and landed paternalism in an agricultural one. According to Abercrombie and Hill (1976), paternalism is a collective form of social organisation which treats subordinates collectively. The Land Apportionment Act (1930), for example, was directed to the common group of tribal people and not to individuals. Subordinates' obligation and duties, and the reciprocal paternalist benefits, become common to the whole group rather than varying from person to person, and the customary regulation of relationships develops for all (Abercrombie and Hill, 1976).

Some Marxist historians viewed paternalist relationships as an obstacle to workers' realisation of their class position and their appreciation of the surpluses being wrung from their labour (Scranton, 1984). Abercrombie and Hill (1976) argue that paternalism pre-supposes unequal access to resources, which reflects differences in the power of the various parties. The paternalist provides resources which subordinates would be unable to find on their own, which is the basis of their dependence. For this reason paternalism is viewed as exploitative (Abercrombie and Hill, 1976). Engels in Abercrombie and Hill (1976), for example, condemned English factory villages as exploitative and corrupt, because the owners turned their workers' dependence to their own advantage. Engels argued that paternalists compounded exploitation at work by exploitation in the truck shops and company houses, which were sources of profit to employers as well as services to employees. It is worth noting that the black Rhodesian proletariat and agrarian labourers were exploited as a result of land shortage which forced them to migrate to towns hence the Marxist view regarding relations of production, applied in the Rhodesian context. Because of the paternalist outlook the colonial administrators required the indigenous people to fulfil their obligations to the state by paying taxes. By imposing taxes and forced labour the colonial government may have totally misunderstood the natives' custom and values. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) posit that Zimbabwean societies had valued custom and continuity which helped maintain a sense of identity and allowed for a spontaneous and natural adaptation.

From the initial incursions into the space between the Zambezi and the Limpopo in 1890, through using "divide and rule" tactics, the colonial government created conflict. The use of 'divide and rule' policies can be linked to the development of national as opposed to ethnic

identities and thus laid the foundations for the birth of nationalism. According to Christopher (1988), the 'divide and rule' policy involved territorial separation through segregation and partition in the British Colonies. The policy had long lasting geographical consequences in the later drawing of post-independence boundaries. Christopher (1988) views drawing ethnically inspired boundary lines on the ground as part of the officially perceived need to maintain an English or British identity in the face of an increasingly articulate and potentially rebellious black population. Educated indigenous Rhodesian elite asked, 'If British identity could be preserved, then why not that of other peoples?' This was the beginning of a protracted conflict which culminated in wars of resistance.

In view of the above question, the colonial government 'divide and rule' policy embraced the social conflict model whose basic tenets are:

- Society is composed of different groups that compete for resources.
- While society may portray a sense of cooperation, there is a continuous power struggle between social groups as they pursue their own interests.
- Within societies, certain groups control specific resources and means of production (Farrington and Chertok, 1993).

The social conflict model, like the Marxist model to which it is closely related, identifies power struggles emanating from competition for the control of resources, and exploitation of the weaker by dominant groups. It is worth noting that the tendency toward conflict is a basic element of human nature. Darwin (1809-1882), Malthus (1776-1834), Spencer (1820-1903) and Sumner (1840-1910) seem to view conflict as a positive phenomenon. To Spencer (1898), conflict is a natural process which contributes to social evolution. Sumner (1883) believed conflict resulting from competition for survival caused positive social advancement while Darwin and Malthus believed conflict and struggle promoted human social existence by ensuring that the strongest of the species survived. Against this background, control of cattle and the land resource was disguised as a question of survival although it had political and economic implications. This approach is not unique to white colonialists; for the same reason Mzilikazi founded the Ndebele State in Matebeleland in the early nineteenth century, suggesting that applying such tactics in situations where control of land is contested is a cross-cultural strategy.

5.3 Analysis of Colonial Land Policy and its Impact on Access to Land: Early impact of colonialism on access to land, cattle and trade in Zimbabwe

Ranger (1960) argues that Zimbabwe's native economy was not disrupted by settler occupation, his justification being that, when the settlers arrived in the country (now called Zimbabwe) in 1890 they came upon an indigenous society that was already in disintegration as a result of the Nguni invasions. Zimbabwe had been invaded by Soshangana, Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi, all of who had been Shaka's generals and had migrated. According to Ranger (1960), Zimbabwe was divided between the demoralised and shattered Shona tribes and the military autocracy of the Ndebele. While Ranger's views may be true to some extent, they are at variance with Palmer and Parsons (1977)'s and Rodney (1972)'s views. Palmer and Parsons (1977: 223) note that although there were naturally great regional variations, the Shona were in general skilled agriculturalists, 'who enjoyed a degree of prosperity which belies the standard, though palpably false, picture of a people utterly demoralized by Ndebele raids.' Beach (1977) and, Palmer and Parsons (1977) however, agree that Shona agriculture was never entirely secure. They note that it was vulnerable to droughts and disasters that periodically ravaged the country. Rodney (1972) shares the same views with Beach (1977), Palmer and Parsons (1977). According to Rodney (1972: 65):

When Cecil Rhodes sent in his agents to rob and steal in Zimbabwe, advanced agriculture and mining had come into existence over centuries of evolution. Zimbabwe was a zone of mixed farming, with cattle being very important, as the area was free from tsetse fly. There was no single dam or aqueduct comparable to those in Asia or Ancient Rome, but countless small streams were diverted and made to flow around hills, in a manner that indicated an awareness of the scientific principles governing the motion of water.

In support of Rodney (1972), Rukuni and Eicher (1994) reiterate that when the white settlers arrived in 1890, the traditional economy had developed beyond agriculture. Other activities included the working of iron for agricultural tools and weapons, pottery, wood-carving, and the making of cloth, baskets, nets, and mats. Local barter trade thrived in drought years as food became scarce (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). Palmer and Parsons (1977) add that livestock was an important insurance against droughts. Prior to the arrival of the white settlers, the land-use system was quite similar for the whole country (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). Both Shona and Ndebele grew a wide variety of crops: finger millet, bulrush millet, sorghum, maize, groundnuts, potatoes, rice, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, pumpkins, squash, cucumber, tomatoes, marrow, melons, yams, cassava, cane, pineapple, lemons, paw-paws and others (Palmer, 1977). At the end of the harvest the Shona delivered their tribute to the Ndebele king.

As already alluded to, the presence of the whites affected the Shona and Ndebele way of life. According to Palmer and Parsons (1977), many Shona felt aggrieved when British occupation brought an end to Shona long-distance gold trade with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambezi. Loss of the trade equated to loss of status and knowledge of the wider world. This loss supported the social control agenda of the colonial government. To the Shona, their grievances had no immediate way of being resolved as the Shona had been weakened. The presence of the British and their 'divide and rule' tactics disrupted the peaceful co-existence between the Ndebele and the Shona. Regardless of this new development, food provision was still sustainable because the Shona made intelligent use of their harsh environment although they never entirely mastered it (Palmer and Parsons, 1977).

Meanwhile, relations between the Ndebele and the BSAC were deteriorating. Many authors subscribe to the view that the Ndebele were particularly angered by the Shona, most of who had stopped paying tribute (Loney, 1975, Palmer and Parsons, 1977, Ranger, 1960 and Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). This sudden resistance by the Shona suggests a number of reasons: that the Shona had all along resented paying tribute; that the Shona did it to capitalise on the presence of the whites for protection; and that they may have been too busy to take tribute to Lobengula since they were then working for the whites. Arguably, the BSAC seemed conflict-oriented in their initial approach, rather than paternal, and can be seen to have achieved their 'divide and rule' objective.

The sudden resistance by the Shona to paying tribute persuaded the Ndebele to resume their raiding activities on the Shona (Loney, 1975). Whenever these raiding activities occurred, all Shona labourers went into hiding and the BSAC economic activities came to a standstill (Palmer and Parsons, 1977). The effect of these raids for the whites was to disrupt labour supplies and create a general climate of uncertainty (Loney, 1975). The BSAC realised that unless the Ndebele power was broken, the BSAC economic activities would never take off. Generally, Rhodes's group viewed the Ndebele as an obstacle to their economic activities, hence the BSAC's desire to pacify the Ndebele. However, it became clear to the BSAC that the transformation of warlike Ndebele into cheap labour for white farms and mines would not be accomplished peacefully (Loney, 1975). This partly explains why Rhodes group viewed war with the Ndebele as 'inevitable and desirable' (Loney, 1975). How then was the first generation of a reluctant Ndebele peasantry controlled in a new industrial setting? As paternalists who believed in authoritarian discipline the Rhodes' government was prepared to

bring the Ndebele to their knees at all costs while at the same time perpetuating conflict between the Ndebele and Shona. According to Loney (1975), initially, the BSAC's major difficulties were not with the Shona but with the Ndebele. The cause of conflict was the continuation by the Ndebele of their raids on the Shona communities. The BSAC used these raids as an excuse for manufacturing a war with the Ndebele. The spark that ignited the war was Lobengula's punitive expedition to a chief in Fort Victoria in 1893 who had failed to pay tribute (Loney, 1975).

5.3.1 The 1893 War in Matebeleland

In 1893 war broke out between the Pioneers and Ndebele which ended in the defeat of the Ndebele and the death of Lobengula (Ranger, 1960). The BSAC had promised each recruit of the 1893 war 6 000 acres of land, land rights and a share in the loot of Ndebele cattle (Palmer, 1977). The 1893 War in Matebeleland marked the beginning of the tyranny of economic paternalism in Rhodesia. It was noted that the BSAC basked in unaccustomed favour and prosperity for roughly two years after the end of the war. According to Birmingham and Martin (1983: 254):

As hopes of rich gold discoveries in Matebeleland flared and flickered, both the BSAC and the settlers turned to a more thoroughgoing looting of the 'natural economy' of the Shona and Ndebele. Between October 1893 and March 1896 anything from 100 000 to 200 000 cattle were seized from the Ndebele; forced labour became widespread; and the collection of hut tax, first imposed 'illegally' in May 1893, was stepped up after imperial sanction was received in 1894.

The defeat in 1893 spelt disaster for the Ndebele. According to Loney (1975), the Ndebele were robbed of most of their cattle which were divided as loot, and of their best land. Palmer and Parsons (1977) comment that these 'conquest lands' on which white farming later established itself, were acquired without any regard whatsoever for existing native rights. It is little wonder therefore that the land issue was a cause of much bitterness in Zimbabwe. Following the defeat of the Ndebele in 1893, the British enacted the Matabeleland Order-in-Council which culminated in the creation of two reserves, Gwaai and Shangani, for Ndebele settlement in the dry and infertile part of the country (Tshuma, 1998).

According to Palmer and Parsons (1977), the entire Ndebele homeland was expropriated following the defeat of Lobengula in 1893 and land on which Ndebele kraals were situated (Loney, 1975) was given to the volunteers or sold off to farmers and speculators.

The indigenous occupants were told to work for the new owners or move on. Two totally inadequate reservations, Gwaai and Shangani, not fit for human settlement, were set aside for Ndebele settlement (Loney, 1975). Rodney (1972: 233) had this to say about the reserves:

In a reserve, the major means of production was the land. But the quantity and fertility of the land allocated was entirely inadequate to support the number of Africans who were driven in. The reserves were reservoirs of cheap labour, and dumping grounds for those who could not be accommodated within the money economy of the racist southern section of Africa.

It should be noted that the loss of land and cattle among the Ndebele meant the destruction of the traditional socio-economic systems, loss of status, and loss of economic and social independence. According to Berlyn (1966), cattle are the wealth of the African people. Although the 1893 war did not affect the Shona to a great extent, the Shona did not expect Rhodes's people to occupy the country permanently (Loney, 1975).

Despite owning the best land, development in white commercial farming encountered numerous obstacles namely: the lack of; capital, equipment, and regular supply of labour, the rinderpest and later the east coast fever which decimated cattle, and the locust and drought which preceded the First *Chimurenga* (Palmer and Parsons, 1977). Furthermore, the early white settlers were completely ignorant of local conditions and potential for agriculture although a few had an agricultural background. The situation was exacerbated by the unwillingness of the blacks to work for the white men hence the introduction of forced labour, *chibharo* (Palmer and Parsons, 1977). Forced labour was a result of labour demand in the mines and farms. The whites also introduced taxes namely; the hut, poll, dog and cattle taxes in order to raise revenue to cover their administration costs (Loney, 1975). In 1894 the BSAC imposed a tax of 10 shillings per hut. This tax created hostility on the indigenous population who saw no reason why they should pay for a hut they had built themselves. Moreover whites with incomes of less than £400 for a single man and £1000 for a couple were exempt from taxes. In 1904 taxes were increased and the 10-shilling hut tax gave way to a £1 poll tax on each male native with a further 10-shilling tax on each wife after the first (Loney, 1975 and Ranger, 1960). The BSAC also charged the natives £1 for cattle and dog tax.

The importance of these taxes should not be underestimated as they forced the once reluctant black agricultural population into the labour market to earn enough for the taxes.

To improve the quality of the labour force it was considered advisable to adopt a paternal attitude, a policy later required by law. Employers provided accommodation, food, and where necessary, appropriate clothing; many also provided medical and other social services.⁴

⁴G. Kay, *Rhodesia: A human Geography* (London, 1970), p. 55. Kay makes these observations while specifically commenting on the 'historical background' to 'labour relations' in Rhodesia.

The African tax revenue enabled the BSAC to subsidize the development of European farming and mining. However neither taxation nor paternalism solved the mining industry's labour problem. It was noted that tax increases did improve the supply of labour locally but they also tended to push a significant number of local peasants further out into the regional economic system, benefiting the Transvaal mines. As noted by Van Onselen (1976) when tax was increased in 1901 many of the Ndebele turned to the Rand to earn the necessary cash. This annual fluctuation of labour was not favourable to the capitalists (BSAC) at this time when they were trying to attract capital and maximise production. Short-term labour, for example, was resented by the capitalists because it did not enhance productivity which industry looked for.

Paying taxes compounded the bitterness felt by the Ndebele after the loss of land and cattle in the 1893 war. The bitterness was manifested in the outbreak of yet another war, the First *Chimurenga* (1896-7). As if their loss of cattle was not enough, the Ndebele lost more cattle as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest in 1895. According to Loney (1975), the situation was further aggravated by drought and locusts that destroyed crops. These misfortunes also befell the Shona. The interpretation of these misfortunes by the spirit mediums united the Shona and Ndebele in fighting against Rhodes's people. It was the nature of the religious interpretation that precipitated the First *Chimurenga* in 1896 (Loney, 1975).

5.3.2 The First *Chimurenga*, 1896-7

In 1896 the indigenous people rose in rebellion against the British, hoping to drive them out of Rhodesia so that they would regain their best lands, cattle and independence. The whites emerged victorious and the whole country came under British Rule. Ranger (1960) describes the Shona and Ndebele after the 1896-7 war as conquered peoples, a fact that Nathan Shamuyarira⁵ acknowledged in his discussion with a Northern Rhodesian African in 1960. As conquerors, the settlers treated Africans with scant consideration or respect (Maxey, Fabian Research Series 301). It is important to note that, after the 1896-7 war, two factors influenced the formation of the Zimbabwe Native Policy. According to Ranger (1960), one was the somewhat casual protective interest taken by the British Government in 1894 which imposed upon the company the obligation to set aside sufficient land for native occupation suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements. The other was the Company's interest in

⁵Nathan Shamuyarira, born in 1929, was a nationalist who at different times fought on behalf of FROLIZI, ZAPU and ZANU.

obtaining native labour for the mines and white agriculture. These factors can be seen to reflect the tyranny of the British economic paternalism. The first factor of influence led to the Native Reserves Order-in-Council of 1898 that is viewed in the next section.

5.3.3 The Native Reserves Order in Council, 1898

The 1898 Order-in-Council was a form of legislation which established a legislative council to govern the colony. The Order-in Council required the BSAC administrators to create Native Reserves for the indigenous people and led to the creation of the dual agrarian structure that has continued for almost a century (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). The dual agrarian structure meant that land had to be racially segregated into private land for whites and communal land for the indigenous people thus creating the so called Native Reserves and commercial farms. Rukuni and Eicher (1994) maintain that it is during this period of creating Native Reserves that the Company changed the focus of its economic strategy from mining to agriculture. Palmer and Parsons (1977) agree with Rukuni and Eicher (1994) that, this agricultural policy was designed to attract whites from abroad for settlement on farms in high potential areas. The result was native reserves were assigned throughout the country in the face of a systematic mass land expropriation by white settlers.

Kwahirai (2006) explains that from 1898, settlers acquired the first large-scale commercial farms in Mazoe District and elsewhere, by dispossessing indigenous people of the better quality arable land that was located in higher and more reliable rainfall areas. Kwahirai (2006) states that the 1894 and 1898 Land Ordinances legislated for a reserve policy creation ended up demarcating and assigning infertile areas for Africans. Ranger (1960) and, Palmer and Parsons, (1977) concur that, to the whites, the reserves were meant to preserve the extinction of the indigenous people while at the same time guaranteeing that settlers got the lion's share of fertile land. The result was that the Native Reserves, about 20 million acres, were chosen in an exceedingly haphazard manner in low potential areas which were far from the Gold Belt and railway lines (Palmer and Parsons, 1977 and Ranger, 1960). The demarcation of reserves was left to individual Native Commissioners who ensured that the boundaries of the reserves did not encroach on good land that had already been or might be alienated to settlers (Phimister, 1988 and Tshuma, 1998).

Loney (1975) adds that a Reserves Commission reviewed the system of reserves in 1914 and recommended the transfer of land suitable for white occupation and exploitation and the

substitution of other, less valuable land away from the railway line. In 1920 another Order-in-Council confirmed the recommendations of the Commission. As a result, six million acres of land were removed from the Reserve allocations of 1894 and 1902. Land alienation became widespread often building up to punitive evictions of natives from lands claimed by settlers (Kwashirai, 2006). It is estimated that 113 000 natives were shifted in organised expulsions between 1936 and 1959. In the post-war years about 85 000 natives were moved from unalienated Crown Land in the white area in order to create room for additional white settlement (Samasuwo, 2003). According to Chigara (2012: 190), forcible eviction of individuals from their homes, among other things:

threatens the very foundation of the family and renders the enjoyment of the right to family life difficult. By not ensuring protection to the victims, the Respondent state is held to have violated Article 18 (1) of the African Charter.

The seizure of the best agricultural land by colonialists deprived the native population of much of its traditional farmland and this brought white farmers into conflict with native producers (Loney, 1975). Kwashirai (2006) points out that, the colonial state built a bureaucratic and technocratic apparatus that adopted universal land use planning categories and through rubrics such as rational and scientific use it created commercial farms, national parks, planned forest and game reserves. The settlers who had acquired land needed labour to work the land but Africans were not willing to work for the white settlers. According to Loney (1975), all white farmers in Rhodesia had an interest in ensuring adequate African labour at the cheapest price. To solve this problem, the Ordinance of 1904, imposed a £1 hut tax on every adult native male (Ranger, 1960). Since it required more than a month's labour for a native to earn £1 for tax, the hut tax provided a reasonable incentive to seek work (Ranger, 1960). Loney (1975) draws attention to a variety of rents landowners charged which enabled absentee landlords to make a profit without even developing the land. Rennie (1978) agrees that rent tenancy and share-cropping were practised by absentee landlords. Further, Rennie (1978) elaborates that rent tenancy was particularly practised by large-scale speculators in slump periods when the value of their initial investments had fallen while share-cropping was practised by landowners at all levels of capital accumulation. Both rent tenancy and share-cropping occurred in the context of the development of the native peasantry (Rennie, 1978).

Apart from creating room for white settlement, native reserves thus served as labour pools for the farming and mining settler cash economy (Kwashirai, 2006). Some natives stayed on

European farms on condition that they paid rent in crops; a process that came to be nicknamed '*Kaffir Farming*.' In 1948 close to 300,000 natives were still residing on white land (Arrighi, 1983). *Kaffir farming* was a pejorative and emotional term used to attack rentier landlords and share-cropping interests from the Cape to Nairobi (Rennie, 1978). Many farmers used the system of '*kaffir farming*' to get free labour. According to Rennie (1978: 90), one farmer testified his use of '*kaffir farming*' to the Native Commissioner at a meeting in Melsetter district. The farmer said that a certain amount of work, such as 'hoeing mealies', was performed for 'nothing but the right of staying on my farm.' Another divided his tenants into eight or nine gangs, coming in rotation for a week at a time 'for the right of squatting on my ground.' In Alvord (1958)'s view this was not the result of scarcity of land, but on account of the disinclination of natives resident on white-owned estates to leave the neighbourhood of the graves of their forefathers. Rennie (1978)'s views are at variance with Alvord's regarding what compelled native tenants to stay on white farms.

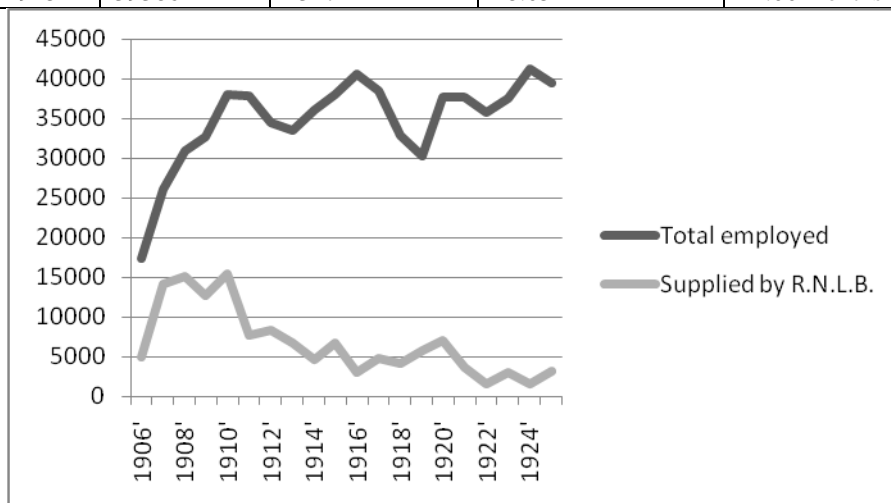
Rennie (1978) advances a number of reasons why the tenants chose to remain in white farms under difficult circumstances. First, white farmers had chosen already populated land. Second, almost all the attractive farming land was quickly earmarked for white occupation and what was left over, subsequently to become reserves, was dry, with poor soil. It is worth noting that the '*kaffir system*' helped to crystallise the indigenous people's grievances over land. Some people resisted '*kaffir farming*' by refusing to work or by running away. Rennie (1978) comments that, refusal to work was dealt with by a celebrated case of public beating and sometimes by crude fire-power. One farmer wrote in the early 20th Century; 'I have tried every way to get boys; I have been obliged to fire on two of them, but not with the intention of shooting them' (Rennie, 1978: 90). It is interesting to note that with time, crude force was supplanted by legal and economic pressure. Despite using a variety of techniques to acquire cheap labour the demand for labour in the mines remained high.

Van Onselen (1976) noted that tax increases did improve the supply of labour locally but they tended to push a significant number of local peasants further out into the regional economic system, benefitting the Transvaal mines. When tax was increased in 1901 many of the Ndebele turned to the Rand to earn the necessary cash (van Onselen, 1976). It was noted that short-term labour was highly unproductive. According to van Onselen (1976), in 1906 the BSAC set up a Native Labour Enquiry Committee to look into the issue of labour supply. The Committee expressed disapproval of the local peasants' practice of contracting for only one

month's work at a time. This resulted in the establishment of the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) with the responsibility for labour recruitment and which offered long-term contracts at lower wages than normal, and did not offer a choice of employer and thus making it very unpopular with the workers (Van Onselen, 1976). Table 2 below shows the contribution of the RNLB to Black labour supply of the Rhodesian mining industry.

Table 2: Contribution of the RNLB to the Black labour Supply of the Rhodesian mining industry between 1906 and 1925

Year	Total employed	Supplied by RNLB	% of RNLB of the total	Contract length
1906	17381	4914	28.27	5.7 'tickets'
1907	26098	14112	54.07	6.73 'tickets'
1908	30865	15102	48.93	8.21 'tickets'
1909	32721	12652	38.67	10.10 'tickets'
1910	37926	15378	40.65	11.75 months
1911	37909	7667	20.49	11.78 months
1912	34494	8255	23.95	11.72 months
1913	33543	6645	19.81	12.00 months
1914	36100	4602	12.75	12.00 months
1915	37928	6790	17.90	12.00 months
1916	40520	3079	7.60	12.00 months
1917	38461	4752	12.36	12.00 months
1918	32766	4162	12.70	12.00 months
1919	30296	5684	18.76	12.00 months
1920	37699	6956	18.47	12.00 months
1921	37605	3685	9.80	12.00 months
1922	35718	1496	4.18	12.00 months
1923	37482	3015	8.04	12.00 months
1924	41286	1571	3.80	12.00 months
1925	39386	3172	8.05	12.00 months



Source: *Compiled from the Annual Report on the Public Health, 1926.*

Arrighi (1970) explains how some labour recruiters used devices that misled natives about the length of their contracts. According to Arrighi (1970), recruiters created deliberate confusion

about whether a contract referred to a 'month' or a 'ticket.' Arrighi (1970) clarifies that the word 'month' referred simply to the elapse of a calendar month, while 'ticket' referred to any period required for the worker to satisfactorily complete 30 working days. Arrighi (1970) and van Onselen (1976) concur that the ticket system was abused by supervisors who chose not to credit the labourer with his day's work at the conclusion of his shift. It would appear a 'ticket' would take about a month to complete but it was estimated a 'ticket' took about 35-45 days to complete. It was noted that the 'ticket' system used by the less scrupulous supervisors to mislead the native labourers sometimes worked to the detriment of the industry too when labourers gave a 'month's' notice instead of a 'ticket' notice (van Onselen, 1976).

As the native population rose between 1909 and 1922, there was increased pressure on land resources which resulted in soil erosion (Loney, 1975) that the Shona had avoided through shifting cultivation. The general deterioration of the reserves in the early 1920s, accelerated by the post-war slump in grain and livestock prices and by severe drought in 1922, made the colonial state to introduce a series of land commissions, the most significant of which was the Morris-Carter Commission (Kwashirai, 2006). The Morris-Carter Commission was tasked with finding a solution to the country's land and racial problems (Shutt, 1997). In 1925 in Salisbury, (para.63) the Commission reported:

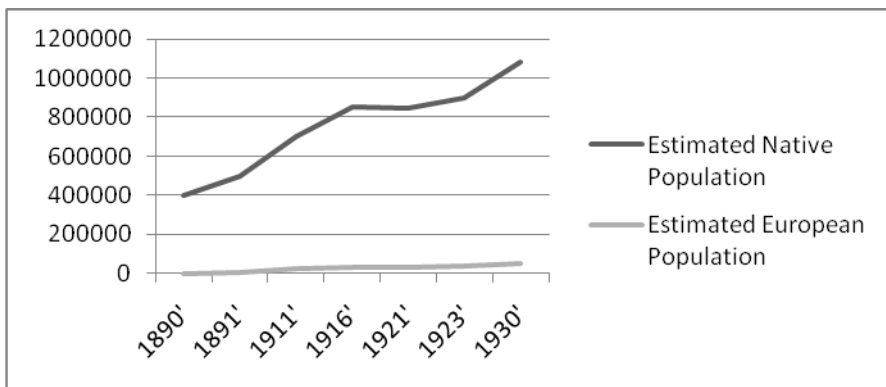
However desirable it may be that members of the two races should live together side by side with equal rights as regards the holding of land, we are convinced that in practice, probably for generations to come, such a policy is not practicable or in the best interests of two races, and that until the Native has advanced very much further on the paths of civilisation it is better that points of contact in this respect between the two races should be reduced.

The above quotation illustrates beautifully the hold paternalism still had on the thinking of the white rulers. The Commission went on to recommend the division of all land outside the reserves into native, white and unassigned areas. Ranger (1960), writing for the Fabian Society, highlights that in the Native Purchase Areas native farmers could acquire limited individual property rights as distinct from the communal rights of the traditional system which was to continue in the reserves. The 1925 Morris-Carter Commission provided the bases for a permanent division of Rhodesia into native and white areas (Loney, 1975). Consequently, it recommended the termination of natives' right to buy land, except in special areas set aside for this purpose. Roder (1964) states that the Commission further designated 49 million acres as exclusively white land, and left 18 million acres unassigned. Ranger (1960), states that the Commission's recommendations, with small modifications, were accepted by Governments concerned and embodied in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930.

Before viewing the Land Apportionment Act (1930) it is important to examine the population of colonial Zimbabwe since the arrival of the BSAC in 1890 because the population has implications on the use and distribution of resources such as land.

Table 3: Estimates of African and European population in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930

Year	Estimated Native Population	Percentage increase (%)	Estimated European Population	Percentage increase (%)
1890	400000		700	
1891	500000	25	1500	114.29
1899	413778	-2.15		
1902	530000	9.36		
1903	563119	6.25		
1904			12596	56.90
1911	700000	2.44	23606	12.49
1914	750000	2.38		
1916	850000	6.67	30000	5.42
1921	847000	-0.07	33620	2.41
1923	900000	3.13	35000	2.05
1926	936000	1.33		
1927			46000	7.86
1930	1081000	3.87	50000	2.90



Source: Nyambara (2000)

Compiled from the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and the Director of Native Development for the Year 1944

Fabian society Research Series 217, September, 1960

Loney, 1975

Floyd (1962) Geographical Review Journal

Central African Statistical Office

Fox (1916) Geographical journal

Table 3 above shows the European and indigenous population for the years 1890 to 1930; inclusive as given in the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs (1944). The absence of population figures in 1904, 1927, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1914 and 1926 for both Africans and Europeans simply means the population data were not available. It should be noted that the

above estimates might have been far below the actual indigenous population. The Assistant Native Commissioner, who made a census for his Sub-District ascertained that the total population was five times the number of tax payers appearing in his tax register. This would appear to indicate that the previous method of estimating the Native population was on the low side. However, as shown in Table 3, the population of Rhodesia in the early 1890s seems not posing any threat to the available resources. Table 3 shows that about 700 members of the Pioneer Column arrived in 1890 and added to the native population of about 400 000. By 1891 the European population had more than doubled. With the 96 million acres of land in Zimbabwe it would appear both the indigenous and white population would have enough land for subsistence. By 1899 the African population had dropped probably due to the casualties suffered during the two wars of resistance, namely; the 1893 war and the First *Chimurenga* (1896-7).

As shown in Table 3, from 1902 to 1916 African population in Rhodesian continued to increase. The increase in native population could be attributed to medical innovation, advances in hygiene, immunisation programmes, pest control and nutrition programmes embarked upon by the colonial government. The increase in cattle might also have had a positive effect on population growth as this meant more milk and meat to feed the people. Above all, the dissemination of education, improved access to health services and increased income might have had an effect on native population growth. Table 3 however shows there was a drop in native population from 1916 to 1921 perhaps due to the outbreak of influenza which led to numerous deaths. Further, the census might have been done at a time when some Rhodesians were away fighting in the First World War (1914-1918); when some members of the Apostolic Faith were away on religious crusades to Zululand and Zambia; and when some men had migrated to South Africa to work in mines. However by 1923 indigenous population had started increasing again. This may have been due to the inflow of migrant workers from Zambia and Malawi. In 1926 about 96,000 migrant workers from Zambia and Malawi came to work in the first railway development project, farms and in mines (Loney, 1975).

It is worth noting that European population was also increasing alongside the indigenous population. European population increase in Rhodesia could have been more a result of immigration than a result of natural causes and this had far-reaching consequences for the Africans most of who were still living on European land and on 'unassigned' land. The colonial administrators began charging rent on Africans living on 'unassigned' land and

accelerated the rate of eviction of some Africans from European areas. The proportion of Africans living in reserves rose and the rate of per-capita African productivity began to decline. Against this background the settler government set up the Morris-Carter Commission to look into the land issue and make recommendations. In 1925 the Morris-Carter Commission provided the basis for a permanent division of Rhodesia into African and European areas (Loney, 1975) and culminated in the unpopular Land Acts that will be examined in the next chapters.

It should be remembered that the treatment of indigenous people by the colonial government created bitterness and resentment among the indigenous people. They especially resented hut, dog and cattle taxes because they did not comprehend why they were made to pay taxes for the huts they had built for themselves, and for the dogs and cattle they had bought for themselves. They resented being treated as children by their colonial masters. For example, old men were addressed at work as 'boys' and sometimes given corporal punishment in line with paternalism. The taxes forced black Rhodesians to seek work in mines, factories and farms where they faced exploitation. They had poor accommodation in hostels where they were overcrowded, got low wages and some were sjamboked by their masters. In mines many blacks died of scurvy because of poor diet. The miners resorted to 'weapons of the weak.' They destroyed the property of their oppressors, killed cattle belonging to their masters and this brought sweet rewards as the meat was distributed to miners as 'boys' meat (van Onselen, 1976).

Forced labour in mines, farms and on road works compounded the resentment of foreign rule by black Rhodesians. The situation was further exacerbated by loss of land as a result of the colonial land segregation policies. Diverse ethnic groups in Rhodesia could not fathom why they were being moved from the land of their ancestors and they resented leaving the graves of their ancestors. Very often clans were divided into smaller groups, moved and settled in new areas with strangers thereby destroying kinship ties. This 'divide and rule' policy was resented by the indigenous groups thereby leading to the build-up of grievances which ultimately led to the armed struggle.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined pre-colonial and early colonial land issues in Zimbabwe and noted that in pre-colonial times indigenous people were peasants who relied on land for subsistence. The

chief held land in trust of his people and land was a birth right, thus everyone had access to land for cultivation, pastoralism, hunting, fishing and residence. The communal system of land tenure permitted the peasantry to build large herds of cattle because of the importance of cattle in trade, marriage functions, religious rituals, appeasement functions, restorative justice, the provision of food, as an all-purpose currency, as a form of investment and wealth, for draft purposes and tribute among the Shona (Metcalf, 1996). The cultural embeddedness of cattle determined the Shona view on land. The British signed a series of concessions with Shona chiefs and Ndebele king and followed them up with conquest and ultimately occupied the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. Using paternalism and 'divide and rule' policies the British were able to buy time to entrench their interests and divert the Rhodesian peasant's attention from land and to cultivate identification as an organic partnership in a cooperative enterprise in which the settlers were the super ordinate class while all blacks became the subordinates.

British paternalism in Rhodesia made indigenous people feel disrespected and very small as one of the tenets of its authority was property. Property was the basis of political power and authority over others. Thus the whole fabric of settler rule created grievances among black Rhodesians which culminated in the liberation struggle. Loss of land and cattle, forced labour and taxation, caused bitterness and resentment towards the white settlers and constituted grievances which united the Shona and Ndebele in the First *Chimurenga* (1896-7). Exploitation in mines, farms and industries compounded the grievance over land and cattle and drove the nationalist agenda to another level. The black workers in farms, mines and industries resorted to 'weapons of the weak' as their exploitation escalated. Chigara (2004) observed that law has a notorious record, particularly in Africa where the coloniser relied upon it to create different sets of rights for whites and non-whites. The settler government used legislation such as land segregation policies to legalise exploitation of the black people and expropriating land leading to loss of land and cattle by the blacks as shown in this chapter and which helps produce a narrative in Chapter Six based on the historical research method.

CHAPTER SIX

CATTLE, LAND AND COLONIALISM IN ZIMBABWE

6.1 Introduction

From 1890 Rhodesia was under colonial rule whose economic policy rapidly developed into one that required the control of indigenous people and protection of white farms and business interests. During this period, maintaining cattle (and therefore land for cattle) played a very important role in the social, political and economic lives of the indigenous people; to the Shona ethnic group cattle represented continuation of traditional social and cultural practices that had survived for millennia. Sustaining and maintaining these traditions in a time of rapid social change was highly important to them as cattle represented wealth and determined a person's social standing. According to Rodney (1972), families with the largest herds became socially and politically dominant. The fifteenth century ruling class in the Mutapa Empire for example, were pastoralists and their religious rituals included objects that were symbolic of cattle (Rodney, 1972). The dominance of cattle owners was symbolised through religious rituals that reinforced the social order and the place of cattle in pre-colonial society. Cattle had both an intrinsic and extrinsic value; they could be, and were, exchanged during barter trade. This chapter focuses on land and the importance of cattle to indigenous people that has remained constant for at least a millennia and remains to this day.

The study of land and cattle in Rhodesia cannot be examined in isolation from colonial land policy and its implications in the development of grievances and nationalist movements. Two important land policies namely; the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) will be examined in detail as these influenced cattle ownership by both the indigenous groups and white farmers. The chapter traces the evolution of the apportionment policy and the views associated with the land apportionment policy culminating in the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. It must be noted that the distribution of land ownership was a major factor that influenced the transformation of agrarian systems in Rhodesia into an urban-industrial economy. This embraced fundamental changes in many institutions including those of land tenure. It is important to note that before the colonial period the area now called Zimbabwe had a traditional customary land tenure system in which the Chief was the highest authority as a territorial ruler. Such a tenure system is subject to change due to social and economic pressures. It can also be controlled by powerful actors at the expense of more marginal people, and can become contested. This chapter thus examines

how the distribution of land influenced the transition from one form of social and political order to another.

The chapter also examines the land resource in relation to the population growth. It has been noted that from 1926 the history of African agriculture in Rhodesia has been that of a continuous battle between the steadily increasing pressure of a growing population on the restricted land resources, and the efforts of the Native Department to establish those methods which would check soil erosion and land degradation which were the inevitable association of the old system under the new conditions (Pendered, Mermerty, Davis, Robinson, Tomlinson and Makings, 1955). The chapter also looks at the farming activities of the 1940s, the effects of which led the colonial government to introduce the Destocking Policy and establish agricultural colleges. These colleges churned out graduates who provided advice and extension services to rural peasants.

Any discussion on the role of cattle in Rhodesia cannot be divorced from land because land represents the grazing pastures; the availability of sufficient grazing pastures determined the growth of cattle herds. It is imperative to point out that Rhodesia's natural features enhanced a diversified economy with agriculture being the backbone of the economy, and crop cultivation and cattle ranching being very important activities. However, while in the pre-colonial period the exploitation of the many natural advantages of the space between the Zambezi and Limpopo had been the preserve of the indigenous groups, this hegemony was violently destroyed by the advent of Cecil Rhodes, paving the way for the development of grievances based on inequality of land distribution as a key factor in the ability to own cattle. When the colonial government began supervising land-use cattle assumed increased importance as the single indicator of status and provider of security (Ranger, 1960). Concentration of indigenous people in rural areas meant continuous use of the same land leading to soil exhaustion. This required the use of cattle manure to enrich the soil and the use of cattle as draught power to transport manure to the fields. Thus any colonial policy that tended to tamper with access to land and cattle ownership constituted a national grievance, which if not addressed, would cause conflict.

While some rural peasants aspired to become commercial farmers like the Europeans others chose, or were forced by circumstances beyond their control to enter into wage labour. These wage earners in urban areas faced hardships just like their rural counterparts. They were given low wages and lived in poor accommodation. These hardships helped to unite the rural

people, overcrowded in reserves, with the urban wage workers in their endeavour to realise justice. The chapter also views the beginnings of a debate about land amongst the white community. Some white groups adopted the liberal approach in their arguments regarding the needs and desires of the indigenous people, and others were informed by the paternalist social outlook which was explored in Chapter Five. It can be argued that the settler government's land policies were based on their knowledge of Rhodesia's geography and scientific farming methods which they wanted to apply in order to increase productivity (agriculture, mining, manufacture) in the country and not on the people; whom they cared little about. Hence the late Samora Machel (then President of Mozambique) proclaimed, 'For the nation to live the tribe must die' (Mamdani, 1996).

The role of cattle to the indigenous groups from the transition from pre-colonial to the mid-colonial period (1880-1945) in Rhodesia is viewed from a cultural, economic and political standpoint. Noteworthy is the role of cattle in social relationships and in barter trade as cattle could be exchanged for minerals such as gold and iron and iron tools and in the provision of food during the First (1914-1918) and Second (1939-1945) World Wars. The growth in numbers of cattle as a result of improved animal husbandry is also highlighted as well as the effects of increase in cattle on the carrying capacity of the land. Duggan (1980) noted that in an attempt to improve land husbandry the colonial government implemented Land Acts that were unpopular with the indigenous ethnic groups and which contributed to the rise of black nationalism in Rhodesia. The role cattle played in this development cannot be underestimated as will be manifested hereunder.

6.2 Cattle and Social Practices

Before the introduction of the cash economy, cattle operated as a 'general purpose currency' within the native economy (Steele, 1981). After colonisation traditional social practices related to cattle were maintained, and even reinforced, by the Shona ethnic group. This may be seen as a form of resistance to the imposition of external rule and controls on traditional practices such as *Lobola* in the form of cattle.

(a) Bride-wealth (*Lobola*)

Alexander (2006) noted that chiefs and elder men worked to re-establish control over young men and women by re-instituting the use of cattle for *lobola* (bride-wealth), receiving the support of colonial officials keen to bolster 'customary' social relations, and social stability, in their efforts. Paradoxically, the settler government also interfered in the payment of *lobola*

as it was often overpriced. The government discouraged the pledging of girls by their parents who wanted to gain cattle. Although the Government's motive was to protect the girls from exploitation the Shona elders viewed this as an infringement on their traditional culture. Hence they resented it.

According to Guy (1987, the importance of cattle lay in the fact that cattle are self-reproducing and numbers can increase without absorbing a significant increase in labour time. As such cattle were seen as 'a repository of wealth' by those who owned them. A man's wealth could be measured in terms of the number of cattle he possessed, plus the number of wives, or number of daughters he could marry in order to get more cattle (Guy, 1987). There was a link between cattle accumulation and authority. *Lobola* (bride wealth) in the form of cattle played an important role in cementing marriages during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. *Lobola* clearly represented a factor of importance in the overall economic function of cattle, as, at any given time, a proportion of stock was earmarked for *lobola* purposes and excluded from the pool of cattle available for external sale, although they were used in the interim period for other purposes such as ploughing (Steele, 1981).

Although practises such as bride prices (*lobola*) were not approved of by the colonising British, white officials chose not to abolish *lobola* on the grounds that it created a bond between participating kinship groups, helped to ensure the decent treatment of the women by their affines, and fostered security of the marriage arrangement (Steele, 1981). The relationship of *lobola* to the significance of cattle is such that an analysis of the practice here includes evidence from the entire colonial period as pre-colonial and early colonial practices related to *lobola* were maintained despite the colonial government's attempts to regulate more closely the practice of *lobola*.

It can be argued that, although *lobola* fostered security of the marriage arrangement it led to the abuse of the girl child in favour of cattle acquisition with the potential of increased status for the family. Elders pledged girls before puberty to elderly and wealth men in exchange for some *lobola* cattle on account (Steele, 1981). The strength of this cultural tradition of pledging girls for cattle, closely linked to the centrality of cattle in the Shona social structures still exists to this day and is done clandestinely by a small fraction of the population (Alexander, 2006). The practice of *lobola* was resented by some girls, even in the early colonial period and this could lead to girls marrying strangers in order to escape the control of the ethnic elders, which also had social ramifications. According to Steele (1981: 35-36), at a

meeting in Mutoko province with the Native Affairs Board in 1932 on the subject of pledging, one chief summarised his feelings:

Pledging is prohibited and our daughters go about engaging themselves to young men of their own choice, strangers they find at stores and other places. These men are not of our own choosing and some of them are bad characters and we naturally feel that we have the right to demand a comparatively large amount of *lobola* as a guarantee of the son-in-law's worthiness and good intentions.

Apart from attacking the system of pledging girls the colonial Government also attacked the payment of *lobola* (bride price) which they said was exorbitant. European officials therefore recommended an imposed limitation of *lobola*. One Commissioner reporting to Lord Addison of the Dominions Office on 22 August 1945 wrote:

The Commission recommends that the payment of *lobola* should be limited to £20.00, payable in cash or cattle or partly in each, the value of a beast being taken as £4.00. A punitive confiscation should be imposed for clandestine arrangements to provide more than the permitted amount. The very large *lobola* generally payable nowadays is undoubtedly a serious evil and I should like to see the system tried. The 'black market' side of it will require careful watching.

The Shona resented this attempted infringement on their culture which added to their list of grievances. Although the recommendation was a noble idea to some, in fact the principle of restriction of limiting the price of *lobola* was difficult to enforce. Furthermore, not everyone owned cattle during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Those who did not have cattle were still allowed to marry in other forms equivalent to the number of cattle charged or demanded. These forms included labour, animal skins, tools such as hoes and axes and ivory (Needham and Mashingaidze, 1976). A system (*ugariri*) whereby poor men would work for their in-laws for many years in order to have wives was common. It is important to note that years of labour would represent a number of cattle for *lobola*. The years of labour varied with families and with the character of the labourer.

Steele (1981) highlights the moral values associated with marrying 'pure' girls. All girls were expected to marry as virgins and these brought in more cattle. Those who had lost their virginity brought in fewer cattle hence cattle played an important role in upholding the moral values of the Shona. Guy (1987) noted that the passage of cattle from the husband's father's homestead to the wife's father's homestead was a prerequisite for marriage and therefore the founding of the homestead as well as production. The transfer of cattle only took place on condition that the wife fulfilled her productive obligations in her husband's homestead and her reproductive role in that homestead. If she failed or proved to be adulterous or infertile,

the number of cattle pledged for the woman could be reduced or returned and the marriage dissolved (Guy, 1987).

Credit should be given to researches carried out by Steele (1981), Needham and Mashingaidze (1976) and Guy (1987) on the importance of cattle as bride price (*lobola*) in Zimbabwe as their findings reflect the true picture of the Shona culture. Their findings are corroborated by this researcher's knowledge based on ethnographic participant observation of marriage practices in Zimbabwe during the period 1981-2003. It is important to add that girls who brought in more cattle felt really proud and made their parents proud thereby earning a lot of respect. This achievement could be likened to Maslow's stage of self-actualisation. Apart from *lobola* payment cattle had other functions that will be viewed next.

(b) Consumption

The importance of cattle in consumption remains paramount. In the pre-colonial period cattle had been a central pillar of the trading patterns that saw Zimbabwean minerals traded as far as China during the Greater Zimbabwe period with Chinese porcelain making the return journey to Zimbabwe (Needham and Mashingaidze, 1976). The centrality of cattle in day-to-day smaller scale trade is also noted with Barrett (1991) and Rodney (1972) explaining the importance of cattle in terms of the provision of milk for domestic consumption and local sale. Cattle also provided a variety of products for manufacture, notably cattle hides which went into the making of sandals, leather jackets and bags, and cattle also provided manure and other by-products for domestic consumption. Cattle were slaughtered to provide beef at traditional ceremonies and functions; at traditional weddings, funerals and most importantly in fulfilling spiritual functions for ancestors (thanksgiving and appeasement functions). According to Rodney (1972), religious rituals symbolised the dominance of cattle owners.

With the advent of colonialism cattle assumed increased importance as a source of food for mine labourers. These mine labourers were suffering great exploitation by their masters and they vented their anger on company's property such as cattle. Cattle grazing in the environs of the mine became targets. From the early colonial period attacks on cattle owned by whites were an easy target for protest and cattle were maimed or killed as a demonstration of anger. BSAC minutes recorded one such instance that took place on 2 April 1900 when one of the fifty-three oxen belonging to Geelong Mining Company was found dead in the kraal. At first the cause of the death was unclear but:

...on the beast being cut open and an examination made it was found that a piece of rough stick about six inches long and rather pointed at both ends had been forced up its fundamental orifice and injured the intestines etc. thus causing death (quoted in van Onselen, 1976: 243).

In similar cases, revenge brought the possibility of sweeter rewards to the worker: not only had the property of the oppressor been destroyed, but there was a good chance, had the cause of death remained undetected, the beast would have been cut up and distributed as 'boys' meat in the compound (van Onselen, 1976: 243). Scott (1977) refers to this type of resistance as 'weapons of the weak'; a thread of resistance that is noted amongst peasantries in other contexts and is part of Rhodesian resistance to colonialism alongside war and rebellion.

Van Onselen (1976) explains how and why in Rhodesia's mines meat was used as the motivator of productivity in the labour force. According to van Onselen (1976), men on an inadequate diet and suffering from scurvy must have longed for a plate of meat desperately and often as thousands of African miners were dying from scurvy. The diet of the African labour force in the compounds was at its most inadequate during years of reconstruction, that is, the period before 1912 (van Onselen, 1976). The reconstruction period highlighted the importance of cattle as a source of food. During this period when settlers desperately needed to expand output, meat would be issued to those workers who most affected the rate of production (the drill boys), those who worked unpopular hours and kept the mine running, those who worked in wet shafts, those who worked underground and those who worked on Sundays (van Onselen, 1976). It is worth mentioning that capitalist colonisation increased the importance of cattle to all groups of people in Rhodesia while also increasing the pressures on land for cattle.

Although Rhodesia's peasantry used 'weapons of the weak' in resisting colonial rule they embraced some colonial ideas which brought positive developments. It seems clear that the adoption of the plough, particularly by indigenous Rhodesians, was an important development which increased the importance of cattle. According to Steele (1981: 38), 'the rapid change-over from hoe to plough necessitated the supply of a large number of animals, especially as the type of yoke in use at the time required at least four oxen per plough.' Between 1913 and 1938 the number of ploughs owned by blacks in Reserves rose from 4,280 to 93,938 (Steele, 1981). Contemporary sources noted that black peasants castrated their bulls wholesale to make them amenable to the plough, with the added incentive that when they were no longer useful, they would fetch higher prices than bulls and that this practice was long-standing in nature (District Annual Report, 1930). It has been argued that the castration of bulls had unfortunate long-term

consequences: since the larger animals were emasculated, the quality of native stock degenerated and its saleability diminished (Steele, 1981).

Although cattle saleability diminished their productive importance within indigenous farming remained, and for the Shona saleability may not have been a prime criterion in cattle holding; numbers of cattle led to status and provided insurance, holding fewer but higher-quality cattle on smaller land-holdings was not viewed as an attractive proposition by them (Herskovits, 1926). Steele (1981) points out that, from a very early stage in the colonial period the Shona used cattle as draught animals to move surplus grain to the market. Cattle could also be used to carry firewood and water to the homestead, to carry manure to the fields and even to transport the sick to hospitals in rural areas. Families with the largest herds became socially and politically dominant (Rodney, 1972) even in the context of the new forms of social stratification imposed by the advent of colonialism.

(c) Political role of cattle

Cattle were important to the chiefs' standing (Steele, 1981) as many chiefs in Rhodesia owned large herds which they used to buttress their authority by loaning cattle to clients and engaging in new markets. Cattle thus became an even more important agency in social stratification a trend established a long time before the white intrusion and continuing well into the colonial period (Steele, 1981). Traditionally, restitution for torts and fines for offences committed against the common weal took the form of cattle, a practice that continued clandestinely after the chiefs' judicial powers were stripped away by the Government in 1957 (Steele, 1981). The loss of judicial powers by chiefs in Southern Rhodesia was necessitated by some of the chiefs' support to nationalist activities (Loney, 1975). The unpopularity of chiefs in Rhodesia had been made clear by the Chief Native Commissioner in 1953 when he commented on chiefs:

A description of chiefs, particularly in Mashonaland, takes on the nature of a catalogue of the vices and virtues of old men's home. So many are beer-ridden, old, blind, opposed to all new ideas, servile, swayed by an entourage of hangers-on, lethargic and chronic invalids, that they are of little use administratively.

While chiefs were viewed as lazy people they did their best to protect their cattle. This meant that any outside agency wishing to control cattle numbers was likely to face significant difficulties in achieving their goal as they challenged traditional practices that were entrenched by custom and continuity and supported established social structures. These traditional practices are explored next.

(d) Cattle in traditional practices

Cattle play a very important role in the Shona culture. Cattle are used in different rituals which embrace sadness, happiness, thanksgiving and appeasement. Based on individual ethnographic participant observation, this researcher noted that cattle were slaughtered at funerals of both the young and adults to provide food for the mourners. In the case of adults, it is a requirement that a beast (cattle) is slaughtered because its blood is used in the ritual of giving the dead a peaceful rest. Failure to do that, it is believed the dead would cause havoc to the living. A year after burial of an adult (anyone above 15 and any young parent below the age of 15) another very important ritual called *kurova guva* (bringing home ritual) is carried out and a beast (cattle) is slaughtered to obtain its blood. The practice was also noted by Bourdillon (1982) who posits that *kurova guva* ritual is meant to inaugurate the ancestral spirits into the family hierarchy. It spiritually re-unites the living with the dead. Shona ancestral spirits known as *vadzimu* are spirits of dead relatives who influence the activities and lives of their dependents, the living members of the community. They operate at family, ethnic and national levels.

A thanksgiving ceremony is held once or twice in a year in honour of the ancestral spirits for their role in protection, support, good fortunes and bringing rain. At this occasion a beast is slaughtered and people possessed by spirits drink fresh cattle blood. The practice subscribes to Bourdillon (1981)'s view that failure to honour ancestral spirits invokes bad luck for both the individual and community. Misfortunes like droughts, floods, crop failure, sickness and death are blamed on the presence of angered spirits because they have not been accorded honour with proper funeral rights. Above all these cattle are used for appeasing the angry spirits. Bourdillon (1981)'s findings are corroborated by data from the researcher's participant observation from 1981 to 2003. Participant observation is useful particularly for gaining understanding of the social and cultural contexts of the Shona and their relationships with cattle and religion.

Those with more cattle could also celebrate the birth of a child by slaughtering a beast or giving the beast to the baby as a present. Using cattle as presents is a way of distributing wealth in society, a very important aspect of the Shona culture. It can be argued that the white rulers who interfered with cattle ownership among the Shona misunderstood their attachment to cattle in relation to their religion. Cattle were also used in restorative justice. Osaghae (2006) states that the aim of the African court system was to restore and not to fragment

social order. Penalties were paid in terms of cattle. It should be noted that the number of cattle to be used as penalty was determined by the gravity of the offence. Murder, for example, commanded a fine of eight or more cattle together with a young girl. Despite penalties imposed the feuding parties are encouraged to forgive each other.

Based on the researcher's ethnographic observations, cattle meant a lot to the Shona peasantry and likewise land for cattle was very important. A married man who wanted a second or third wife was supposed to give his first wife a beast (cattle) as a token of respect to his wife and to inform her of his intention to marry another woman. If a man infected his wife with a sexually transmitted disease (STD) he was supposed to pay a fine in cattle to propitiate his wife. In the event of the man being poor he was allowed to pay a fine of a goat which would represent a calf. The same applied to a husband who was abusive to his wife. These penalties were meant to restore order in relationships and not to fragment them. This partly explains why the divorce rate in Rhodesia was lower compared to other parts of the world.

Given the spiritual significance of cattle, it makes sense that the Shona viewed cattle 'as animals that could not be treated merely as animals providing services or for disposal for sale' (Alexander, 2006). The loss of cattle by the indigenous people since the country became a colony remained a thorn in their flesh over the period under consideration in this thesis, although they expanded their herds in the 1920s. Cattle were a form of investment and a measure of social status; hence the black inhabitants of Rhodesia adopted a variety of tactics to protect their wealth (Alexander, 2006).

(e) Cattle as a form of investment

The growth of cattle herd meant capital growth which enhanced overall income through crop income. Both white officials and the indigenous people likened cattle to a banking system (Steele, 1981). To them, cattle were stores of value, standards of value and media of exchange. Steele (1981) highlighted the advantages of cattle over other forms of investment as follows:

- The reproductive capacity of cattle normally guaranteed a higher rate of interest than the Post Office Savings Accounts.
- Cattle were a relatively liquid asset which, subject to the vagaries of the market, could fairly easily be converted into other assets.
- Cattle lacked the perishability of grain and bank notes and moreover were movable assets in the most literal sense.
- Cattle represented a form of social security for the unemployed and elderly at a time of increasing dislocation in the Black rural sector.

- Communities which lost crops because of inclement weather traded meat for grain. Hence cattle acted as a form of saving against future need.

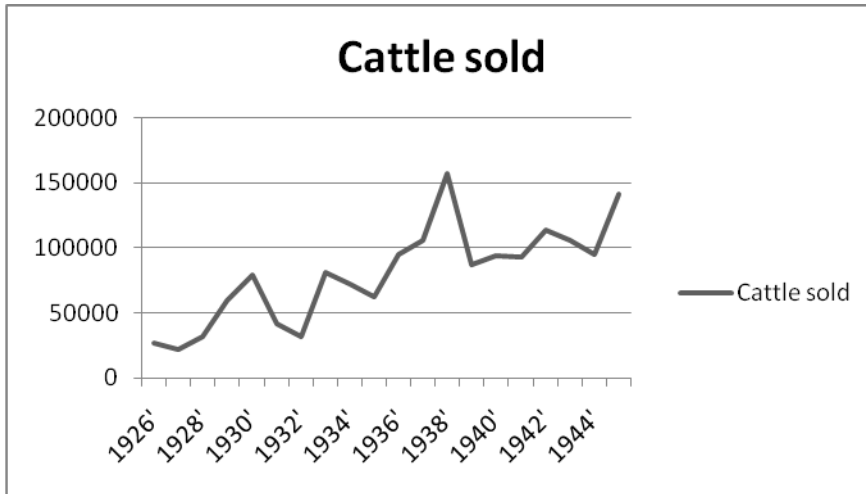
It is important to note that as the process of colonialism assimilated indigenous people into professions even these groups of educated and urbanised natives regarded cattle as a highly satisfactory type of investment (Steele, 1981).

6.3 Bantu Cattle Complex

Because of their traditional importance as status symbols cattle were held more for their symbolic value than for their economic value (Peter, 1976). Hence the Shona were reluctant to sell their cattle to Europeans. The Europeans referred to this reluctance as the '*Bantu cattle complex*.' European assumptions about Shona cattle-ownership have been challenged by Mtetwa (1978) who argued that the notion of the '*Bantu cattle complex*' in Rhodesia was a myth because cattle have always been an economic asset, and all the socio-religious attitudes held by the Shona towards cattle are based on their economic value. Mtetwa (1978: 23) further argued that the reluctance of the Shona to sell their cattle in the capitalist market was based on the knowledge that they were being exploited: that prices were far below what their cattle were worth. In colonial Zimbabwe the Shona reluctance to sell their cattle contributed to overstocking which in turn led to soil erosion and the shortage of grazing pastures in areas reserved for peasants (Mtetwa, 1978). However, difficult circumstances forced indigenous groups in Rhodesia to sell their cattle to Europeans. According to Steele (1981), a proportion of the disposals were made reluctantly to meet tax demands and dip fees, or to buy food in years of low rainfall. Table 4 below shows the number of cattle sold from 1926 to 1945.

Table 4: Sales of Native cattle to the White Nationals

Year	Cattle sold	Year	Cattle sold
1926	27144	1936	94580
1927	22360	1937	105357
1928	32000	1938	156851
1929	59214	1939	87518
1930	79248	1940	93893
1931	41156	1941	92939
1932	31642	1942	113446
1933	81081	1943	106256
1934	71985	1944	95067
1935	62601	1945	141445

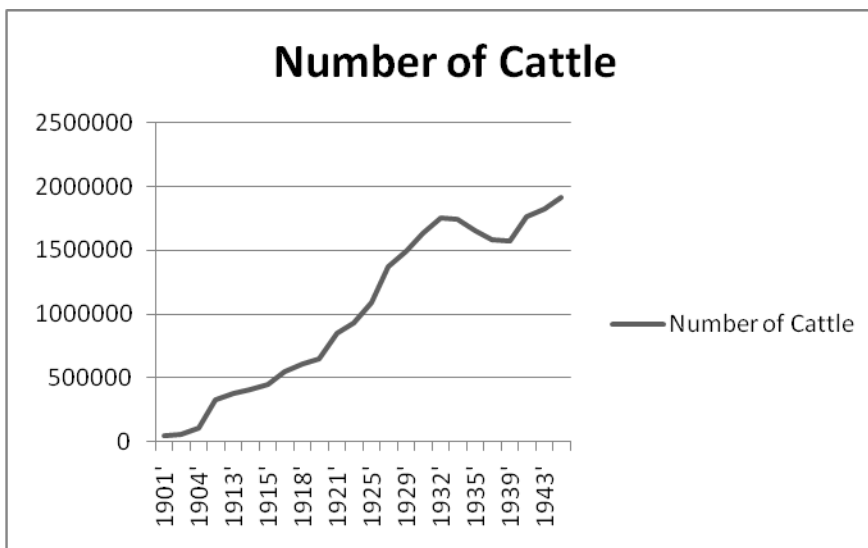


Source: *Statistical returns in the Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, 1918 and succeeding years*

As shown in Table 4 above there was generally an upward trend in cattle sales from 1926 to 1945. The year 1933 saw a dramatic increase in cattle sales. Steele (1981) explains this increase in terms of the poor 1932-3 growing season which obliged cultivators to dispose of stock for food and tax money at a time when alternative *sources* of income such as employment had been curtailed by the economic depression. Steele, (1981: 44) noted that, ‘At such times, the question of price became subordinate to the stark necessity of survival.’ In 1935 the settler government passed the Cattle Levy Act (No. 28 of 1935) the purpose of which was to subsidize the export of European-produced high-quality beef. The Act slowed down the recovery of Native cattle sales (Steele, 1981). Table 4 also shows an increase in cattle sales from 1936 to 1938 arising from the official compulsory culling operations conducted on the native herds. From the end of the Second World War, sales to the European sector rose steadily in response to the official de-stocking campaign introduced in 1945 (Steele, 1981). On the whole, Table 4 shows increasing cattle sales against a profound growth in the total number of cattle owned by natives. Sales, as a percentage of cattle owned by the natives, remain relatively stable at between 5 and 9 percent. In order to place events in context it is important to analyse the native-owned cattle position from 1890 to 1945.

Table 5: Native- owned Cattle 1890-1945

Year	Number of Cattle	Percentage increase (%)	Year	Number of Cattle	Percentage increase (%)
1890	500000		1925	1 095841	9.08
1901	43926	-8.29	1927	1 370567	12.53
1902	55155	25.56	1929	1 495803	4.57
1904	105000	45.19	1931	1 628299	4.43
1911	330000	30.61	1932	1 755610	7.82
1913	377090	7.13	1933	1 748621	-0.40
1914	406180	7.71	1935	1 653462	-2.72
1915	445795	9.75	1937	1 582062	-2.16
1917	551632	11.87	1939	1 570310	-0.37
1918	610000	10.58	1941	1 768690	6.32
1919	652776	7.01	1943	1 824521	1.58
1921	854498	15.45	1944	1 915534	4.99
1923	927343	4.26	1945	1 911644	-0.20



Source: *Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, Mashonaland...1902 and Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, Matebeleland...1913 and Sessional Papers*

Table 5 above, shows cattle statistics for the period 1890-1945. This period is important because it reflects a true picture of cattle ownership by black Rhodesians before the interference by the colonial destocking policy that was to be initiated in 1945. Table 5 shows an estimated large number (500,000) of cattle owned by the natives in 1890 when the BSAC arrived in Mashonaland. The drastic decline in cattle numbers from 1890 to 1902 could be attributed to the seizure of cattle by the BSAC and settlers after the 1893 War, the outbreak of rinderpest and drought in 1895. The Ndebele lost their best cattle after the 1893 war and to diseases. It is estimated that 200,000 cattle were seized from the Ndebele between 1893 and 1896 (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). The impact of such losses would be significant in terms of ability to trade, to wield political influence, to marry off daughters strategically, to

feed a family and to maintain religious rituals, all factors that would tend towards the demoralisation of ethnicities in Rhodesian cultural and social identities and would lead to resentment towards the source of these losses.

As shown in Table 5 above, from 1902-1932 there was a steady increase in cattle. This increase suggests commitment to herd re-growth by indigenous farmers following the devastating impact of the rinderpest pandemic and the war at the turn of the century. Since indigenous farmers were recovering from the aforementioned disasters they may have limited their cattle sales to the whites in the process of rebuilding their cattle herds. It appears indigenous farmers took more than 30 years to re-establish the original number of cattle which they had at colonisation and by 1917 they had more than 500,000 cattle and this trend continued till 1932. This growth can be attributed to the reduction in cattle mortality levels through dipping as indigenous people, initially against agricultural innovations, gradually adopted improved animal husbandry. Thompson (2004) highlights how the peasantry initially resisted techniques of scientific farming on the grounds that the methods advocated by the state created increased workload. Maintaining soil fertility on permanent fields, for example, using cattle manure involved digging and transporting the manure to field and this was an onerous task to the Indigenous people.

As shown in the table, after 1932 there was a decline again in cattle until 1941 when cattle began to increase again. The decline after 1932 suggests the effects of the poor 1932-1933 growing season as noted by Steele (1981). In such times cattle assume great importance as a source of peasant food on which to fall back. Steele (1981: 44) highlights that:

The substantial figure of 81081 cattle sold in 1933 in Rhodesia is explicable in terms of the poor 1932-3 growing season, which obliged cultivators to dispose of stock for food and tax money at a time when alternative sources of income such as employment had been curtailed by the economic depression.

Given the conditions during the Great Depression, peasants who needed cash for sending children to school, paying taxes and *lobola* had to sell more cattle. The Great Depression also affected the beef export by the colony as more cattle were slaughtered for export. Furthermore the outbreak of World War Two in 1939 created a challenge for the beef industry in Rhodesia. These challenges had the effect of reinforcing the settler's pre-war desire to play a key role in the marketing of beef in general (Samasuwo, 2003). As a British Crown Colony, Rhodesia was automatically drawn into the war and was expected to play an active role in the Allied war effort (Samasuwo, 2003). The excellent weather conditions in Rhodesia and its removed

location from the theatre of war made it an ideal training ground for the Royal Air Force and a safe ground for keeping prisoners of war and refugees (Samasuwo, 2003). About 15,000 Royal Air Force, 1,800 pilots, 240 observers and 300 air gunners were being trained in Zimbabwe in the early 1940s thus increasing the demand for beef and causing the white population to rise by twenty percent (Samasuwo, 2003). Because of the increase in domestic demand, the number of cattle slaughtered in the beef industry as a whole increased by 7% from 71,000 in 1937 to 160,000 by 1945.

From 1941 cattle began to increase again until 1944, assisting in meeting the demands of the beef industry. The increase of cattle may have been in part a result of research and services of the veterinary department because the Division of Native Education had introduced an element of agricultural teaching into the general school programme (Yudelman, 1964). Agricultural colleges namely; Tsholotsho and Domboshawa had been established to train agricultural demonstrators. These demonstrators provided extension services and advice on good animal husbandry to rural people (Nyambara, 2001). The increase in cattle numbers exerted pressure on land thereby straining the carrying capacity of the land leading to overgrazing and soil erosion. Stoddart, Smith and Box (1975) state that the carrying capacity determines the maximum livestock or wildlife population that a habitat or ecosystem can support on a sustainable basis. According to Scoones (1989), any area of land will support in perpetuity only a limited number of people or animals and if this limit is exceeded without compensating change in the system of land usage, a cycle of degenerative changes is set in motion, which results in deterioration or destruction of the land as was the case with colonial Zimbabwe.

Although cattle numbers began to fall in 1945 as shown in Table 5 this did not help reduce the pressure on land as most reserves were still overstocked. The fall could be attributed to the compulsory destocking policy that was passed in the Natural Resources Act of 1941 in response to overstocking problems in the reserves. It can be argued that while the destocking policy was aimed at enhancing conservation of resources it was also a way of increasing deliveries to the Cold Storage Commission. Formal livestock research work showed that the problem of weight loss resulting from poor quality rangeland during the dry season was the main cause of low reproductive rates in female stock and delayed attainment of market weight of slaughter cattle (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994).

One solution to the cattle market weight problem, as noted by Samasuwo (2003), was the Cattle Feeding Scheme, which started with a few white beneficiaries and gained popularity. The State financed the scheme to the exclusive benefit of white ranchers because it offered good opportunities for improving slaughter weights in the commercial sector. The Scheme alongside the destocking policy was meant to increase deliveries to the CSC (Samasuwo, 2003). Between 1948 and the mid-1960s, beef off-take was estimated to have increased by 150% per herd, and calving rates by 11%. Considerable research focused on the development of dry-season feeding strategies. During World War Two (1939-1945) the Cold Storage Commission Cattle Feeding Scheme helped to ease the problem of beef shortage (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). The exclusion of indigenous people from the Cattle Feeding Scheme constituted another grievance.

Table 6: The Cold Storage Commission Cattle Feeding Scheme

Year	White beneficiaries under the feeding scheme	Number of cattle under the scheme	Number of cattle lost	Beef exports from Zimbabwe to Britain	No. Of cattle delivered to the Cold Storage Commission (CSC)
1939	78	3356	76000		
1940				7000	
1942				350	27000
1945	607	26703	105000	1200	100000

Source: *Extracted from Samasuwo (2003)*

As shown in Table 6 above, from 1942-45 cattle deliveries to the Cold Storage Commission increased phenomenally because of the increased demand for beef during World War Two. The de-stocking regulations also contributed to the increase in cattle deliveries. As noted by Samasuwo (2003), the state used ‘decisive authoritarian action’ to secure surplus beef for Empire troops. The state drafted the five-year culling programme and compulsory destocking began in 49 of the 93 African Reserves identified by the Natural Resources Board as overstocked. In the process, authoritarian action was used and indigenous Rhodesian cattle owners were warned that unless they co-operated fully and the desired results thus obtained voluntarily, extreme measures would be taken (Drinkwater, 1989). The state’s intentions were made clear in a statement from the Prime Minister’s Office in 1943 in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 01 January 1943 which indicated:

At the request of the British, government have undertaken to supply a large quantity of beef to Northern Rhodesia and the Congo in the interests of copper production, and it is our intention to implement that promise even if requisitioning of [African owned] cattle has to be resorted to.

Both the whites and the blacks contributed to the war effort by marketing their cattle to provide beef.

Table 7: Cattle Ownership Position in Zimbabwe for the Whites and Blacks

Year	White-owned herds	Percentage increase (%)	Native-owned herds	Percentage increase (%)	Cattle exports
1903			64000		
1904	30000		105000	64	
1905			114560	9.10	
1907	39000	10	164000	21.58	
1908			195837	19.41	
1911	164000	80.13	305000	18.58	
1914	341878	36.15	406184	11.06	
1915	394856	15.50	445795	9.75	
1916					12928
1918	600000	17.32	610000	12.28	23000
1921	905000	16.94	854000	13.33	9000
1925	1006086	2.79	1095841	7.08	
1926	991216	-1.48	1197466	9.27	72738
1930			1081000	-2.43	
1931	954000	-0.75	1628000	50.60	
1932	992000	3.98			
1936	753419	-6.01	1547623	-0.99	
1937	735000	-2.44			7 1000
1939	755728	1.41			
1941	851000	6.30	1769000	1.85	
1942					190000
1943					201268
1944					205681
1945	1001269	4.41			160000
1954	1227000	2.50	1850000	0.35	
1955	1246000	1.55	1901000	2.76	
1956	1344000	7.87	1937000	1.89	



Source: *Palmer and Parsons (1983), Samasuwo (2003) and Arrighi (1983)*

Table 7 above shows the number of cattle owned by whites and blacks in Rhodesia from 1903 to 1956 and the number of cattle exported during the period 1916 to 1956. The figures help to compare the cattle ownership position between the whites and blacks. It is important to note that both the white-owned and Black-owned herds increased steadily from the early 1900s to the mid-1920s. From 1916 beef was exported from Rhodesia because there was great demand for beef in Britain during World War One (1914-18). As shown in Table 7, the number of cattle for both the whites and blacks fell in the early 1930s because of the Great Depression. More beef was exported in the 1940s during World War Two (1939-45). After World War Two both black and white cattle increased because of improved animal husbandry. There was a dramatic increase in the number of cattle in Zimbabwe from 500 000 to more than 3 million during the period 1903-1956. By the end of this period white farmers owned 40% of the cattle in Zimbabwe. This compares to around 25% in 1903. The significance of the increases in cattle and beef export lies in the fact that these contributed in the build-up of African grievances.

All ethnic groups who were pushed into reserves were overcrowded and were facing shortages of grazing pastures for their increasing herds of cattle. Hence shortage of land for grazing pastures constituted a grievance as cattle were a store of wealth for all indigenous ethnic groups in Rhodesia. Furthermore, the Shona who valued cattle for cultural purposes resented compulsory de-stocking which increased deliveries to the CSC. Alexander (2006: 2) notes that, while ownership of cattle was central to Black autonomy, the establishment of settler rule in Rhodesia rested on violent dispossession which disregarded indigenous people's autonomy. According to Alexander (2006: 2):

The wars of conquest fought under the auspices of Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) in the 1890s paved the way for a rapacious period of 'speculation and violence' in which African cattle was looted, land alienated, and labour coerced.

It is important to note that the 1893 and 1896 wars in Rhodesia resulted in great losses that drove the black inhabitants of Rhodesia into another war, the Second *Chimurenga* (1963-1979).

6.4 Conclusion

This section has examined the role of cattle in Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial to UDI period. The section noted that cattle were valued by indigenous groups in Rhodesia for political, economic, religious and social reasons. Cattle represented wealth and provided safety valves in times of need. They were valued as a form of investment and *lobola*, for meat, milk and hides. The importance of cattle as source of food increased with the outbreak of World Wars One and Two. Rhodesia contributed to the wars by exporting beef to feed the soldiers. The beef was coming from indigenous-owned cattle which they reluctantly sold in capitalist markets where the prices were low. The reluctance to sell cattle began to gradually disappear as the indigenous adopted new farming methods.

The need for hybrid seeds, ploughs and cash for taxes some of which were required to fund services such cattle dipping and vaccination, forced the indigenous to sell their cattle. As cattle were vaccinated against diseases they began to increase rapidly and there was overstocking in reserves. In the interest of conservation the colonial government passed policies meant to enhance the carrying capacity of land. One such policy resulted in destocking of African cattle and this became one of the grievances that drove them into a war of liberation. Africans felt they were being short-changed as the colonial government introduced the Destocking policy which made them reduce the number of cattle they owned. The grievance of cattle related to land as the shortage of land led to destocking. The growth of cattle herds depended on the availability of land for pastures and how that land was managed as will be seen in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LAND MANAGEMENT IN COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examined land tenure systems in Rhodesia during the period 1890 to 1951. These tenure systems were a major factor in the changeover of Rhodesia's peasantry into proletarians. It is worth noting that these tenure systems determined user rights such as grazing rights which were of central importance to the indigenous people as they allowed cattle to be held while they maintained a significant socio-cultural function alongside their extrinsic value. Therefore this section gives a brief description of land tenure systems in colonial Zimbabwe, how these tenure systems determined how land was managed and their implications to indigenous people. The section also examines the 'tragedy of the commons,' a phenomenon associated with land tenure systems and a perspective that offers a route to understanding the inevitability of conflicts over access to and ownership of land in situations such as those established under colonial rule in Rhodesia. It has often been noted that inequalities in wealth and power are the root cause of revolution and that a more equitable social order will bring peace. De Tocqueville (1838: 266) proclaimed:

Remove the secondary causes that have produced the great convulsions of the world and you will almost always find the principle of inequality at the bottom. Either the poor have attempted to plunder the rich, or the rich to enslave the poor. If, then, a state of society can ever be founded in which every man shall have something to keep and little to take from others, much will have been done for the peace of the world.

The above quotation best describes the Rhodesian context which reflects inequalities brought about by unequal land allocation. The colonial land tenure system tended to favour the minority colonial administrators at the expense of the indigenous majority. Hence colonial Zimbabwe was fraught with land management problems. These problems included land shortage, landlessness, overcrowding leading to soil erosion and land degradation and reduction of cattle in order to maintain a balance in the ecosystem.

7.2 Land Tenure in Colonial Zimbabwe

In colonial Zimbabwe there were three main types of land tenure namely; privately owned, communally owned, and national parks land (Metcalf, 1996). As already alluded to in Chapter Two, land tenure encompasses a bundle of rights and responsibilities to land (Metcalf, 1996). White (1959: 172) identifies four sets of rights associated with land tenure. These are:

- user rights; rights to grow crops, trees, make permanent improvement, harvest trees and fruits.
- transfer rights; rights to transfer land or use rights, that is, rights to sell, give, lease, rent, or bequeath.
- exclusion rights; rights by an individual, group or community to exclude others from the rights examined above.
- enforcement rights; the legal, institutional and administrative provisions to guarantee rights.

Land tenure thus embraces the rights of individuals or groups over arable, grazing and residential land, how such rights are acquired, what they consist of, how they operate in the holding, transfer and inheritance of land and how they may be relinquished (Metcalf, 1996 and White, 1959). It is worth noting that tenure institutions are unique because they develop out of historical patterns of settlement and conquest, are rooted in value systems and grounded in religious, social, political and cultural antecedents.

Tenure systems can be categorised on the basis of those who enjoy exclusive rights. According to Dorner (1992), private property rights are not God-given or sacred; rights are a creation of the state and can be seen as a tool of state power. Dorner (1992) and Moore (1996) agree that the often use of private property by the public sector causes the most serious source of insecurity or lack of exclusivity. Communal tenure systems, as opposed to private tenure systems, assign land rights to the community. Thus land users of traditional (communal) tenure systems would not risk long term investment into improving the land and land-based resources. (Moore, 1996) The communal tenure is composite, with clear freehold rights usually for arable and residential land as well as group rights for pastures, forests, mountain areas, rivers, sacred areas and many others. The strength of the communal tenure system is dependent on the strength of the traditional institution in place and the degree to which state and other local government institutions interfere or supersede traditional rights and administration process (Moore, 1996).

Colonial Zimbabwe's land tenure systems affected the moral economy of the peasantry as communal tenure systems evolved with changing social, economic and political circumstances. Customary or traditional tenure rights evolved towards more alienable individual rights as population pressure increased and agriculture became more commercialised. Nearly all peasants began to aspire to be commercial farmers and to learn new scientific methods of farming but there were barriers to becoming commercial farmers. It was not easy, for example, for the indigenous people to acquire land in the Native Purchase

Areas (NPAs) earmarked for their commercial farming in the 1930s. Schmidt (1992) mentions the Land Bank of 1912 which made loans of up to £2000 available to Europeans 'for the purchase of farms, livestock, and agriculture equipment and for farm improvements such as irrigation and fencing.' Duggan (1980) points out that only 14 native educated elite managed to buy 47000 acres of land in the NPAs in the 1930s. To become a commercial farmer, indigenous people were required to have a 'Master Farmer' certificate, and soon thereafter the possession of £300 above the purchase price of the farm was also required (Duggan, 1980: 235). The settler government passed the Maize Control and Cattle Levy Acts in 1931 which placed market restraints on native agricultural produce and helped eliminate competition from native farmers. Such injustices and racial discrimination in the marketing system had the effect of stimulating black nationalism in Rhodesia.

According to Duggan (1980), the government sought to divide the indigenous population once and for all between 'peasants' and 'proletarians.' The colonial economy created more jobs than it destroyed, but these new jobs tended to lie increasingly outside the village economy.

Scott (1976: 63) had this to say of the colonial economy:

More important in terms of the village economy was the gradual loss of local forests, village-held wasteland, and common pasturage. These resources had provided for an important share of peasant needs; they were essentially free gifts of nature and bedrock of what independence the peasant family enjoyed.

The above changes were attributed to demographic change and conscious colonial policy. According to Scott (1976), demographically, the pressure of population on land meant the cultivation of hitherto marginal soil. The land around a man's fields which might have served him for pasturage and fuel was gradually filled in. Scott (1976) blames colonial foresters and conservationists for attempting to restrict access to forest products in areas where forest products were still available to the peasantry. Although forestry officials were concerned with both conservation and revenue their actions deprived the peasantry of what seemed natural rights, resources that had always been as free as air they breathed. As noted by Metcalfe (1996), the desire to preserve customary tenure and the impulse to modernization created a dilemma. One system emphasized security, equality, and community, the other productivity, social differentiation, and individuality. By co-opting traditional authority into district administration, the colonial system created a problem of split authority (Metcalfe, 1996). However, this split authority may also be significant in developing further the nationalist identity amongst a diverse group of peoples; for it can be argued that to the indigenous land

represented continuity, community and cattle, and these were still hugely significant in their conceptualisation of what was important in life. Moyana (1984: 13) commented:

Prior to the advent of colonial rule... the prevailing African land tenure system vested land rights in a corporate group which had overriding rights over those of the individual. The king or chief served as the Trustee who allocated land to new comers and ensured that its use was in harmony with the traditional land tenure formula... land rights were inalienable.... No member of a group could sell or transfer land to an outsider as land was considered a natural endowment in the same category as rain, sunlight and the air we breathe... Individual ownership was inconceivable....

Under colonial rule communal land resources were both formally state and informally customary lands and this compromised authority and management resulting in open access tendencies (Metcalf, 1996) which were exacerbated by contradictions between traditional rules and practice and the general law, and lack of effective administrative systems and policies (Bromley and Cernea, 1989). It is important to note that African tenure systems have been explained through the notion of the 'Tragedy of the Commons' (Hardin, 1968). It is believed these systems of tenure assign land rights to the community and ultimately land users would not risk long term investment into improving the land and land based resources thereby leading to the 'Tragedy of the Commons' that is examined in the next section.

7.2.1 The Tragedy of the Commons:

The tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968) is a theoretical approach to issues around land tenure and management that was developed in a European context. The significance of this approach to analysing events in a Zimbabwean context is that there was arguably a clearly defined peasantry (Palmer and Parsons, 1977) in Zimbabwe, before, during and after the colonial period thus facilitating the development of a 'tragedy of the commons' in the colonial period and that the imposition of European imperialist approaches to managing the country, such as paternalism and divide and-rule make this model particularly appropriate in the Zimbabwean context. The model has also been applied as an appropriate tool of analysis in other African contexts (cf. Boonzaier and Hoffman, 2000 and Picardi, 1976).

7.2.2 What is the Commons?

The 'commons' is any resource which is shared by a group of people. Examples include; air, water, land for farming and grazing land for stock, fish from the sea and wood for fuel and housing (Dube and Masilela, 2006). According to Bradley (2004), the 'commons' refer to resources that are freely available for the benefit of all in society. It was Hardin in 1968 who propounded the 'logic of the commons.' In his view, each household has a right to take resources from and put wastes into the commons. To accumulate wealth, each household

believes that it can acquire one unit of resources or dump one unit of waste while distributing one unit of cost across all of the households with whom the commons is shared. The gain to the household appears large and the cost very small. According to Hardin (1968), selfish households accumulate wealth from the commons by acquiring more than their fair share of the resources and paying less than their fair share of the total costs. Ultimately, as population grows and greed runs rampant, the commons collapses and ends in ‘the tragedy of the commons.’

It can be argued that everybody’s property is nobody’s property. When a given natural resource is physically and legally accessible to more than one resource user, the result is said to be a free-for-all, with users competing with one another for a greater share of the resource to the detriment of themselves, the resource, and society as a whole. As already noted in chapter six, the growth of indigenous population and increase in cattle herds during the 1940s strained the carrying capacity of the land and contributed to the ‘the tragedy of the commons’ (cf. Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop 1975). Communally owned land became severely degraded and lost more soil in grazing thereby reducing the productivity of the soil and its beneficial effects on the environment (FAO, 2006). It would have been reasonable for the indigenous people to sell some of their cattle but because of the value attached to cattle the people were reluctant to sell most of their cattle to their colonial administrators.

According to Steele (1981), the sale of cattle to the colonial settlers constituted only one, and often the least attractive, of several economic choices normally available to indigenous owners. When the settlers realised that indigenous people were reluctant to part with their cattle they introduced policies that would eventually reduce the number of cattle they owned. The next section looks at the steps the colonial government took using policies, to reduce land and cattle the indigenous people owned. One of the policies was the Land Apportionment Act (1930) analysed below.

7.3 The Land Apportionment Act, 1930

The Land Apportionment Act (LAA), 1930, provided the main legal framework for racial land segregation, which guaranteed white economic dominance over black poverty (Kwashirai, 2006). The Act legally demarcated the European area for the first time as shown in Table 8 and confined African purchasers to separate largely non-productive areas, and endeavoured to pack as many Africans as possible into the reserves, leaving behind only labour tenants (Palmer and Parsons, 1997). As argued by Roder (1964: 43):

The successive apportioning of new reserves to Africans seems to assume that all land initially belonged to the whites who could set aside parts of it for Africans. In fact, of course, it was Africans who inhabited most of Southern Rhodesia in 1890 and who subsequently lost part of their land to whites.

Table 8: Land Distribution under the Land Apportionment Act (1930).

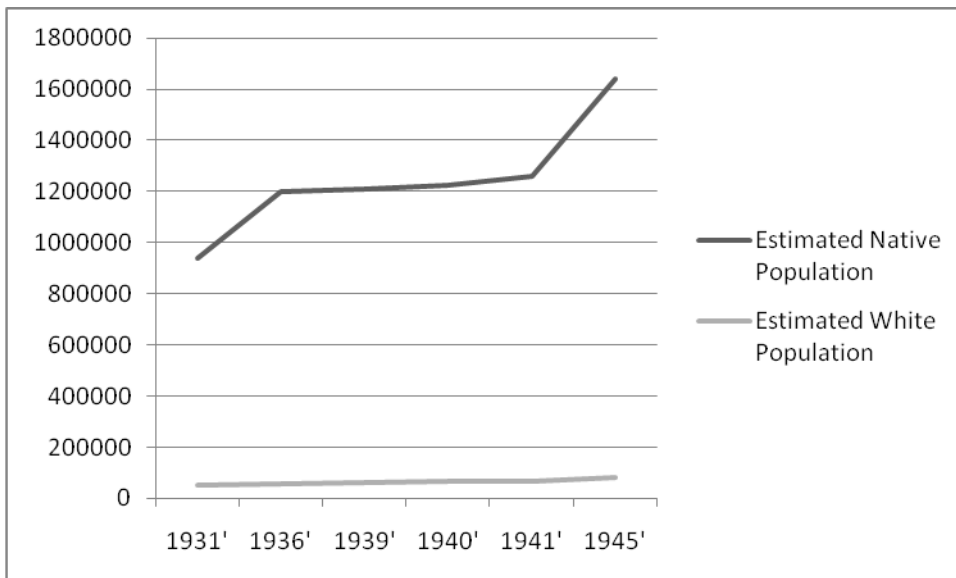
Category	Acres	Percentage (of land)
White (settler) Area	49149174	50,8
Native Reserves	21600000	22,3
Native Purchase Areas	7464566	7,7
Forest Area	590500	0,6
Unassigned Area	17793300	18,4
Undetermined Area	88540	0,1
Total	96686080	100,0

Source: (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994 p. 18)

Table 8 above shows land distribution under the Land Apportionment Act (1930). Table 8 clearly indicates that the Land Apportionment Act (1930) did not distribute land equally between the colonial administrators and the indigenous people in Rhodesia. According to Machingaidze (1991), the Act divided the country's 96 million acres of land as follows: 49 million acres for white settlers, 29 million acres for Africans, and the remainder was either unassigned to any racial group or was designated game reserve or forestry. It is important to note that, at the time, Africans outnumbered European settlers by far. Figures from the Embassy of Zimbabwe indicate that in 1930 the African population estimated at 1 081 000 got 30 percent while European settler population of about 50 000 got 51 percent of land in Zimbabwe. The chronic loss of African land to European settlers had implications on the growing African population in Rhodesia shown in table 9 below.

Table 9: Estimated Population of Zimbabwe, 1931 to 1945

Year	Estimated Native Population	Percentage increase (%)	Estimated White Population	Percentage increase (%)
1931	937000	-13.32	49904	-0.19
1932	992000	5.87		
1936	1200000	5.24	55000	2.04
1938	1185000	-0.63		
1939	1210000	2.11	60000	3.03
1940	1224067	1.16	65000	8.33
1941	1257824	2.76	68954	6.08
1942	1298287	3.22		
1943	1350365	4.01		
1944	1405148	4.06		
1945	1640000	16.71	81000	4.37



Source: Nyambara (2000)

Compiled from the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and the Director of Native Development for the Year 1944

Fabian society Research Series 217, September, 1960

Loney, 1975

Floyd (1962) Geographical Review Journal

Central African Statistical Office

Fox (1916) Geographical journal

Table 9 above shows the African and European population of colonial Zimbabwe from 1931 to 1945. Although there was a temporary decline in population for both races in 1931 this did not improve the land issue as the population started to increase again as early as 1932. The decline might have been a result of temporal migrations by able-bodied men to South Africa to work in mines before census data were collected. The same applied to the drop in European population suggesting that some European members might have been frustrated by mining and farming activities in Rhodesia and left the country.

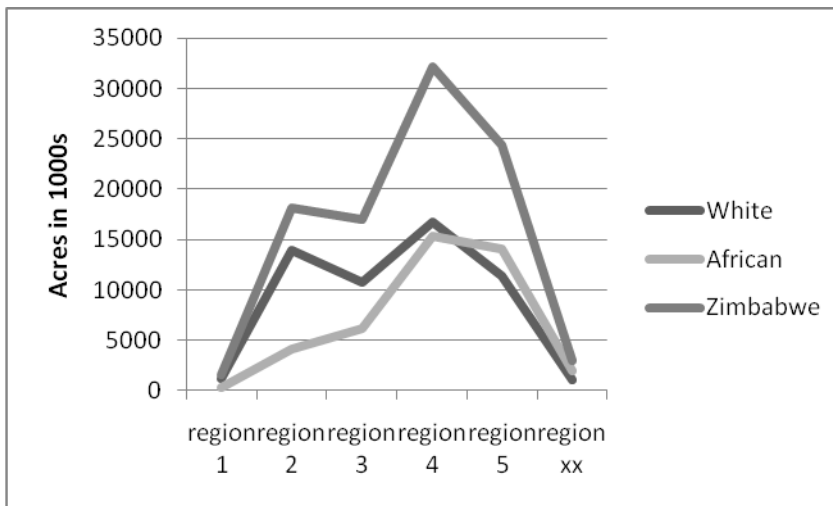
From 1936 European population began to increase because; as already noted in chapter six Rhodesia was used to accommodate prisoners of war and refugees and to provide a base for military training by virtue of its being a crown colony (Haw, 1960) and this swelled the European population prior to the outbreak of World War Two (1939-1945). Although incoming European population increased the total population in Zimbabwe, Haw (1960: 74) argues that 'there was plenty of land for all, and there was no question of pressing the Bantu into restricted areas.' These figures, 1081000 indigenous people getting 29% of the land in the country and 50000 colonial administrators getting about 50% of the land (Thompson, 2004)

indicate that there was enough land for all and sundry. The problem was just the unequal distribution of land between the two groups of people.

As noted in chapter two the geography of the country played a crucial role in land distribution in colonial Zimbabwe as regions with fertile soils were allocated to the colonial administrators while indigenous people were relegated to unproductive regions as shown in the table below.

Table 10: Acreage of Natural Regions in White and Native Areas in Thousands of Acres

Natural Region	Area in 1000s acres White, including national and undetermined	Area in 1000s acres African	Zimbabwe Area in 1000s acres
1	1235	280	1515
2	13987	4157	18145
3	10790	6148	16939
4	16775	15327	32148
5	11417	14006	24423
Broken topography	1030	1985	3015
Total	55234	41903	97137



Source: *Agro-economic Survey*, (discrepancies in totals due to rounding).

The table above shows land allocation in order of farming quality between the colonial rulers and indigenous people in the Natural Regions of Zimbabwe. The data above help to show the proportion and quality of land given to Africans as opposed to the colonial rulers. Many colonial settlers, for example, occupied large areas of Natural Region 1, an area characterised by high rainfall and good soils and suitable for specialised and diversified fruit, tea and intensive livestock production. They further occupied more land in Regions 2, 3 and 4 with reliable rainfall and good soils. Hence they were productive. As shown in Table 10 Africans

got more land in Region 5 which has highly erratic rainfall and sandy soils. This unfair land allocation created an additional grievance among the Africans most of who wanted productive land so that they could emulate their colonial rulers. In three major regions the whites dominated the fertile land as will be shown below.

Table 11: The Division of Land Resources in Zimbabwe

Soils in Three Major Regions, By Areas in Order of Their Farming Quality in Thousands of Acres

Region 2	White (Acres)	African (Acres)
Fertile dark red and brown clays	2009	161
Fertile reddish brown and black heavy clays	92	0
Loamy sands and sandy loams	1717	88
Sandy loams and clay loams	366	95
Medium- and fine-grained sands with large vleis areas	487	76
Medium-grained sands	8504	3730
Shallow and poorly drained soils in broken country	812	8
Total	13987	4157

Region 3	White (Acres)	African (Acres)
Mostly fertile dark red and brown clays	1881	309
Medium- and fine-grained sands and wet	881	21
Medium- and fine-grained sands	7178	5160
Extremely shallow in broken country	570	206
Deep sand unusable for farming	280	453
Total	10790	6148

Region 4	White (Acres)	African (Acres)
Fertile reddish and dark brown clays	2591	862
Sands and loamy sands	9791	11742
Poorly drained heavy soils	551	471
Deep fine sands	3836	2297
Total	16775	15372

As shown in Table 11 above ‘In each region the total land assigned Africans is less than that given whites, and within each region Africans have a small proportion of the good soils and a large share of the poor’ (Roder, 1964: 48). The settlers continued to treat the highveld as chartered territory despite the heavy concentration of Africans in reserves. Roder (1964) points out that when the first Native Commissioner started to set aside reserves, he could only choose what was left, the sparsely inhabited lowland. Africans thus had no choice except to move into the unaccustomed environment of the much drier valley, or finding refuge on mission farms, which were already overcrowded. In Natural Regions 2 and 3 which are very productive and support diversified farming colonial administrators occupied more land while Africans occupied more land in Region 4 comprising sands and loamy sands. Mason (1958) disputes the argument that Africans were driven into reserves with poor soils because being

an indigenous farmer, equipped only with a primitive short-handled hoe, found the red-earth soils difficult to work and, despite their greater fertility, avoided using them except as occasional pastures.

Roder (1964) examined the short-handled hoe and came to the conclusion that the use of such a tool did not leave the impression that it was a limited tool, and saw no reason why it should bar the use of any soil, no matter how heavy. Roder (1964) observed that the short-handled hoe had been used in Kenya to work soils comparable to red soils of Rhodesia and that the implement was the basic tool in a large part of Africa. One Chief Native Commissioner highlights, ‘many different kinds of crops are grown and natives know exactly the best soil for a particular crop’ (Taberer, 1905: 317). This view is echoed by Shantz, a qualified observer who visited Rhodesia in 1920, who noted that Africans used excellent judgement in the selection of many kinds of lands (Taberer, 1905: 45).

Dunn (1959) and Ranger (1960) noted that there was no resistance to the Land Apportionment Act among the natives because when the moves of native population began the Native Affairs Department was able to record that “they went ‘smoothly and unobtrusively’ and ‘unnoticed by the public.’ ‘All natives’ are subjected to as little inconvenience as is possible in the circumstances and have co-operated extremely well with the administration” (Dunn, 1959 and Ranger, 1960). Those who remained on European farms, as either labour- or rent-paying tenants, were obviously in no position to compete with their landlords (Loney, 1975). It is estimated that in 1948 there were 500000 Africans living as tenants and squatters in European areas. This made up 33% of the total population. Once settled in the reserves Africans could aspire to be little more than subsistence cultivators and migrant labourers, prepared to work for the prevailing low wages (Palmer and Parsons, 1997). Although indigenous people did not show resistance of the LAA it constituted a grievance which was instrumental in the rise of nationalism later. The LAA forced indigenous people into wage labour. Table 12 below shows Africans in wage employment after the Land Apportionment Act (1930).

Table 12: Africans in Wage Employment

Year	Africans in wage employment (tobacco)	Percentage increase (%)
1936	254000	
1946	377000	4.84
1956	600000	5.92

Source: Arrighi (1983)

As shown in the table above, every decade Africans in wage employment increased because of the need to obtain cash for taxes, such as hut, dog and cattle tax, for sending children to school and buying ploughs. This began the process of proletarianisation as some peasants left farming and became permanent wage earners. From 1924, black agricultural demonstrators were trained at Domboshawa and Tjolutjo schools. Although Shona farmers, who had clearly demonstrated their potential in farming, were not afforded financial support in the form of agricultural loans the next five years saw a modest recovery in the reserves (Zachrisson, 1978). In a Report by the Native Commissioner in 1929, it was noted that more than 700 000 bags of maize had been harvested in 1929 and 200 000 bags had been marketed. The marketing of maize from reserves threatened to become a serious problem for the settler farmers who did not welcome competition from black farmers (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). It is important to note that the African agricultural demonstrators did not capitalise on the recovery in reserves to develop and boost African expertise and zeal in farming. The Chief Native Commissioner's Report of 1932 quoted by Zachrisson (1978), noted that instead of 'raising the level of agriculture throughout the reserves,' agricultural demonstrators tended to form class alliances with the rural elite, thereby imbuing 'a few natives with the idea of money making,' and effectively becoming 'the farm managers of a few enterprising and money seeking plot owners.'

It should be noted that the alarm felt by European farmers as a result of the recovery in reserves made the state hasten its move to contain the revolution wrought by capitalism on the fabric of African society (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). According to Palmer (1977), emerging class antagonisms and aspirations were delayed and blurred by the gradual implementation of policies designed to prop up the disintegrating social cohesion of the reserves. Encouraging Africans to move into the reserves thus became for many Native Commissioners a means by which to slow down the break-up of the tribal system and to hinder the growth of potentially hostile political movements (Palmer, 1977). Birmingham and Martin (1983) reiterate that through segregationist policies the colonial state tried to bridge the gap between the economic interests of mining and agricultural capitals and the social and political conditions necessary for the undisturbed working of the system and the making of profit. The Land Apportionment Act (1930), the cornerstone of colonial land policy created conflict between the peasantry and capitalists in Rhodesia.

7.3.1 Implications of the Land Apportionment Act, (1930)

While the main aim of the Land Apportionment Act (1930) was to end African occupation of what was declared European land, in so doing, the Land Apportionment Act (1930) affected the relations between the European settlers and the African tenants (Rennie, 1978). Tshuma (1998) seems to agree with Rennie (1978) and Loney (1975) who concur that the Act caused land shortages and the deterioration of African agriculture, reduced the agricultural economy of the Shona and Ndebele to subsistence levels and reduced the variety of crops grown thereby negatively affecting the volume of trade involving black people. There was overcrowding and overstocking in reserves, a fact that was acknowledged in the Southern Rhodesia Government Gazette No. 52 in 1944. In an extract from the Gazette (29 Dec. 1944), the Secretary for Native Affairs notified the Government that the natural resources were being injured or were deteriorating through overstocking by domestic animals.

In a manuscript from Bottomley⁶ speeches, the Land Apportionment Act (1930) was described as a ‘pernicious act’ that applied restrictions to land titles which African Rhodesians could acquire. Bottomley criticised the racially discriminatory Land Apportionment Act (1930) for handicapping Africans as they tried to move into the white economy. According to Yudelman (1964), although the Land Apportionment Act (1930) was amended several times, it remained the cornerstone of land policy in Zimbabwe and constituted one of the most contentious issues affecting race relations in the country. Yudelman (1964)’s views are echoed by Shamuyarira (1965: 80) who points out that the absoluteness of segregation was made most precise in the 1945 Amendment, where it states:

No owner or occupier of land in the European area, or his agent, shall:

- dispose or attempt to dispose of any such land to a native;
- lease any such land to a native;
- permit, suffer or allow any native to occupy such land

According to Shamuyarira (1965), the most practical effect of the Land Apportionment Act has always been in rural areas. Even after an important amendment to the Act in 1961 more than one-third of the land is held by Europeans who number only one-seventeenth of the population (Shamuyarira, 1965).

Africans occupying areas earmarked for European use in the post-war years were shifted in organised expulsions accompanied by large destocking programmes which curtailed the main

⁶Arthur Bottomley (1907-1995) was MP for Rochester and Chatham from 1945 to 1983 who made important contributions in parliament.

form of investment open to Africans and forced them into wage employment (Arrighi, 1983). African wage workers came to realise that their living conditions were worsening; their savings illusory and so was their 'old age insurance.' Frustration and insecurity instilled in them the consciousness of forming a proletariat (Arrighi, 1983). With this new consciousness came a wave of strikes and political activities on a completely new scale. According to Arrighi (1983), the emergence of the African proletariat strengthened the solidarity between wage workers and the peasantry. Unrest spread from towns to rural areas where grievances over destocking and the organised expulsions provided a ready demand for political leadership (Van Velsen, 1964). The solidarity of interests stemmed from the fact that the transformation into proletarians was gradual and did not involve all wage-workers (Arrighi, 1983).

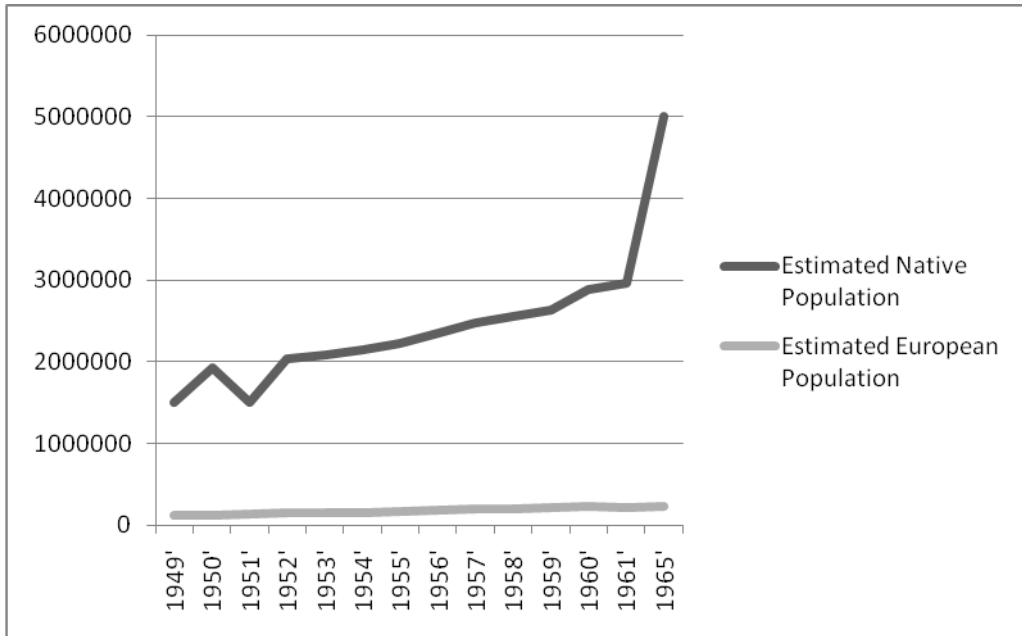
It is important to note that the class structure in Zimbabwe had changed by 1945. As highlighted by Arrighi (1983), the growth of an African proletariat and a greater political consciousness had many consequences. There was more pressure for higher wages, for better working conditions, for greater investment in industrial training and for African education. Opposition to an institutional framework which meant a decreasing productivity of the peasantry grew stronger while the loss of security of land tenure was resisted (Arrighi, 1983). The same phase saw the emergence of manufacturing capitalism and white agrarian capitalism which required for its expansion, the relative worsening of living conditions of the very classes on which it still heavily depended (Arrighi, 1983). Although white agrarian and white manufacturing capitalism had conflict of interest they were unanimous on one thing; to prevent 'nationalist' policies which might tamper with their local operations. On the other hand white agrarian bourgeoisie and white wage-workers focussed on preventing racial competition (Arrighi, 1983).

In the face of these class conflicts and changes in the economic base, the government tightened the Land Apportionment Act (1930). The European colonial land policy with its law and regulations resulted in a framework of land apportionment which specified land as European or African (Zachrisson, 1978). According to Arrighi (1983), the implementation of the LAA disturbed the equilibrium between the Africans and the land and accelerated the formation of an African proletariat. This started as soon as the squatting of African peasantry on unalienated land encroached upon European cultivation, but especially when more land had to be provided for post-war white settlement and tobacco cultivation (Arrighi, 1983). As

the land problem in Rhodesia was becoming increasingly complicated between the 1940s and 50s there were private correspondences which were unknown to the dominions office which revealed that the natives lived in reserves, some of which were uninhabitable owing to scarcity of water and that reserves, through overcrowding, overstocking and destructive methods of cultivation, were being rapidly ruined (Private correspondence between Baring and Machtig on 25 May 1943). It should be remembered that prior to European settlement, native cultivation of land was confined to plots sufficient to produce their requirements using hand labour which did not encourage erosion. It should be remembered that the land problem was also exacerbated by native population increase after World War Two (1939-1945).

Table 13: Estimates of African and European Population in Zimbabwe, 1946-1965

Year	Estimated Native Population	Estimated percentage increase (%)	Estimated European Population	Estimated percentage increase (%)
1946			83450	3.02
1949	1500000	-2.13	120000	14.60
1950	1930000	28.67	125000	4.17
1951	1500000	-22.28	138000	10.4
1952	2030000	35.33	152000	10.15
1953	2090000	2.96	157000	3.29
1954	2150000	2.87	158000	0.64
1955	2220000	3.26	165000	4.43
1956	2350000	5.86	178000	7.88
1957	2480000	5.53	193000	8.43
1958	2550000	2.82	207000	7.25
1959	2630000	3.14	215000	3.86
1960	2885000	9.70	225000	4.65
1961	2960000	2.60	221000	-1.78
1965	5000000 ⁺	17.23	230000	1.02



Source: Nyambara (2000)

Compiled from the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and the Director of Native Development for the Year 1944

Fabian society Research Series 217, September, 1960

Loney, 1975

Floyd (1962) Geographical Review Journal

Central African Statistical Office

Fox (1916) Geographical journal

Table 13 above shows population statistics in Zimbabwe from 1946 to 1965 for white and black Rhodesians. As has already been alluded to, the native population was increasing because of improved hygiene, medical innovation, education and infant immunisation against diseases. However in 1951 indigenous population declined probably because some of the foreign African immigrants may have left in large numbers. The surprising leap of indigenous population in 1952 could be attributed to Rhodesia's pull force of migrant workers as Rhodesia was moving towards Federation as portrayed by the increase of migrant workers from Malawi and Zambia from 203 000 in 1946 to 297 000 in 1956. Rhodesia needed a lot of migrant workers to build Salisbury which was to be the capital city of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to build the University of Zimbabwe for the Federation and to build the Kariba Dam which would provide hydro-electricity to the Federation. Indigenous people joined forces with the migrant workers in building the capital city while others carried on as peasants in overcrowded reserves. The situation in reserves caused concern to the colonial government.

Baring disclosed to Machtig that the first of Government policy was to eradicate traditional Bantu practice of shifting cultivation, enforce crop rotation and impose centralisation necessary for the regeneration of reserves in three stages:

- the survey of the reserves.
- the demarcation of arable and grazing land, the prohibition of grazing on arable land, and the prevention of cropping on grazing areas.
- allocation of arable land to native cultivators (private correspondence between Baring and Machtig on 15 June 1943).

Throughout the 1940s several debates in the House of Commons discussed the Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act, 1930. In a debate in the House of Commons, for example, Colonel Sir Harrison expressed concern on the African population as a whole regarding whether they were being adequately well fed given that the carrying capacity of the land could not cope with large numbers of Africans living on the land. He argued that unless there was agricultural development in Rhodesia there was going to be continuous malnutrition throughout Africa. In a Parliamentary debate in London Colonel Harrison stated:

I believe that a great deal more is needed, and I should like any money which comes from world banks and elsewhere for development to go into the training of field officers and the use of fertilisers. Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe] has a very fine agricultural research college, the Henderson College, but most of the research done there is for the benefit of European farmers, and I hope it will be more widespread in the future (Hansard, 2 May 1959).

Although some British members of parliament in England were concerned about the welfare of the black Rhodesians others boasted about being responsible for development taking place there. Bellenger⁷ argued:

Anyone who has been to Salisbury, which, seventy years ago was a jungle, knows that it has not been built on the efforts of the Africans. The energy and economic infiltration, if I may so call it, of the white population has contributed to the building of that very prosperous city. Let us keep and improve on that prosperity (Hansard, 16 November 1961).

Although there were differing views among the British community regarding Rhodesia's development question there was general agreement concerning the necessity of destocking to enhance sound agricultural practices in the native areas. This culminated in the Natural Resources Act, 1941 which empowered the Native Commissioners to 'depasture stock, give orders on methods of cultivation, prohibit the cultivation of land, and control water' (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). The Act also aimed at suppressing '*Kaffir*' farming. According to Kay (1970), the colonial government passed the Natural Resources Act (1941) without the machinery to enforce it. Birmingham and Martin (1983) point out that money to

⁷Bellenger Frederick John (1894-1968) was born in Bethnal, Green, London. He was a surveyor, journalist and soldier before entering into politics and becoming a labour MP for Bassetlaw from 1935 until his death at his home in Kensington.

finance the scheme was raised by imposing a ten percent levy on all African marketed crops and cattle. The Act resulted in compulsory destocking in reserves that were considered overstocked (Kay, 1970).

According to the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 7 June, 1943, the Government regarded destocking as so essential that where it was not done voluntarily it would be done compulsorily and that the native should not be allowed to continue methods which not only reacted to his own detriment but to the detriment of the country. According to the *Bulawayo Chronicle* (22 May 1943) stated:

the aim must be to convince the cattle owner that what is being done is for their own good and that it is better for him to be the possessor of a smaller number of well-nurtured animals which are really worth something than the possessor of a large number of beasts which are liable to die and are certain to deteriorate on the insufficient grazing available to them.

The cattle stocking position in various land categories was so dire (see the table below) that the colonial government became obsessed with destocking.

Table 14: Cattle Stocking Position in Various Land Categories

Area	Acreage	Human Population	Cattle population
Native reserves	21127000	(974132)	1263840
Native (Purchase) Area	7859942	(116755)	210613
Unassigned Area	17780918	(60789)	7534
European Area (Alienated Land)	32665000	(151055)	276666
Crown Land (Unalienated Land)	15729000	(91336)	146901
Forest Area	987000	(7865)	9980

Source: *Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner and Director of Native Development (1944).*

The figures in Table 14 illustrate that Native Reserves were overstocked as both human and cattle population were higher in Native Reserves as opposed to the European Area with the highest acreage. Overstocking in reserves caused land degradation. In 1943 the carrying capacity of the 49 overstocked reserves was assessed. This resulted in the division of the colony into three areas according to the normal rainfall, that is, high, medium and low. The estimated acreage required per beast or equivalent in small stock was assessed according to the rainfall category into which the particular reserve fell. It was estimated that the low rainfall areas (9 reserves), 16²/₃ acres was required per beast, in the medium rainfall area (12 reserves), 13¹/₃ acres was required per beast and in the high rainfall area (28 reserves), 10 acres per beast was required. On 29 December 1944 the carrying capacity of 49 overstocked Reserves was determined in terms of the Natural Resources Act and the maximum number of cattle and small stock to be depastured was gazetted.

Table 15: Area of low rainfall: (16²/₃ acres per beast)

Reserve	Total acres for grazing	Total in large stock	Average acres per beast	Carrying capacity for stock	Number of excess stock	Degree overstocked
<u>Matobo</u>						
Matobo	82000	10297	8	4920	5377	109%
Shashani	53179	10460	5	3186	7275	228%
Semokwe	261358	2 834	10.1	15678	10156	64%
<u>Bulalima-mangwe</u>						
Nata	720393	84289	8.5	43218	41071	95%
Mpoengs	89817	7829	11.4	5388	2451	45%
Raditladi	24351	3922	6.2	1458	2464	168%
<u>Insiza</u>						
Insiza	56601	7627	7.4	3396	4218	123%
<u>Bubi</u>						
Inyati	7040	675	10.4	420	255	60%
<u>Chibi</u>						
Matibi No.1	226294	17759	12.7	13572	4187	30%
<u>Bulawayo</u>						
Mzingwane	4480	807	5.5	536	471	140%
<u>Bubi</u>						
Ntabazinduna	29110	4050	7.1	2178	1872	85%

Table 15 above shows the assessment of overstocking in low rainfall districts and the degree of overstocking which varied with some reserves being more overstocked than others. The degree of overstocking for Shashani reserve, for example, was 228% while for Matibi it was 30%. It is in areas like Shashani that serious overgrazing occurred thereby leading to soil erosion. In line with the destocking regulations, all excess stock had to be eliminated. It is evident that the low rainfall areas suffered more overgrazing than high rainfall areas, the reason being that in high rainfall areas vegetation and grazing pastures can more quickly recover than in low rainfall areas. The same criterion used to assess the carrying capacity of overstocked reserves was used in medium as well as high rainfall areas. The following acres per beast were required; 16²/₃ in low, 13¹/₃ in medium and 10 in high rainfall areas.

Table 16: Area of Medium Rainfall: (13½ acres per beast)

Reserve	Total acres for grazing	Total in large stock	Average acres per beast	Carrying capacity for stock	Number of excess stock	Degree of over-stocked
<u>Chilimanzi District</u>						
Cherima	148640	6464	7.5	4864	1600	32%
<u>Selukwe District</u>						
Selukwe	135000	30073	4.4	13500	13500	122%
<u>Umtali District</u>						
Zimunya	23616	3586	6.5	2361	1225	51%
Umtasa S.	6336	1307	4.8	633	675	106%
Jenya	1440	410	3.5	144	266	184%
<u>Inyanga District</u>						
Manyika	31104	5210	5.9	3110	2110	67%
<u>Makoni District</u>						
Makoni	61165	13581	4.5	6162	7419	120%
Chiduku	286742	32060	8.9	28674	3386	11%
<u>Victoria District</u>						
Victoria	99675	16650	5.9	9964	6686	79%
Nyajena	103680	12194	8.5	10368	1826	17%
Mtilikwe	58752	6905	8.5	5875	1030	17%
<u>Bikita district</u>						
Bikita	436288	46438	9.4	43628	2810	6%
<u>Gutu district</u>						
Gutu	505570	70338	7	50557	19781	39%
<u>Ndanga District</u>						
Ndanga	548352	69905	7.8	54835	15070	27%

Source: *Southern Rhodesia government Gazette No. 52 of the 29th of December, 1944.*

As shown in Table 16 above the degree of overstocking in medium rainfall areas varied from 06% to 184%. Those reserves with overstocking above 100% were the first priority in compulsory destocking. Although there was general agreement among the colonial government agencies on destocking, the Natural Resources Board and the Chief Native Commissioner were at variance regarding compulsion (*Bulawayo Chronicle*, 7 June, 1943). The Native Commissioner felt that destocking should be preceded by a period of propaganda while the Natural Resources Board argued that propaganda had been going on for years. The

Bishop of Southern Rhodesia expressed concern on the unfairness of the destocking of native reserves and aired his views in the *Government Gazette* of 21 May 1943. He wrote:

No one who cares for the future of this land of ours and the welfare of our African people will question the wisdom and the rightness of giving full and careful consideration to this vital matter of overstocking and its consequent damage to the natural resources of the country.

Although the Bishop felt the Native Affairs Department, in considering the new regulations, had taken pains to consider sympathetically the customs and the feelings of the African citizens, he partly apportioned blame to the European farmers for having contributed to overstocking in Native Reserves (*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 28 May 1943). The Bishop argued that cattle destocking was not all that was necessary, neither were the Africans the only people who were careless and inconsiderate in the matter of the use and misuse of land. The Bishop pointed out that matters of 'restocking' and 'destocking' should be considered together with what he called 'relanding' and 'delanding.' He attributed overstocking in native reserves and other native areas to the 'delanding' of the African people. The Bishop pointed out in the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, 28 May, 1943, that there was insufficient land set aside for African population. "Since cattle is 'wealth' to the Africans the fact that we Europeans have crowded Africans into insufficient land makes us in no small measure responsible for the damage of these inadequate lands by overstocking" (the *Government Gazette* of 21 May, 1943). The Bishop concluded that the remedy did not lie wholly in destocking but in 'delanding' the Europeans of some of their land and 'relanding' the Africans. He advocated justice and freedom in land ownership among Rhodesians both black and white (*The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 28 May 1943).

Kay (1970) seems to share the same sentiments with the bishop regarding justice and freedom. Kay (1970) points out that although the owners could sell or slaughter their excess stock no price support programme was launched, and many Africans felt that prices paid were unrealistically low. The fact that purchasers were mostly European farmers and butchers added to African resentment (Kay, 1970). The Government justified their actions on the grounds that compulsory conservation measures were carried out to safeguard the land for the Africans and tribesmen. It can be argued that the Natural Resources Act (1941) did not alleviate the bitterness felt by the Africans after the passing of the Land Apportionment Act (1930). In fact it was like an insult to injury as portrayed by the Constitutional Council Report on the amended Land Apportionment Act (1941). The Constitutional Council Report (1964)

expressed concern on the unfairness of the prohibition of land ownership which deprived Africans of the right to vote in Municipal elections. According to the Report (1964):

The African today has the same aims and aspirations as any other human being and the fact that he is denied these in the country of his birth by the device of possessory segregation when any newly arrived European foreigner is granted them creates in his mind a justifiable grievance .

In response to land problems in the colony a memorandum on Principles of Agricultural Policy in the colonial empire was prepared in 1943 in the colonial office in consultation with certain members of the Agricultural Committee and submitted to the colonial advisory Council of Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry. The purpose of the Council in presenting this statement was to put together in a logical form, those principles which should govern the policy of colonial governments in agricultural matters at a time when they were faced with the task of framing their post-war agricultural policy. The memorandum examined the uses of land, the benefits of crop rotation and the economic use of land and labour.

7.3.2 Memorandum on Colonial Agricultural Policy, 1943

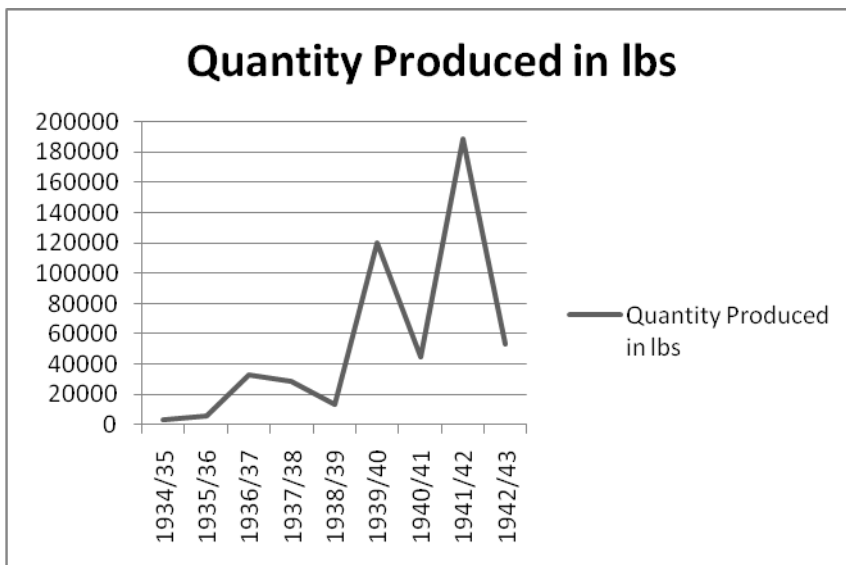
The memorandum (1943) explains that the ability of a territory to provide a satisfactory standard of living for its inhabitants depends principally upon the prosperity of agriculture directly or indirectly because agriculture provides people directly with food and in particular with protective foods of high nutritive value which cannot be obtained through international trade except at excessive cost. The Memorandum (1943) emphasized the importance of preserving the most valuable asset of the colonial territory through crop rotation, increasing soil fertility, guarding against soil erosion, plant and animal diseases. It advocated an end to shifting cultivation which would be replaced by mixed farming and controlled rotational grazing in order to meet changing conditions. It is important to note that the Memorandum was prepared ahead of the Destocking Regulations Act, 1943.

Resolutions were made to help farmers judge what crop would give the best return and to advise on changing farming systems and practices to adopt. The resolutions also stressed the importance of agriculture credit in promoting agricultural development and expected the colonial government to ensure adequate availability of agricultural credit for long, medium and short-term development so as to prevent the loss of land by working farmers and the accumulation of agricultural indebtedness. The colonial Government was also required to conduct an enquiry into the indebtedness of the cultivators as a prelude to devising remedial measures. To ensure progress was fully maintained, continuous agricultural and veterinary research was encouraged.

One resolution recommended that each colonial government have a well thought out policy on Agricultural Education to include institutional and extension work which would provide advice to farmers, large and small through personal visits, demonstration plots and farms, conferences, agricultural shows and all other appropriate measures. It would embrace propagating new ideas and developments in order to increase efficiency of all farmers. Because of extension work natives took an interest in cotton growing as shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Peasant production in Zimbabwe and Value Paid: 1935-54

Cotton Season	Quantity Produced in lbs	Average Yield per Acre in lbs	Average Cash Paid per Acre in £. S. D.	Total Value paid in £. S. D.
1934/35	2954	-----	-----	12. 17. 2
1935/36	5734	-----	-----	24. 4. 9
1936/37	32526	-----	0. 1. 08	145.15. 5
1937/38	28690	-----	0. 1. 21	144.13. 11
1938/39	13714	-----	0. 1. 82	47.13.11
1939/40	119755	-----	0. 1. 22	610. 9. 8
1940/41	44605	-----	0. 1. 62	301. 4. 9
1941/42	188498	-----	0. 1. 74	1 366.14.9
1942/43	53500	-----	-----	-----



Sources: *Compiled from the Annual Reports of the CRIB, 1937-54*

Table 17 above shows cotton production from 1934 to 1943 and the income generated from the sale of cotton. According to Nyambara (2000), prior to the 1930s conditions necessary for commodity production were established. These included the development of transport networks, establishment of a cotton research station and ginneries, and the imposition of

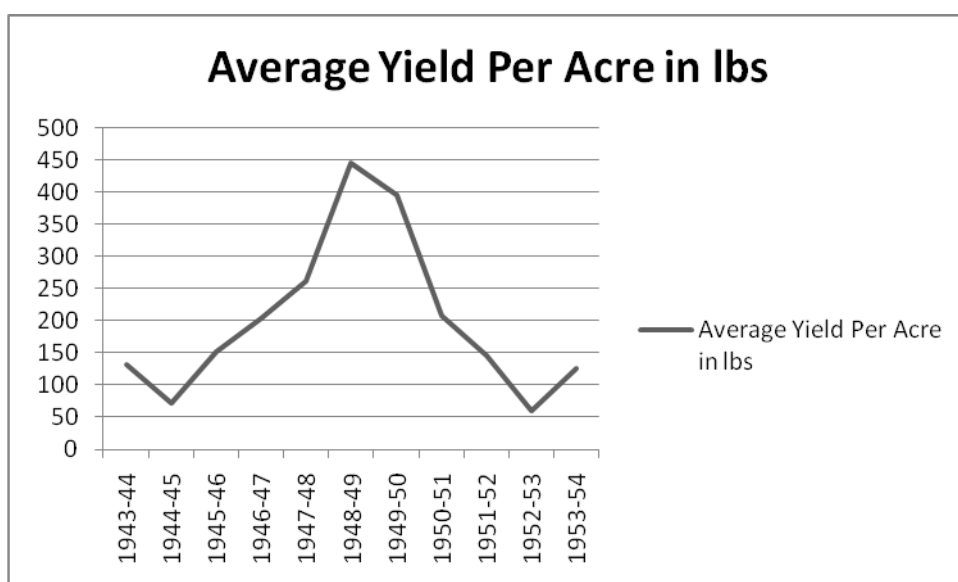
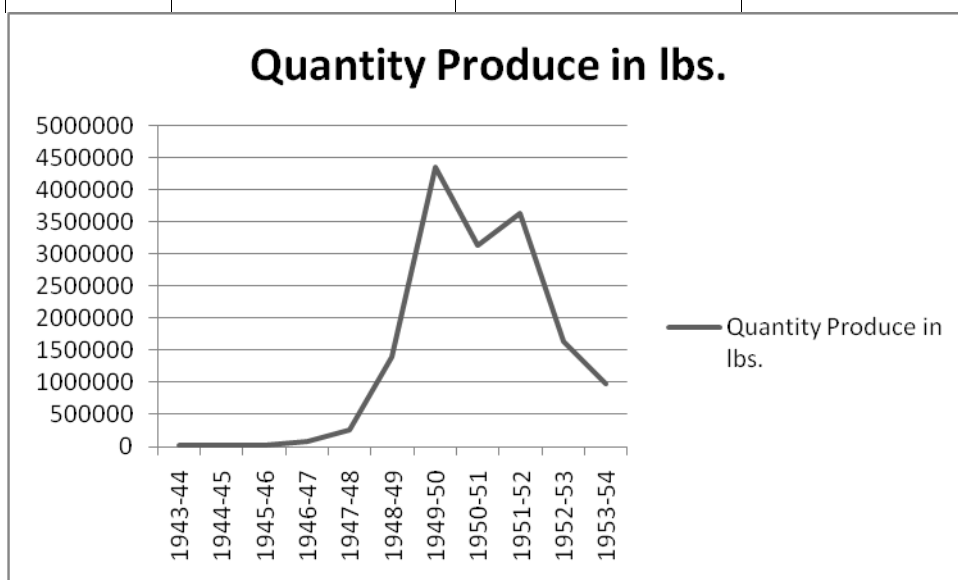
export-oriented cotton production. As illustrated in Table 17 from 1934 to 1936 cotton production was still low although it was increasing. The low production is understandable because African peasants were still learning how to produce the new crop. From 1936 peasant commercial production of cotton increased remarkably for a few years until it declined because of boll-worm attacks. Africans might have been motivated to cultivate more cotton by high prices of cotton stimulated by more demand. Furthermore extension services were paying dividends in the production of cotton.

Research carried out in the period 1925 to 1950 concentrated on selection of cotton varieties that are resistant to boll-worms. Work on rotations involving cotton, maize and grass leys continued in the 1940s. The highest cotton production was recorded in 1939 to 1940 and in 1941 to 1942 cotton seasons. This might have been stimulated by the very high demand of cotton in European industries during World War Two and the reasonable profits obtained from the sale of cotton. Fluctuations in the quantities of cotton produced from 1934 to 1943 suggest the inconsistency of African peasants in the process of commodity production. Sometimes cotton production was low because of attacks from the red spider-mites and because peasants might have chosen to grow food crops to produce foodstuffs for the urban population providing labour to European cotton projects and their emerging markets. The process of commoditisation of production made the African peasant desirous of emulating his European counterpart and become an 'economic man.'

It is important to note that the inclusion of cotton into the tight peasant agricultural cycle might have negatively affected the colonial cotton schemes which relied on African labour. This caused concern because some of the settler community were not happy with letting Africans grow cotton on any large scale as this would threaten the availability of labour. The colonial government, on the other hand, encouraged peasant cotton growing in part to divert peasants' attention from competitive industries in the late 1930s. The 1930s was a period of Depression and the state wanted to protect the major white settler industries namely; tobacco, beef and maize. It was noted that there was increased rural differentiation in the late 1930s as some peasant households with sufficient resources diversified their agricultural pursuits and took to cotton cultivation. From 1943 the quantity of cotton produced began to fall as manifested in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Peasant Cotton Production in Zimbabwe and Value Paid: 1943-1954

Cotton Season	Quantity Produce in lbs.	Average Yield Per Acre in lbs	Average Cash Paid Per Acre in £. S. D.	Total Value Paid in £.S.D.
1943-44	25570	132	-----	-----
1944-45	16901	72	-----	-----
1945-46	13509	152	-----	-----
1946-47	75543	204	-----	-----
1947-48	259111	262	6.16.2	6 720.18.1
1948-49	1400007	445	16.14.9	5 267.11.8
1949-50	4362101	396	11.8.2	156 650.4.5
1950-51	3141017	208	6.18.9	139 943.1.7
1951-52	3629691	145	4.9.3	154 242.7.8
1952-53	1629691	60	1.5.5	33 689.11.9
1953-54	982479	126	2.13.5	29 524.3.11



Sources: Compiled from the Annual Reports of the CRIB, 1937-54

Table 18 above shows peasant cotton production in Rhodesia from 1943 to 1954. More peasants showed interest in cotton growing from 1940 to 1953. The state promoted this new interest among the peasants for economic reasons. For instance, business people and industrialists saw advantages in increasing African purchasing power and self-sufficiency in raw materials in order to feed the newly established manufacturing industries. However from the table it can be noted that the quantity of cotton produced over a four-year period from the 1942-43 cotton season fell drastically but began to pick from the 1946-47 cotton season. This could be attributed to the new demand for tobacco which attracted some of the African peasants into growing tobacco instead of cotton. However a significant breakthrough occurred in the 1950s with the introduction of the Albar stock from Uganda which was resistant to jassid attacks and bacterial blight. Furthermore, effective pest-control methods were developed and cotton extension services helped increase the area under cotton production.

The cotton breeding station established at Gatooma in 1925 did much to promote research on pesticides while extension work, which was under the supervision of the senior officers of the department, did much to motivate the natives to adopt new farming methods (Memorandum on colonial agricultural policy, 1943). Movements like the Young Farmer's Club in the United Kingdom (UK) and 4-H Clubs in United States (US) were recommended for consideration. Continuous consultation and cooperation between all departments were encouraged. The Memorandum (1943) also called for land settlement schemes controlled by legislation where fresh land was available. African cotton growers who were into commercial production wanted more land so that they could be commercial farmers just like the colonial farmers. While the African cotton growers were basking in the glory of their newly acquired knowledge of cotton production they were embittered by the Cattle Destocking Regulations Act (1943).

In line with the resolutions in the Memorandum (1943), the Destocking Regulations Act was passed in 1943. Meetings with Natives were convened throughout the colony, the purpose being to explain the position, the regulations and policy. Strategies to speed up 'culling' were put in place to ensure destocking was carried out in a systematic manner (Memo by the Chief Native Commissioner, 22 May 1944). It was noted that besides overstocking, overpopulation occurred and there was need to intensify development of areas uninhabitable by humans or stock, or possibly acquire additional land and so secure a better distribution (Chief Native Commissioner, 22 May 1944).

While the colonial government acknowledged the overpopulation problem it did not find an immediate solution to the problem as the removal of overflow population and of the natives from the European Area would not be possible if water supplies were not developed in a number of reserves. However, efforts were being made to develop water supplies in the empty spaces of Native Reserves and Native Areas in order to accommodate excess native population. The Secretary for Native Affairs Report (1944) found it essential to prevent further deterioration of the natural resources in forty-nine reserves and to reduce the number of stock. The report noted that whilst many natives appreciated the necessity for destocking, the general native attitude towards cattle as a means of wealth and security, as well as the custom of *lobola*, could not be changed, except by the gradual transition from barbarism to civilisation, and this should be sought by education in preference to criminal sanctions. The director of Native Agriculture appeared to share the same views when he highlighted the problem of dealing with an uncivilised native population. The director reiterated that the transition of the native people from barbarism to civilisation would be a long process which could only be achieved if the native family had a background of education, ambition and necessity.

It is important to note that overpopulation on limited land created hardships, bitterness and resentment. The evils resulting from the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and the Natural Resources Act (1941) were enough justification for nationalist activities organised by the African educated elite. In response to nationalist activities, an amendment Land Bill was put before the House by the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr H. J. Quinton. Following an announcement that 2 000 000 acres of European-owned land would be transferred to African use while a further 5 000 000 acres would become unreserved land for occupation by any race, Quinton made it clear that one purpose of such an Act would be to open European trading areas to Africans but promised that the Act would not be bludgeoned through Parliament (The Standard, 7 June 1961 page 28). According to Quinton (1961):

The present Land Apportionment is completely outdated. We need a National Land Act dealing with land which is of a national character. And we need an Urban Land Act dealing with all matters of urban development that come under Municipal councils.

Nkomo, leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP), reacting to the new Land Apportionment Amendment Bill that had been brought to the House of Assembly the previous day by the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. H.J. Quinton, said his party was not interested in half-measures. According to the Rhodesian Herald (8 June 1961 page 30) Nkomo argued:

The amendment tends to please the European electorate. My party wants the abolition of the Land Apportionment Act and nothing else. One cannot allow a political party Government to manipulate land as the UFP Government is doing now. We want the land question to be a constitutional one so that it cannot be manipulated by any party in power at any time.

Nkomo tried to bring the hardships of Africans to the attention of her majesty. Nkomo's effort met with mixed feelings in Great Britain. There was divided opinion in the House of Commons regarding Nkomo's ideas. Some supported the likes of Joshua Nkomo as reflected by some British newspapers covering Nkomo's speech with zeal. Others opposed what Nkomo stood for. They boasted that, if Africans used violence to press their case, they would be crushed with little effort by the powerful army of the Federation and by a police force which was stronger than the police force of any other state (Healey, 1962). On the contrary, some Europeans likened Rhodesia to a police state where people like Nkomo, Sithole and Garfield Todd to name a few, were detained without trial. In a speech at Billervey in 1965, one speaker expressed his abhorrence of the use of police dogs against African crowds in Rhodesia. Others foresaw the inevitable physical death of a European population and economic ruin in the long run.

The Dominion Party (DP) in Rhodesia, realised that hunger and land pressure had created explosive and revolutionary situations in many parts of the world and in Rhodesia a solution to land problems had to be found quickly (*Rhodesia Herald*, 17 June, 1961). The use of police as a repressive measure in the colony was a result of fear of a revolutionary explosion.

Thomson⁸ and Healey, were concerned about the activities of the police in Zimbabwe. They debated in the House of Commons the prevailing situation in Rhodesia in 1962. Below is a description of police activities by Thomson:

When political assemblies take place, the police are always present in very considerable numbers and they carry arms. Anyone who has attended African political meetings knows how long they can go on. Again, the police also have the right now to interfere with speech. If they hear sentences which they believe are seditious, they do not wait for the speech to be completed, nor do they lay evidence of the speech before the prosecuting authorities, which is the normal method; instead, they march on the platform in the middle of the speech and take the speaker away. That recently happened to Mr. Takabura, external affairs secretary of Z.A.P.U., whose case is now the subject of an appeal (Hansard, 30 July 1962).

It can be argued that the use of the police as a repressive measure in Rhodesia at a time when there was no state of emergency and things were comparatively peaceful, demonstrates a fear

⁸George Morgan Thomson (1921-2008), Labour MP for Dundee East from 1952-1972 and Dennis Healey, Labour MP for Leeds from 1952 till he became Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1974-1979 abhorred police activities in Rhodesia.

inherent in the colonial government and it added to the grievances that were growing among the indigenous people. As noted by Richardson (1958: 3):

The on-the-spot attitudes of the settler conflicted with his own heritage of Christianity and democratic ideals. A tension was set up within the European mind in Central Africa which has not yet been resolved. The patterns of race relations set during those years indicate clearly that fear of the surrounding Africans and the desire to wrest a living from the country dominated the conduct of the European. Christianity and the liberal English political heritage took second place to the needs of time and place in Africa.

Although there was divided opinion regarding the objectives of the African leaders all members of the British House of Commons were unanimous on one thing, the prevention of communism in their colonies. Land development officers working in the Native reserves acknowledged the seriousness of land shortage among the natives and in 1954 the Natural Resources Board wrote:

The time for plain speaking has arrived, and it is no exaggeration to say that at the moment we are heading for disaster. We have on the one hand a rapid increase taking place in the African population and on the other a rapid deterioration of the very land on which these people depend for their existence .

Whenever African leaders strove to express their feelings about unequal land distribution and land shortage, the Rhodesian Government responded by imprisoning the African leaders without charge. According to Yudelman (1964), one African nationalist and a Royal Commission commented:

The problem of the African, the cause behind this story of a people's agony is LANDLESSNESS: LANDLESSNESS, so that the people will be forced out into the labour market, to the mines and farms where they will be herded together in camps, compounds and locations, where each white industrialist, farmer and housewife, will be allocated his or her fair share of hands (Yudelman, 1964: 83).

Although the effects of the Land Apportionment Act on the African Rhodesians, caused concern even among some of the white Rhodesians the colonial government shelved the land issue because it had other urgent issues to settle. The colonial government, for example, was concerned with the scheme for settling coloured personnel who had indicated their desire to take up farming before the demobilisation of the forces was proposed (*The Rhodesia Herald*, 29 June 1945). Following the report, the Minister of Agriculture had this to say in Parliament, 'If settlers come along of a satisfactory nature we shall probably allow these men to come into the industry because in my opinion there is room for all if they are the right type.' The Minister hoped to be able to place on the land both the Rhodesian ex-service men and settlers from overseas.

In a report presented to the Minister of Agriculture by the Agricultural Central Committee in January 1944, the committee indicated their preference of members of coloured men on service. The Committee stated:

The Committee is of opinion that quite apart from farming on their own account there exists great opportunity for the employment of well trained, steady and reliable Coloured men as overseers, assistants, tractor drivers and general farm handymen. With this view representatives of the Coloured Community Service League appear to agree.

It was however noted that in some quarters the Coloured Community as a whole was urban minded, and would prefer to gain its livelihood by working in the cities and towns of the Colony. The Committee felt such an attitude of the Coloured could only be overcome by training the Coloured man into positions amongst the farming community where the conscientious and intelligent performance of his duties would not only permit him and his family to rise in the social scale but would prove of very real assistance to his employer and the Colony at large. The Coloured ex-service men who indicated their wish to undertake farming either on their own land, on Crown land allotted to them or as employees in the industry would be required to undergo training and trial on a suitably equipped Government farm.

A training farm of about 1 500 to 2 000 acres, situated in a good type of sand veld country with a reasonable rainfall was recommended where a variety of farming activities could be followed. These activities would include the raising of beef cattle and dairy stock, pigs, sheep and poultry as well as crop cultivation. In about three districts of Zimbabwe a total of 207 000 acres of land were earmarked for the settlement of the Coloured ex-servicemen. According to Arrighi (1983), since the 1940s tobacco production increased and became the most important single export commodity and major foreign exchange earner. Although there was greater output of tobacco the settlement of ex-servicemen increased pressure on land. To make matters worse the government reserved more land to solve the over-spill population problem of the Manchester Region and similar congested areas. This followed a resolution passed by the Urmston Urban District Council on 9 January 1945 which stated that:

This Council requests the Manchester and District Regional Planning Committee to examine the scheme propounded by the Council's Surveyor for the creation of satellite towns in Southern Rhodesia [Zimbabwe] and other parts of the empire, with large-scale immigration from industrial Britain and should the scheme be found practicable to approach the Government with view to its adoption as a means of relieving the 'overspill' problem of the Manchester region and similar congested areas while fostering a planned development of the empire's natural resources.

The scheme provided for 35 daughter towns around the capital city of Salisbury, the idea being for a home town to sponsor its satellite in the Dominion. With this scheme it would be possible to give considerable relief to the 'overspill' from the large centres such as London, Manchester and Liverpool, to name a few. This would help avoid the necessity of planning new towns or enlarging existing small towns in Britain's districts, thus helping her agricultural economy. The plan had the support of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Godfrey Huggins and was conceived while the African inhabitants in the colony were grappling with the problems of land shortage and many ex-servicemen willing to take up farming in Rhodesia after the Second World War (1939-1945).

The Colonial Government was also dealing with the Fairbridge Memorial College scheme for young immigrants to Southern Rhodesia (*South Africa Weekly Journal*, 13 July 1946). It was announced on 6 October 1945 that the Fairbridge Memorial College was to be set up in Southern Rhodesia to take British child emigrants from the age of eight upwards (*The Times*, 27 November 1945). Although the scheme met with criticism the Rhodesian Government announced that the first batch of children was expected to arrive in May or June 1945 (*The African World*, 26 January 1946). The criticisms stemmed from the fear that when these orphaned children from the bombed out cities of Britain came to live in contact with the native population of the country they would run the risk of becoming 'poor whites' like those in South Africa and the Southern States of America (*The African World*, 26 January 1946).

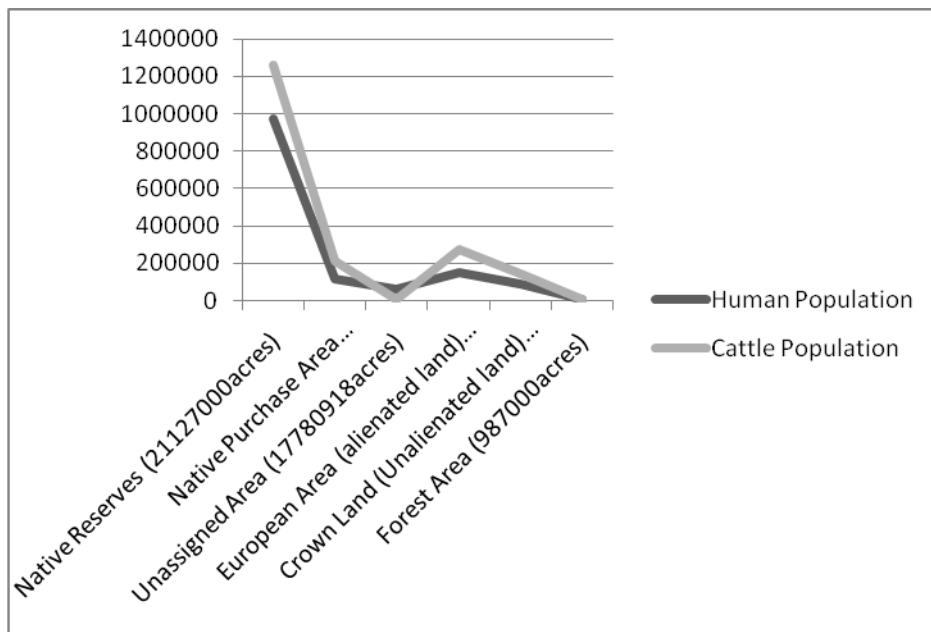
It should be noted that the Fairbridge Scheme would have potentially compounded the already grave problem of land shortage for African Rhodesians as the emigrants would later acquire land which was already a scarce resource among the natives. The natives whose traditional concept of all the living and the still unborn possessing an indefeasible right to occupy and gain a living from the land felt threatened by the Fairbridge and Satellite schemes. While the government was concentrating on the above schemes it did not entirely ignore problems affecting Native Reserves, the most critical of which was land degradation. The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 was passed as a response to problems of poor land husbandry in native reserves.

The government had realised that the traditional concept of 'all the living and the still unborn possessing an indefeasible right to occupy and gain a living from the land' could not be implemented in practice because there was not enough ground for all who wished to cultivate and to run livestock on communal land; and that traditional cultivation and running of cattle

were: (a) impoverishing the soil of its original limited fertility, maintained to some degree through ‘shifting’ cultivation, and (b) despoiling water resources (Yudelman, 1964). It was no longer viable to continue practising shifting cultivation because of the decrease in acreage available for this ecologically space-demanding system which strained the carrying capacity of land.

Table 19: The Carrying Capacity and stocking in Southern Rhodesia in 1944

Area	Acreage	Human Population	Cattle Population
Native Reserves	21127000	974132	1263840
Native Purchase Area	7859942	116755	210613
Unassigned Area	17780918	60789	7534
European Area (alienated land)	32665000	151055	276666
Crown Land (Unalienated land)	15729000	91336	146901
Forest Area	987000	7865	9980



Source: *Extracted from a Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Native Commissioner, and Director of Native Department, for the Year 1944*

As observed by Duggan (1980), land shortage eventually became critical by the Second World War and few reserve residents could afford the move into the small Native Purchase Areas where larger plots were available. Consequently, traditional tenure degenerated due to soil erosion or corruption on the part of the land-delegating tribal authority during the transition from subsistence to a cash economy (Howman, 1949). Traditional tenure had degenerated as a result of the weakened influence of traditional tribal authority upon the people and the complex maze of progress-retarding traditional beliefs regarding the working and improvement of land, and the husbandry and enhancement of the value of cattle (Yudelman, 1964). Environmental degradation was seen as a key part of what was presented

as a rural crisis in post war years (Thompson, 2004). Black tenant farmers on European land were particular targets of concern as they were accused of damaging 'white' resources and violating settlers' plans for segregation because the black sea ate away the islands of white (Thompson, 2004). Duggan (1980) points out that, the continuous impoverishment of the reserves led to a shift in government policy in the 1950s beginning with the Native Land Husbandry Bill (1950).

7.4 The Native Land Husbandry Bill (1950)

The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 promised to address a variety of settler concerns (Thompson, 2004). According to Yudelman (1964), the scope of the NLHA involved the:

- Drawing of regulations for the enforcement of conservation and good husbandry of soil and crops.
- Granting of grazing rights to those eligible.
- Granting of cultivation rights, based upon standard areas of arable.
- Establishment of rural villages and business centres.
- Drawing up of regulations governing the compulsory employment of African labour for specific tasks, such as conservation and finally
- Provision of penalties for non-compliance with the conditions of the Act, and for prosecution after due warning.

Emphasis was on individual responsibility for land conservation (Duggan, 1980). It can however be argued that the NLHA was designed more to stabilize labour than to create a rural middle class or even to resuscitate reserve agriculture as will manifested in the next section.

7.4.1 Origins of the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951)

The Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) was passed as a response to challenges brought about by the Second World War (Thompson, 2004). According to the Report of the Chief Native Commissioner (1947), Rhodesia had lost self-sufficiency in major foodstuffs during the war and was facing a serious food crisis. There were shortages of maize, beef and dairy products in the late 1940s while many farmers were reluctant to grow food crops or to invest capital or scarce labour in increasing production of foodstuffs, as tobacco was far more profitable (Phimister, 1986). Instead of coercing the farmers, the state developed a new interest in peasant agriculture as a key sector of the economy. According to the Annual Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, 1947-1954, African producers were growing low return grains and groundnuts to supply basic foodstuffs for the expanding workforce in towns, mines and commercial farms.

The Commissioner of Native Labour (1947) also reported serious labour shortages in the vital mining and white farming sectors where wages were lower and conditions harder than in manufacturing. Like the food shortage, this challenge raised serious concerns about its impact on the national economy. The Report by the Commissioner of Native Labour (1947) remarked, 'Unless adequate steps are taken to meet the anticipated demand for labour, the colony will suffer a severe setback during the most important time of its history.' It is important to note that at this point in time, Rhodesia faced intense pressure to increase the numbers of job seekers, especially as the labour shortage had pushed the wages up giving workers new leverage with employers. The tight labour market gave rise to a new assertiveness among black workers and this was reflected in the emergence of new worker organisations, successful strikes in Salisbury and Bulawayo and rural unrest (Phimister, 1995).

Much of the rural unrest associated with the activities of the new British African Voice Association (BAVA), was the result of the state's efforts to forcibly relocate Africans living on designated white land, which was now wanted for farming by new immigrants (Phimister, 1995). According to Thompson (2004), resistance by rural peasants slowed down the pace of the relocations and this frustrated the new white landowners who preferred intensified racial segregation and wanted to see Africans moved off designated white land as quickly as possible in line with promises made in the Land Apportionment Act (1930). Peasants in such areas fought relocation through passive resistance and the courts and in some cases with BAVA's assistance (Thompson, 2004). It is important to note that new white landowners who wanted speedy relocations may not have been aware of the magnitude of the problems associated with relocations of Africans.

Thompson (2004) points out that moving thousands of peasants presented a massive logistical problem because many of the reserves were already overpopulated, especially in Matabeleland and this would threaten the viability of the family farming that underwrote low wages. Although the government was under intense pressure not to assign more land to the designated African area, the government added 4.1 million acres of Special Native Areas in 1950 because it wanted the natives to perform labour for conserving natural resources and promoting good husbandry (Duggan, 1980). Another way to alleviate future pressure in the reserves was to fix the number of people dependent upon the land by denying urban workers access to reserves, solving both the labour problems of secondary industry and decreasing the

pressure in the reserves (Duggan, 1980). Against this background, the Native Land Husbandry Act was passed, with World Bank support in 1951 (Alexander, 2006).

7.4.2 Objectives of the NLHA (1951)

Brown (1959), Duggan (1980), Yudelman (1964) and Thompson (2004) agree that the NLHA had five main objectives namely:

- to provide for a reasonable standard of good husbandry and for the protection of natural resources by all Africans using the land.
- to limit the number of stock in any area to its carrying capacity and, as far as is practicable, to relate stock holding to arable land holding as a means of improving farming practice.
- to allocate individual rights in the arable land and in the communal grazing areas as far as possible in terms of economic units; to prevent further fragmentation and to provide for the aggregation of fragmentary holdings into economic units.
- to provide individual security of tenure of arable land and individual security of grazing rights in the communal grazing areas.
- to provide for setting aside of land for towns and business centres in the Reserves.

Loney (1975) argues that the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) was directed at transforming the pattern of African farming by ending the distribution of land, currently at the discretion of the Chief, among all those living in the Reserves. According to Yudelman (1964), under customary system of tenure, land in the African areas of Zimbabwe was viewed as a rationed but free good as in the 'tragedy of the commons.' Land was rationed because of its limited supply and the rationing was the tribal allocation process. Agricultural economists in Southern Rhodesia argued in favour of the NLHA because they believed that as long as land remained a free good there would be no cost factor to encourage greater productivity (Yudelman, 1964). They elaborated that if land had a price and was not a free good, the rate of depletion of soil might be diminished and that converting land into a negotiable asset would encourage the emergence of entrepreneurial and managerial ability among African people; hence the British settlers supported the passing of the NLHA. The Act intended to create a class of independent small farmers with mixed farming plots which could not be subdivided among their heirs but which could be sold (Loney, 1975). It was also believed the division of the land under the Act would terminate land rights of urban Africans, and the prevention of sub-divisions would ensure that the increasing African population would be compelled to leave the reserves for work in urban areas (Yudelman, 1964).

Yudelman (1964) describes the NLHA as one of the most far-reaching land reform measures in Africa aimed at improving African land use in Southern Rhodesia. According to Yudelman

(1964), the objective of the Act was to provide for the control of the utilization and allocation of land occupied by the natives and to insure its efficient use for agricultural purposes; [and] to natives to perform labour for conserving natural resources and for promoting good husbandry. Thompson (2004) posits that the Native Land Husbandry Act would offer a solution to the rural crisis by protecting the physical environment at minimal cost to the state, while simultaneously allowing the Native Affairs Department to cram more people into the African Areas.

Another view of the NLHA was that it was designed to create a loyal urban and rural African middle class, satisfying at the same time the needs of the country's rapid expansion of secondary industry by denying urban workers access to farmland (Duggan, 1980). In the Reserves, land redistribution would thus create a stable landowning upper peasantry to complement elite in the townships, where security of tenure was being offered to industrial workers (Duggan, 1980). This however would come with a cost namely £300 and a Master Farmer certificate. It can be argued that the proponents of the above view of the NLHA might have forgotten the native attachment to land and cattle thus the NLHA directly repudiated customary and communal rights to land in favour of individual right holders and secular state power (Alexander, 2006).

Johnson (1964) points out that the NLHA was framed in the belief that population growth in the rural areas was slower than that in the territory as a whole, and also in the belief that permanent urban migration was desirable and to be encouraged. These beliefs were proved wrong when rural people embraced medical innovation which reduced infant mortality. In short, the motives behind the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) were diverse and complex and in Thompson (2004)'s view the diversity of the motives behind the NLHA reflects the government's efforts to placate competing political interests. Private property rights, rights to common goods and rights to public involvement in environmental decisions had become a fundamental concern for the Government of Southern Rhodesia in its endeavour to promote sustainable development. The next section analyses the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act which was aimed at restraining the overuse of property and the exhaustion of natural resources.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined land tenure and land management in colonial Zimbabwe. The chapter noted that there were 3 tenure systems in colonial Zimbabwe. These tenure systems

determined how land was allocated and managed. The settler government used land segregation policies that created resentment among the natives. The Land Apportionment Act (1930) remained the cornerstone of colonial land policy. The Act unfairly distributed land between whites and natives. As a result there was serious land shortage among the natives leading to overcrowding and land degradation. Using 'weapons of the weak' the natives were able to bring their discontent to the attention of the government. The government amended the Land Apportionment Act several times but land shortage remained a grievance among natives. The land grievance worsened with passing of the NLHA in 1951 which reduced the number of cattle owned and the area of land farmed by each family. Shortage of land forced rural peasants to move to towns in search of employment. Those in urban areas faced hardships just like their counterparts in the rural areas. The implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) examined in Chapter Eight helps to show how the land grievance translated into nationalism in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIVE LAND HUSBANDRY ACT, 1951

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951). It examines methods used in the implementation and how the new land policy was viewed by the indigenous Africans. The chapter analyses the success of the implementation, taking note of the constraints and how the implementers dealt with the constraints. The chapter also illustrates how 'weapons of the weak' were used to a great extent by the indigenous. It is in the same chapter that African grievances about land and cattle and the rise of nationalism among all ethnic groups are portrayed. The chapter highlights strategies that would be used in the implementation of the NLHA as shown below.

8.2 Strategies for implementation of the NLHA

The NLHA would be applied in phases that would affect stock, arable land and villages of inhabitants (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). Meetings to explain the provisions of the NLHA would be held between the Native Commissioner and the inhabitants. In addition, legal machinery was established by publication of a governor's proclamation in the Gazette (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). After publication of notices land was allocated on an individual basis in village arable blocks. Once the village area was complete the farming rights register was completed in the field. According to Pendered *et al.* (1955), an individual was registered with the area of land he was actually cultivating or which he desired. It is here where the local ethnic and clan leaders assisted the allocation officer in reaching a decision. Pendered *et al.* (1955) point out that the very system of land registration in rural areas removed once and for all the ancient tradition that every African was entitled to a piece of land of his own, and it was hoped that registration would encourage more permanent residence either in an urban or rural area.

Johnson (1964), Yudelman (1964) and Duggan (1980) agree that implementation of the NLHA began with registration work in five parts namely:

- a grant of farming rights
- a grant of grazing rights
- good farming practices
- compulsory service
- provision of villages and towns.

In an extract from the *Journal of African Administration* it was noted that before land and grazing rights could be registered an area must have reached a stage of development which

made the application of the NLHA practicable. Some of the requisites, according to Pendered *et al.* (1955) were that:

- The area was centralised or demarcated into suitable arable and grazing areas.
- The bulk of basic conservation and development work had been completed.
- Depending on terrain, villages should have been correctly sited in relation to their lands and grazing, roads built, where necessary water supplies developed, any necessary protection of arable land undertaken, and cultivation near river banks and water channels prohibited.
- The inhabitants had been subject to the influence of the policy of agricultural development, as laid down by the Department of Native Agriculture, and a percentage of the native farmers appreciated what development meant and practiced improved forms of husbandry.

Pendered *et al.* (1955) posit that the farming rights register contained the following: district, reserve, chief, area, village number and name of kraal, map reference and extent of each holding, date of registration, name and registration number of the farmer and native commissioner's signature. Grazing rights register recorded the date of registrations, stock holdings declared, holding authorised, animal units for disposal, date of disposal order and native commissioner's signature. Any vacant land was mapped, numbered and registered and was available for future applicants (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). When all registration work was done the NLHA would be applied. The government anticipated the likelihood of resentment from the natives. So it laid out a strategy to first conscientize the natives on the importance of conservation before the NLHA would be implemented. If the natives were not co-operative then the government would use force if necessary (Duggan, 1980, Thompson, 2004, and Pendered *et al.*, 1955).

8.2.1 Grant of Farming Rights

It is worth noting that the implementation of the Act would abolish the customary system of land holding and introduce individual tenure under government control in the Reserves (Duggan, 1980). The Act made it illegal for anyone to grow crops or to graze livestock without a permit, the objective being to integrate Africans into the settler economy either as peasants or as proletarians (Tshuma, 1998). Conservationist concerns were used to justify an array of punitive measures to enforce good husbandry and provide labour for conservation works (Alexander, 2006). Once farming rights were granted they could be bought or sold but could not be 'fragmented' (Yudelman, 1964). Each man cultivating land during the current or past year was granted a 'standard area' of land varying by rainfall regime and sufficient to support a family of one woman, one man, and three children (Brown, 1959, Duggan, 1980 and Yudelman, 1960). In wetter regions of the country the 'standard area' ranged between 8

to 10 acres while in the driest area it could reach 15 acres (Thompson, 2004). The standard area would also provide a crop and livestock surplus for sale when the full programme of agricultural practices ordained by the Department of Native Agriculture was followed (Duggan, 1980, Yudelman, 1964, and Johnson, 1964).

According to Duggan (1980), at the time of implementation of the NLHA men were forced to decide whether or not they would return to the reserves to become permanent cultivators while widows with dependent children were eligible for one third to one full share of a standard area. Other women were not eligible at all for land. Men with many wives received more than the standard area of land. They received up to three times the standard area per wife above one. Duggan (1980) and Yudelman (1964) emphasize that, no one could hold more than three times the standard area and no plot could be subdivided below the standard area. Men could however buy the titles of others. Pendered *et al.* (1955) point out that the farming rights expired at the death of the holder. Although holders of farming rights could nominate their successors the native commissioner had the power to over-rule the nominations (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). This created resentment and saw an upsurge of rural political mobilisation and growing articulation of native grievances about land.

Before the NLHA was passed inequality in land ownership existed among households. According to Duggan (1980), most households previously had cultivated far below the NLHA's standard area per family, while many had access to several times that amount. Special rules were applied where arable land was insufficient for everyone to receive a standard area. Yudelman (1964) mentions that households cultivating land larger than the standard area had their land brought down to equal the standard area and those with holdings smaller than the standard area but more than five acres were not to change while those with less than five acres were to be brought up to five acres. Alexander (2006) points out that the NLHA directly repudiated 'customary' and 'communal' rights to land in favour of individual right holders and 'secular state power.' Yudelman (1964) argues that 'it was the intent of the act that intricate network of social and tribal customs regarding land use and land transfer would give way to the marketplace.'

While the implementation of the NLHA was in progress the implementers encountered problems resulting from population increase. According to Duggan (1980), overcrowding in the reserves rendered the aggregation of plots impossible without drastic depopulation, which the NLHA was not intended to effect. As human population increased so did livestock. Those

with livestock above the number prescribed for their area would be forced to de-stock and this would bring families below the number of livestock necessary for subsistence with the result that they would have cattle for sale (Duggan, 1980). These provisions of the NLHA would then tend to bring everyone below subsistence level, rather than elevate further those few with enough land and other resources to make a living exclusively by farming (Duggan, 1980). Destocking met with cultural barriers because of the importance attached to cattle by natives. Hence it became a major grievance among inhabitants of Rhodesia.

The NLHA was not implemented as intended and in the first five years following the passing of the NLHA progress was slow (Johnson, 1964) due to constraints noted by Duggan (1980) below. The shortage of staff and absence of clearly formulated methods, organisational problems and planning confusion hindered the progress of implementing the NLHA. Duggan (1980) notes that by 1959 more than one quarter of reserve families entitled to land were still landless. Thompson (2004) states that, four years into the scheme, only 25% of individual land rights and 28% of stock rights had been distributed in the areas that were scheduled for completion by 1960.

8.2.2 Grant of Grazing Rights

Brown (1959) describes the granting of grazing rights in the NLHA as a measure aimed at correcting the defects in earlier destocking programmes. He further notes that under the Act each communal grazing area was to have a rated carrying capacity and an upper limit on the number of animals permitted in the areas. According to Pendered *et al.* (1955), the Minister of Native Affairs was responsible for declaring the safe maximum number of cattle for each area. Next, the native commissioner would then call for applications for grazing permits within a specified time. Where the area was under-stocked everyone would be given a grazing permit for what he possesses up to the economic unit. Where the area was over-stocked the native commissioner would enforce removal of the excess by a pro rata reduction of all herds (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). The right to graze cattle was to be negotiable so that cattle owners could expand their herds if they could find sellers of grazing rights (Brown, 1959). However, this grazing right could not be given or taken as security for the payment of any debt and could not be liable to attachment or sale in execution in pursuance of a judgement of any court (Southern Rhodesia Act, 1951). It was hoped that in time the ownership of cattle and arable land would be concentrated in the hands of fewer owners who would take farming seriously and whose holding of stock and arable land were adequate for successful farming. Like farming rights, grazing rights expired at the death of the holder.

8.2.3 Good Farming Practices

As stipulated in the Natural Resources Act (1941) certain good farming practices to prevent soil erosion, protect or conserve resources and control livestock were to be followed (Brown, 1959). According to Yudelman (1964), there were to be penalties for non-compliance although only to be used in the last resort while extension work was to be emphasised to promote better farming. A cultivator who was also a migratory labourer could lose his right to farm if he absented himself from the land (Yudelman, 1964).

8.2.4 Compulsory Service

According to Yudelman (1964), compulsory service was introduced so that stock owners could be compelled to provide labour to improve the communal grazing land in their area. Compulsory service empowered the native commissioner or the local native council or chief to call out stock owners to perform special tasks, for which they were paid for the class of work performed.

8.2.5 Provisions of Villages and Towns

This section of the NLHA provided for land to be set aside for villages, towns and business centres in which Africans could purchase land (Yudelman, 1964). Loney (1975), Duggan (1980) and Yudelman (1964) share the same views on the purpose of the Act namely; to slow down soil erosion, inhibit migratory labour and to provide greater security of tenure to the producers. Yudelman (1964) comments that, the Act proposed to replace the tribal-communistic system of allocating land according to need with a hybrid tribal-capitalistic system of individual holdings and communal grazing. It is important to note that the use of farmland and communal grazing was no longer to be 'free.' Once the act was implemented, price was to be the major factor in transferring of rights between individuals (Brown, 1959, Duggan, 1980 and Yudelman, 1964). This interference with customary practice was unpopular.

Up to the time of the NLHA, it was recognised throughout the Colony that every indigenous African had the right to reside in the Reserve, and, with the permission of the Chief, to cultivate lands there. Thompson (2004) noted that as implementation spread into new areas and intensified, grudging acceptance and evasion remained the most common responses among the natives. In an interview with Levison Chanakira on 30 May 1998, Thompson (2004) was told of the native inability to influence authorities, even when discontent was obvious: 'We did nothing, but the government realised we were angry. We did not do

anything as we could not do anything.’ Doing nothing meant avoiding confrontation but using ‘weapons of the weak’ such as refusing to give authorities information about their stock and land holdings.

The use of land was to be regulated in accordance with the economic principles in practice elsewhere in the capitalistic world. The advantage here was that allocating grazing rights for a specified number of animals, rather than for a specified acreage, permitted a great deal of flexibility and made it easier to control the number of livestock in any area by limiting the number of rights sold (Yudelman, 1964). It can however be argued that this section (provision of villages and towns) of the NLHA did not give advantage to the Africans but to the settlers because, by attaching a money value to land and by allocating it among individual occupiers, it removed the privilege of free access to land for Africans who wished to settle in a new area. No longer would any father obtain land for a son who was about to marry by requesting it from the chief (Yudelman, 1964). It must be noted that the rigid implementation of the NLHA would be resented by the Africans. It became clear that the NLHA had several weaknesses which will be viewed hereunder. It is these weaknesses that led to the amendment of the Act later in the 1960s.

8.3 Weaknesses of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA)

Yudelman (1964) identifies three principal weaknesses of the action following the Act. These are:

- the strict separation of arable and grazing areas in the regions of greater potential for crop production that cut across the psychological and sociological features so important in human societies.
- the want of sufficient extension which resulted in cultivators not being encouraged sufficiently to bring in cattle to their arable land, and run simple rotations thereon.
- the quite inadequate facilities for credit where such could have been gainfully used by more progressive cultivators and pastoralists.

Under the scheme individual tenure did not therefore have the stimulating effect anticipated by those who drew up the Act. According to Ranger (1960), the NLHA did not result in the establishment of economic holdings in the African areas. Experts attribute the weakness of standard holdings to their small sizes. According to Brown (1959), while the minimum economic holding for European farmers was seven hundred and fifty acres, for Africans the arable holding to be allocated per family was eight acres. It is evident that the arable land provided under the NLHA was inadequate for the needs of anyone who wished to make a living from the land.

Alexander (2006) points out that there were serious constraints on establishing the 'economic unit' due to land shortage. The Quinton Report cited in Alexander (2006) notes that in 1960 land available was for only 235,000 of the eligible 346,000 farmers. According to Alexander (2006), officials at first sought to accommodate more farmers by reducing the size of the economic holding. Then they sought to reduce the numbers of right holders by speeding up the pace of registration and placing new limits on eligible claimants, thus arbitrarily excluding many farmers. According to Yudelman (1964), these measures failed to solve the problem of land shortage, but they greatly undermined security of tenure, one of the key goals of the NLHA.

It was also noted that in the Reserves and Special Native Areas where de-stocking of cattle was resented and where it was implemented in earnest, the Act was unpopular. As the scale of implementation increased in the late 1950s covert resistance gave way to overt resistance. Thompson (2004) cites a number of occasions when the natives showed open resistance to authorities. In Mhondoro (a Shona stronghold) a riot nearly broke out when the Native Commissioner confronted women who had pulled out the wooden pegs marking allocations. In another Mhondoro community, people discarded the land allocation cards as the Native Commissioner distributed them at a public meeting, then surged forward, threw away his tea, and threatened him and the village headman until the Native Commissioner pulled a gun and fired two shots into the air. Many black agricultural demonstrators, the implementing line agents, were physically threatened, and they ran away from their assignments. The reason for this resentment stemmed from the belief that cattle possessed a spiritual significance and could not be treated merely as animals for providing services or for disposal by sale. The native's appreciation of cattle made it difficult for him to accept the tenets of the Act bearing upon possession (Yudelman, 1964). For him, status, prestige, and therefore pride derived from the holding of his cattle, the number having greater significance than quality alone (Yudelman, 1964).

According to Brown (1959), the NLHA did nothing to encourage animal husbandry in the Reserves because stock holdings were so small that there was little scope for culling and stock improvement. With the usual number under the Act, of six to eight it was impossible for a keen man to improve his herd. Although extra grazing rights could be purchased from those willing to sell, this depended on the availability of sufficient willing sellers. Either way there was danger of overstocking at one end and understocking at another. The system of

communal grazing which the Act perpetuated and the permanent pasture system involved in centralisation militated against improvement in animal husbandry (Brown, 1959).

Brown (1959), Yudelman (1964) and Ranger (1960) have criticised the Act on the grounds that it entrenched and legalised the practices of centralisation and continuous cultivation on soils which were quite unsuitable for them. It was noted that the majority of arable areas in the Reserves were so eroded and exhausted of fertility that they needed about twelve to fifteen years rest in order to restore them to a state of structure and fertility which would enable economic crop production to commence (Brown, 1959). The report of the Natural Resources Board for 1954 expressed grave concern at land deterioration taking place in reserves:

The time for plain speaking has now arrived, and it is no exaggeration to say that at the moment we are heading for disaster. We have on the one hand a rapid increase taking place in the African population and on the other a rapid deterioration of the very land on which these people depend for their existence and upon which so much of the future prosperity of the country depends

Lack of cooperation from the inhabitants of Native Reserves exacerbated the already grave situation in the Reserves. Brown (1959) points out that, the natives were just not ready for, or capable of adopting such practices and special measures which included spreading of ant-hills, constructing contour ridges, proper use of compost and fertilisers, early planting, to mention a few. Brown (1959) justifies the natives' lack of cooperation on the grounds that they lacked knowledge, equipment and correct outlook. As such the Act was blamed for perpetuating serious erosion problems in the Native Reserves (Ranger, 1960).

Brown (1959) blames the coming of the Europeans for causing soil erosion and soil exhaustion in the Reserves in three stages, (a) by the Land Apportionment Act (1930) which limited the land of the African population, (b) by the huge increases in the African population, an increase which would not have occurred had there been no European occupation, and (c) by the continuous cultivation policy which had been encouraged by the Native Agricultural Department and applied to soils which were quite incapable of sustaining it. It was feared that if Africans were given more land, they would ruin it as the colonial interpretation was that they had already ruined that which they already had (Yudelman, 1964). In passing the NLHA, the Government believed that the security of land tenure offered by the Act would encourage people to practise better methods but the fact that the majority of rural Africans were not yet expert agriculturalists increased the amount of damage done on such soils when land was restricted (Brown, 1959).

It can be argued that although the Government may have had good intentions in passing the NLHA its implementation was a tragedy of good intentions. According to Alexander (2006), the NLHA was unevenly implemented, and provoked a wide range of responses thus creating a diverse constituency for African nationalism. The implementation was pregnant with problems because the Government lacked adequate resources. Extension work which was to be embraced in the implementation of the NLHA was handicapped by a shortage of extension assistants (Yudelman, 1964). When the NLHA was passed in 1951 the Native Agricultural Department had a staff of 60 European Land Development Officers and 463 African instructors, supervisors and demonstrators (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). Each European Land Development Officer was responsible for about 450000 acres and each African demonstrator for about 60000 acres. Furthermore, the fertiliser scheme, which was a noble idea by the Government, required an annual expenditure of about £2000000 and the Government did not have the means to acquire this sum of money (Brown, 1959).

The legal sanctions meant to enforce the provisions of the NLHA took long to put into practice. According to Yudelman (1964), it required a period of three or more years, with regular warnings to dispossess native farmers of their farming rights for bad agricultural practices. Furthermore, the difficulties of inspecting and checking the majority of right-holders, with all the attendant work of issuing verbal and written warnings where necessary, presented a task that was likely to be impossible and which would leave less time available for extension work (Brown, 1959). In spite of these sanctions the Land Board found it quite impossible to penalise by dispossession or prosecution the great majority of bad farmers in the Native Purchase Areas (Brown, 1959). Needless to say the sanctions did not promote amicable relations between Government and people.

The NLHA was resented because it undermined traditional African society by moving from communal ownership to a limited individual ownership and unsettled traditional African concepts of land possession (Dumbutshena, 1975). Most Africans found themselves having one foot in the reserves and native areas and the other in the European area. Pendered *et al.* (1955) blame this part-time home for causing the physical deterioration of the reserves and native areas and the decline of agricultural productivity. Furthermore, the part-time farmer, because of his frequent and often prolonged absence, tended to lose the farming skills that he may have had. When he visited his home it was more to rest and relax than to work (Pendered *et al.*, 1955). Agricultural work was thus left to women and children, the old and the infirm.

Although few women could access agricultural training at the time the majority were being taught scientific farming by agricultural demonstrators who provided extension services in the rural areas.

Ranger (1960) blames the NLHA for depriving the Africans in the towns of the security represented by their past ability to return to the reserves when old or ill or out of work. Until the implementation of the NLHA it was the Government and the European community who insisted on the 'traditional' system whereby all Africans were to look on the reserves as their 'homes' (Ranger, 1960). Dumbutshena (1975) shares the same views with Ranger (1960) and Pendered *et al.* (1955) when he points out that, in the past an African could work in the cities while his wife farmed his lands in the reserves. Food from his lands and his meagre wages supplemented each other and the man was able to educate his children and clothe them. Now he either works in the cities or lives in the Reserves. Alexander (2006) observes that the NLHA divided communities and the broad threat it posed focused anger on the state. The land-hungry Africans resented seeing land going to waste in European areas. As reported by a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1957, out of thirty million acres in the European farming areas, only one million acres are under crops (Ranger, 1960 and Yudelman, 1964). In support of the Report by the Parliamentary Select Committee (1957), Brown (1959: 17) had this to say:

In most Reserves men with six or eight acres of sand soil can see with their own eyes across their own Reserve boundary-line thousands of acres of European farmland, mostly undeveloped and often virtually unused. The NLHA was 'a psychologically bad piece of legislation.'

Yudelman (1964) questions how individual tenure could have expanded productivity where individuals or group of individuals had no legal control over their land. While full individual tenure was essential it would only come to beneficial fruition if it was linked to adequate credit facilities and extension services. The prospect for acquiring credit was minimal for African land users; hence this was a source of discontent (Yudelman, 1964). Thus the operation of the Land Apportionment Act and its attendant legislation in urban areas was another factor that stimulated African resentment. Africans resented the continuance of the Land Apportionment Act amid the implementation of the NLHA. It is worth noting that the NLHA had far reaching effects some of which were unintended. These effects are analysed in the next section.

8.3.1 Implications of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA)

The Native Land Husbandry Act interfered with and denied the African population certain basic human rights (Brown, 1959). No wonder African leaders in the country described it as ‘cruel’ and ‘vicious’ (Brown, 1959). Yudelman (1964) points out that the original purpose of the Reserves was to provide protected areas where Africans could live and farm in a tribal or semi-tribal manner, unmolested by Europeans. It was a recognised precept throughout the colony that every indigenous African had a right to reside in the Reserve and, with permission from the Chief, to cultivate lands there (cf. Brown, 1964). According to Thompson (2004), among both the Shona and Ndebele, community membership implied the right to a plot of land and access to the communal grazing. The NLHA destroyed this right because once the land had been allocated, no man without a farming right was allowed to have lands in the Reserve.

It can be argued that the weakness of the NLHA in creating a part-time farmer had ripple effects on the natives. Pendered *et al.* (1955) point out that the comings and goings of the part-time farmer prevented the growth of any stabilizing influences, sense of civic responsibility, pride or community spirit. It is worth noting that African community life was based upon a deep respect for tribal institutions and sanctions. The part-time farmer had new ideas and standards which replaced their old loyalties and respect (Yudelman, 1964). In addition, the part-time system affected family life and morals. According to Pendered *et al.* (1955), the frequent and long absences of large numbers of men from the Reserves led to a preponderance of the one sex over the other in both the European and African areas. In European areas men turned to illicit and often impermanent unions and their offspring tended to grow up in unsatisfactory surroundings and without discipline.

In the Reserves the absence of fathers resulted in marital instability and deprived the children of that necessary paternal discipline. It deprived the wives of that help and support necessary in maintaining the family satisfactorily (Pendered *et al.*, 1955 and Yudelman, 1964). Thompson (2004) points out that the spatial arrangements brought about by the NLHA generated a wide range of concerns. Thompson (2004: 20) has this to say:

Conflicts over field boundaries surfaced, and people found adjusting to living in nucleated settlements difficult. Minor tensions flared over personalities, children, dogs, and particularly because of closer observation of habits and consumption.

Thompson (2004) adds that, the restrictions and demands of the NLHA disrupted relationships and social bonds. Land restrictions in particular compounded gender conflicts

within the family as women and men argued over who could use which area and what should be grown thereby eroding the basis of women's independence (Thompson, 2004). Arguments also occurred over farming techniques. While men wanted to fully embrace improved methods women wanted to assert their rights to plant pumpkins and beans in with male crops such as maize and millet (Thompson, 2004).

Tshuma (1998) and Thompson (2004) agree that the NLHA met with little opposition in the early years of implementation because the people had developed evasive strategies (weapons of the weak). In Chinamhora Reserve, for example, people began illegal cultivation in 1953, the year following individual land allocation. In Manyene and Sabi North Reserves people drove some of their cattle onto the underutilised Wiltshire Estate whenever officials came to conduct stock counts (Thompson, 2004). It should be noted that these patterns of grudging acceptance and evasion remained the most common responses as implementation spread into new areas and intensified after 1955 (Thompson, 2004). Thompson (2004) noted that the move from evasion to defiance grew as the state's determination to enforce the Act became clear through coercive enforcement mechanisms. According to Thompson (2004), cattle were seized and sold and people prosecuted for NHLA violations. Indigenous people responded by disrupting meetings and gatherings with the officials. Public grumbling initiated by enraged women, violence and sabotage directed against white and black NAD employees, chiefs and village headmen occurred (Thompson, 2004).

Thompson (2004) highlights that leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) played a key role in moving protests from expressions of anger and rejection to more political attacks on colonial structures and authorities and directing their anger to the NLHA, saying settlers had stolen people's land and cattle, arguing that the goal of the Act was to provide cheap labour for Europeans. It should be noted that nationalist activities led to arrests. Thompson (2004: 23) noted that some people expressed their grievances during interrogation by police. Gibson Nyandoro from Mhondoro district for example, had this to say:

The complaints I want to put to the Government are that I have 8 cattle of which 6 are to be 'destocked', that I have 6 acres of land and have been told that I am to get 8 acres, which is not enough for my needs, that I am not allowed to plant rice in the vlei (*dambo*), and I am not allowed to have a garden .

Another man from Umtali was questioned in March 1959 by police why he had joined the ANC and he answered:

Because I was not allowed to have enough cattle nor land enough to plough. Because my cattle were not allowed to walk on the contour ridges...Also my sons who work in towns,

if they wish to come back to the reserve are not allowed to have cattle or any land. I expect congress to give more cattle and more land .

Despite complaints from the natives the colonial state remained confident that those who would be left out when the final allocation of land was made would be absorbed as semi-skilled workers by industry (Tshuma, 1998). The colonial state had overlooked the militancy of African opposition which translated into nationalist politics of the 1950s and early 1960s. Eventually the implementation of the NLHA was suspended in 1961 when it had only been effected in forty-two percent of the reserves (Phimister, 1993). After being forced to abandon the implementation of the NLHA, the colonial state enacted the Tribal Trust Land (TTL) Act in 1967 which finally granted chiefs formal authority to allocate land (Tshuma, 1998).

8.4 The Tribal Trust Land Act, 1967

In terms of the Tribal Trust Land Act (1967), the occupation and use of land in the tribal areas vested in tribal land authorities comprising the chief of the area and other tribesmen nominated by him in accordance with 'tribal custom' (Tshuma, 1998: 83). According to Alexander (2006), amendments to the African Affairs Act (1966), the TTL Act (1967), the African Law and Tribal Courts Act (1969), and the inclusion of chiefs in the house and senate under the 1969 constitution, all vastly increased the powers and duties of the chiefs. The Tribal Courts Act (1969), for example, gave chiefs and headmen limited criminal jurisdiction, while the African Affairs Act (1966) gave chiefs new punitive powers and assigned them government-paid 'messengers' with powers of arrest (Holleman, 1969 cited in Alexander, 2006). The chiefs were also given the powers to banish from their communities those regarded as undesirable elements (Loney, 1975). The authority of chiefs over land was institutionalised in the TTL Bill of 1965 which became law in 1967 (Loney, 1975). The TTLA established tribal authorities as Tribal Land Authorities to control the use and occupation of land in the African areas under 'customary' law (Nyambara, 2001). The TTLA safeguarded existing NLHA arable land and grazing rights (Potts, 2000). The customary role of chiefs was meant to bolster the powers of the chiefs as part of a system of indirect rule.

According to Nyambara (2001), the colonial state began to stress the power of 'communal' land tenure in order to shift the responsibility for land shortages in the rural areas from state to traditional leaders, and ward off the rising tide of African nationalism. It is important to note that land tenure rules have remained ambiguous and rights in land are subject to interpretation. Nyambara (2001) argues that between the legal paradigms and 'customary' practice there existed many conceptual gaps. While legal codes were evenly enforced,

'customary' paradigms were ambiguous (Nyambara, 2001). During the period between the abandonment of the NLHA in 1962 and the enactment of the TTLA in 1967, people took advantage of the absence of formal law to expand their allocations in various ways. Both legal and customary paradigms were manipulated by various groups of people who manoeuvred them to acquire land through various channels (Nyambara, 2001).

From 1963 to 1969 there was uncontrolled land grabbing. A significant factor that led to increased land grabbing and land purchase after the suspension of the NLHA was the delayed passage of the TTLA. Nyambara (2001) points out that nine draft bills were produced from 1962 until the final Act was passed in 1967. The Land Tenure Act (1969), which repealed and incorporated most of the provisions of TTLA, gave Tribal Land Authorities (TLAs) the right to pass by-laws in respect of any of its function. According to Rukuni and Eicher (1994), the Land Tenure Act (1969) re-defined the land categories into the European Area and African Area. According to Zvobgo (2005), European interests were paramount in the European Area, and an African was not permitted to own, lease or occupy land there. Zvobgo (2005: 387) quotes sections of the Land Tenure Act (1969) which added to African discontent:

Section 11 for example stated that if an African was occupying land in the European Area, the owner or person occupying or in control of such land or his agent was deemed to have permitted it unless the contrary was proved. Section 16 of the Act permitted an African to occupy urban land or residential accommodation in the European Area only for employment purposes. Under Section 17 the owner or controller of urban land in the European Area who wished to permit an African to occupy it, was required to apply in writing for an authorisation permit. Under Section 24, the African Area was defined as an area in which the interests of the Africans were paramount, and the restrictions on Europeans owning, leasing or occupying land mirrored those applicable to Africans in the European Area.

The Land Tenure Act subsequently reinforced land segregation and according to Prime Minister Ian Smith, the Land Tenure Act (1969) placed responsibility for the TTLs 'squarely where it belonged, on the people represented by the tribal land authorities' (Alexander, 2006: 77). It is important to note that various church leaders were outraged by the Provisions of the Land Tenure Act (1969). The Rhodesian Herald (7 November, 1969) quoted the Secretary to the Catholic Bishops Conference, Father Richard Randolph saying:

We totally disagree with the continuance of the underlying principle of dividing Rhodesia into two distinct racial areas, neither of which can be occupied by members of the other race, except by specific permission of a Minister of Government... Government proposals to entrench separation and discrimination are in direct contradiction of New Testament teaching. Christian responsibility to love one's neighbour can accept no barrier of race and should not be restricted by legislation.

Zvobgo (2005) states that the Act restricted the work of the church in many ways as manifested by an extract from the Land Tenure Act (1969):

The Church is no longer at liberty to move freely among the people of all races to carry out her mission. People of different races may no longer freely associate for the worship of God in churches outside their own prescribed racial areas. The Church no longer has the right to admit her schools whomsoever she wills. The Church is forbidden to admit to her own hospitals people of a race different from that of the prescribed area. The Church can no longer, without a permit from a Minister of State, admit priest and Religions of different races to live in the same communities. The Church can no longer use freely its own land or property.

In spite of all the pressure exerted by the churches Prime Minister Ian Smith insisted that different racial groups should be kept separate in the interest of peace and harmony. The land issue thus remained a thorn in the flesh for the indigenous inhabitants of Rhodesia. It is worth noting that at the time of the Land Tenure Act (1969) the nationalists who were frustrated by the futility of negotiations with the Colonial Government were already fighting a war against the white Government. This war was driven by land shortage and injustices in the colonial system of government. From this analysis it is possible to reach several conclusions.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of land and cattle to indigenous people in the area between the Zambezi and Limpopo. The Shona ethnic group in particular had a strong attachment to land for cattle because of the cultural significance of cattle. This chapter has traced colonial land policy in Rhodesia and noted that the land question has been a complex issue as well as a focal point around which many of the conflicts of the country's society are based. It is the land structure that played a major role in the supply of labour and the wage structure of colonial society. Using land segregationist policies the colonial government perpetuated problems of poverty, inequality and increased marginalisation of the majority. Stock and land restrictions threatened broader social networks. Shona marriages, generally secured by the payment of eight to ten herds of cattle to the woman's family, were complicated by restrictions on individual holdings. Hence land became the major source of grievances among all ethnic groups in Rhodesia.

Although colonial land policy caused much discontent among the natives, the benefits brought by colonial agricultural policy cannot be overlooked. The introduction of the plough, modern methods of farming including the use of fertilisers and hybrid seeds enhanced agricultural output. Agriculture colleges built equipped demonstrators with the knowledge and skills necessary for sound agriculture. These skills and knowledge were disseminated to the peasantry. Human and livestock population increased as a result of colonial medical

innovation. This increase put strain on the land resources and consequently Native Reserves were severely degraded. The Land Apportionment Act (1930), amended several times remained the corner stone of colonial land policy and paved the way for the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the Land Tenure Act (1969) which came into being due to pressure from the various groups. Land legislation remained segregative.

The chapter explored the beginnings of a debate in international circles about Rhodesia's situation. There were mixed feelings in Britain regarding Rhodesia's land question. Although the views of the different groups were at variance, the groups were unanimous on one thing, the prevention of communism. This chapter exposed the frustration felt by the natives in their attempts to solve the land question amicably and which drove them to wage the armed struggle. Nationalist like Joshua Nkomo were the first to realise the futility of negotiations. Hence they mobilised both the peasantry and proletariat to unite in war against the colonial government as shown in Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER NINE

RESPONSES TO LAND ACQUISITION LEGISLATION AND THE RISE OF BLACK NATIONALISM, PEASANT SENTIMENTS AND LIBERATION STRUGGLES

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the development of black nationalism in Zimbabwe during the colonial period (1890-1979). Further, as a chapter that carries the conclusion it seeks to present peasant sentiments leading to the liberation struggles. However, not everything about peasant struggles among the Shona can be analysed in this chapter given the enormity of such a challenge. As a result some of the issues are better left for other researchers. As it will be remembered, that the object of this thesis has been peasant issues and nationalism from pre-colonial period to the UDI, this chapter, as a concluding chapter attempts to wrap this analysis by peeping into the rise of black liberation struggles, in particular, the nationalist sentiment as a rallying ideology. This period is very important because it marks the rise of the competition for land as a resource, space and territory between the white colonial settlers and indigenous people. This chapter examines the role played by peasants and the urban proletariat in an attempt to have their grievances addressed, the reason being that the urban proletarians considered themselves peasants as they felt their roots were in the rural areas and particularly on land (Nyangoni, 1977). According to Arrighi (1983), the emergence of this class did not mean that the solidarity between wage workers and peasants was diminishing. Rather, the interests of the two classes largely overlapped, for the decreasing productivity of the peasantry was at the root of the impoverishment of both classes (Arrighi, 1983). Loney (1975) and Alexander (2006) agree that the wage labourers were not willing to work for the colonial administrators and they still hoped to go back to their lands. This whole process of turning farmers into wage workers was aptly described by Mphemba, an African trade unionist in 1929 as follows;

First the white man brought the Bible, then he brought guns, then chains, then he built a jail, then he made the native pay tax (Davidson, 1994: 17).

The colonial government in Zimbabwe removed great numbers of peasants from rural life thereby ruining rural stability and peace.

Arrighi (1983) described the black peasantry in Zimbabwe as a class of self-employed rural cultivators; the black wage workers, middle-class and petty bourgeoisie as merely appendages of the peasantry rather than independent classes. In the Report of Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry (1961: 18-37), it was noted that:

Within the peasantry communal ties were very strong and when the peasant left to seek wage employment he left his family behind and kept close links with the peasantry to which he belonged and meant to return, even after several years of absence. At the same time the size and number of holdings under cultivation within the rural areas contracted and expanded as the wage labourers left or returned to their wards. Thus, given this security in land tenure, we cannot, strictly speaking, refer to the African wage-workers of the 1930s as a proletariat.

Thus this chapter builds on the existing information on land distribution and usage between the British settlers and the black indigenous among the Shona and the relationship of land as presented in chapters, two, six and seven. Further we realise the complicated relationship between the peasants and nationalists, which was compounded by the ethnic divisions which emerged in rural communities as a result of popular mobilisation. The bulk of this chapter relies on a close scrutiny of a variety of primary sources that highlight the colonial political economy and the dynamics of the government and settler community. These primary sources include letters from the governor's office in Salisbury to the dominions office in Downing Street, London, memos, reports, newspapers, minutes of parliamentary debates in the House of Commons in London and speeches, journals, biographies of politicians and text books. The chapter also provides insight into nationalist activity and, to a lesser extent, peasant protest using archival material as sources.

The significance of land to various ethnic groups in Rhodesia was viewed in terms of its ability to accommodate cattle and provide arable and residential areas. The colonial government on the other hand, identified two other valuable assets at their disposal. These were land and the people, hence the nationalist mantra, 'land to the people'. The colonial administrators' exploitation of these two resources resulted in conflict with the African population. (Loney, 1975: 51) states:

The seizure of the best agricultural land by the colonists deprived the African population of much of its traditional farming land. The subsequent development of white agriculture brought the white farmers into conflict with African producers.

Various ethnic groups resented what they regarded as the white colonial intrusion and the creation and imposition of a labour market (Loney, 1975). They portrayed their resentment through 'weapons of the weak.' Chidzero (1960) highlights grievances that gave rise to African nationalism in Zimbabwe as; exploitation of African cheap labour, the institution of taxation without representation, the alienation of land for European use under a political system controlled by the colonial power or the local Europeans, and, generally, the social and industrial colour bar. Loney (1975) adds that the African population was not willing to work for the colonial settlers and this reluctance was interpreted as laziness, an issue that points to

the victor's history. Since the African could not understand orders in English, he was considered either insolent or stupid; since he was only employed in menial tasks, he was considered only capable of these, again, a victor's interpretation (Loney, 1975). Such perception of natives as lazy people is reflected in Mr. Munro⁹'s correspondence with the Dominions Office. Communicating with Lord Addison¹⁰ on 22 August 1945, Mr. Munro wrote in a letter that exemplifies the general opinions of the colonialists at Westminster to the African:

The male native in the reserves appears to suffer from an extraordinary form of lethargy. There are three possible reasons for this; ill health, little ambition and satisfaction with a low standard of living and, bone laziness. Education is the only solution to the natives' lack of ambition. As for laziness, there is something to be said for doing nothing in a good climate, where housing, clothing and firing are not problems, and where wives produce food necessary to keep the body and soul together. Eighty percent of agricultural work is done by women. The male native is unbelievable and suspicious of reforms.

This kind of interpretation of African culture and responses gave rise to more vicious brands of colonial supremacy which gave rise to paternalism. One of the most popular of settler sayings was, 'Natives are children. They are always laughing and happy' (Gann, 1960: 291). This is echoed by Desmond Lardner-Burke (1966: 81) in his book, *RHODESIA: The Story of the Crisis* when he writes, 'The average employed African is a happy man; a law-abiding individual unconcerned with politics of the type that the Nationalists indulge in.' The colonial missionaries pronounced natives to be among the 'children of God' and emphasized their 'simplicity.' According to Gann (1960), by describing natives as children, the colonial settlers and missionaries implied that they themselves were adults with the right to act as mentors and inflict corrective punishment. The colonial attitude of regarding blacks as children illustrates that the administration of Rhodesia can be considered as a social experiment based on a European model of paternalism.

Paternalism was practised in Europe as early as the Victorian era. As already explained in Chapter Five pages 93-96, paternalism viewed indigenous people as 'children' but failed to realise that children grow up to be adults who can question the authority of their parents. The African population resented the economic tyranny of paternalism, working for the colonial administrations such as; paying taxes and losing their land and cattle. As already noted in Chapter Six, cattle played a very important social, political and economic role in the Zimbabwean society. The failure of the colonial government to understand the

⁹ Not much information about Mr. Munro could be found as the Dictionary of national Biographies did not have information about him. However primary sources from the National Archives at Kew indicated that Mr. Munro was a Commission Member and member of the Legislative Assembly who worked in the Governor's Office in Salisbury, Rhodesia, in the 1940s.

¹⁰ Lord Addison (1869-1951) was Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs from 1945 to 1947 in Clement Attlee (1883-1967)'s first cabinet, Downing Street.

cultural importance of land to indigenous people did not help to alleviate their grievances. The loss of land, in particular, had ripple effects in that it determined the number of cattle to be kept in order to maintain a balance in the carrying capacity of land. Cattle were important in linking communities and families together through trade, funeral practice, restorative justice and *lobola* or bride wealth. Loss of land resulted in destocking. These injustices made the African population desirous of ruling themselves. By the 1920s they devised nationalist activities aimed at persuading the government to address African grievances.

9.2 Nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe

During the height of nationalist campaign Ndabaningi Sithole (1920-2000), a black Zimbabwean explained African nationalism in 1963 as ‘the desire of the African people to rule themselves, and to terminate all foreign rule.’ African nationalism in Zimbabwe was similar to all African nationalism in that it represented the African’s struggle against western colonialism and imperialism so that the African could regain his ancestral land but differentiated by the open need to rebuild his cattle herd. Giddens (1994) highlights the importance of nationalism in providing a sense of common identity and history which helps mobilise political activism. He noted that nationalist sentiments, on the one hand, are often associated with democracy, and on the other, nationalist feelings often inspire antagonism, and have inspired some of the most destructive conflicts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Giddens, 1994).

According to Chidzero (1960), the European advent created the territorial boundaries which have constituted the geographical or physical basis of nationalism and this was non-existent before. Although African nationalism in Zimbabwe was the rejection of foreign or European control it embraced the acceptance of the European-created territorial boundaries as the physical basis for nationalism. These European-created territorial boundaries divided people according to ethnicities as the British policy of ‘divide and rule’ dictated policy. Chidzero (1960) noted that the presence of European domination had, to some extent, removed the possibility of nationalism developing on strictly ethnic lines. African nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe, for example, brought together different ethnicities, which, many years ago were not close. Necessity drove this unity, but even so they could not always agree. Ethnic differences re-emerged and caused tension although they all resented the erosion of their values and loss of their land and cattle.

In the context of Shona religion, the land which the Shona occupied, being the land of their ancestors had a sacred quality. Thus the invading Europeans were not only robbing the living but were also offending the dead (Loney, 1975). The Shona respected ancestral spirits and spirit mediums who acted as a link between the living, the dead and the Supreme Being (God). The link between the living and the dead was the use of cattle in propitiating the ancestral spirits, at funerals, in appeasing the avenging spirits and in the traditional justice system. Avenging spirits create the social space where the past can be worked through. Loney (1975) highlights the role played by the dead in watching over and rewarding or punishing the living. Thus the spirit mediums who were precursors of nationalist agitators influenced the Shona to believe that the white men had offended the ancestral spirits. Ranger (1960)'s account of Ndebele-Shona grievances clearly demonstrates resentment of white rule building among the Ndebele and Shona in the period 1893 to the 1960s culminating the 1893 *Umvukela* War in Matebeleland and the First *Chimurenga* (1896-7). The First *Chimurenga* (1896-7) can be seen as actually a nationalist conflict interpreted by victors as insurrection.

The defeat of the Ndebele and Shona in 1896 and 1897 respectively did not mean the final pacification of the African population in Zimbabwe. Local opposition manifested itself in other forms of resistance namely 'weapons of the weak' which included the evasion of government regulations, refusal to pay taxes and meet requests for labour (Loney, 1975). Loney (1975) identifies four forms of African protest movements in Zimbabwe namely:

- The elite African associations, concerned with improvements in the position of the emerging urbanised African intellectuals.
- The Ndebele organisations, created to work for the restoration of the Ndebele nation by seeking permission to restore the kingship and secure land for an Ndebele home.
- The emergent working class, providing a base for more modern kinds of organising through the Rhodesian Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.
- The independent African Churches such as the Watch Tower, Zionists and the *Vapostori*, who were the most significant in terms of mass support.

The movements stated above were influenced by a number of factors which are examined hereunder.

9.2.1 Factors that influenced the rise of black nationalism and peasant sentiments among the Shona

Many factors, most of which can be found in Rhodesian legislation, influenced the rise of black nationalism and anti-colonial peasant sentiments among the Shona. The implementation of most of Rhodesian law created hardships and bitterness among black Zimbabweans and

further encouraged the spirit of nationalism. As early as 1898 the colonial government adopted a form of legislation, the Order-in-Council, renewed from time to time established the legislative council to govern the colony and created Native Reserves for blacks only in low potential areas in the face of a systematic mass land expropriation by white settlers (Loney, 1975). This gave way to the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) in 1930.

The LAA (1930) acted as a starter to various segregation policies that were to follow (see chapter eight). The Maize Control Act (1931) and Cattle Levy Act (1934) for example, were among an array of discriminatory legislation designed to undercut African competition and subsidize white production. According to Birmingham and Martin (1986), the Maize Control Acts of 1931 and 1934 depressed the prices of African maize in order to subsidize the return received by white farmers and to eliminate competition between blacks and whites. Between 1934 and 1939 the average price for one bag of African maize fluctuated between 1^{1/2} shillings to 6^{1/2} shillings while white farmers got over 8 shillings per bag for the same grade of maize (Birmingham and Martin, 1986), see data on peasant production in Chapter eight.

Alexander (2006) posits that the Maize Control Acts effectively ended the sale of maize by Africans and the same was true for cattle. This affected the African's ability to meet rent, tax, dipping fees and other monetary obligations and charges (Birmingham and Martin, 1986). The state asserted legal control of the production of marketed crops (cotton, tobacco, maize) and cattle through activating sections of the Natural Resources Act (1941) which empowered Native Commissioners to depasture stock, give orders on methods of cultivation, prohibit the cultivation of land and control of water (Phimister, 1986). Money to pay for all this was raised by the Native Production and Marketing Development Act of 1948 which imposed a 10% levy on African- marketed crops and cattle (Phimister, 1986). Alexander (2006: 29) had this to say about cattle, 'Far from constituting a crucial means of self-peasantisation, a source of patronage, and the basis of bride wealth, cattle came to play a less and less significant role.' The unfairness of prices between blacks and white produce in Zimbabwe made blacks realise the need to liberate themselves from foreign rule.

For the black population in general and labour in particular the situation was exacerbated by the Sedition Act (1936). In the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Debate on 23 April 1936, it was stated that the Sedition Act (1936) had been passed to try and halt the spread of subversive and seditious propaganda and literature in the colony. In the same year, the

Industrial Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), concerned with the welfare of African workers, collapsed. Birmingham and Martin (1986) attribute the collapse of the ICU to; infiltration by spies, harassment of its organisers and close monitoring of its meetings by the state. The collapse of the ICU was followed by the Native registration Act (1936) which, according to Gray (1960: 154), compelled every male African in towns to have the following:

registration certificate (*situpa*); a pass to seek work in the town; a certificate to show that he was employed within the town; a certificate signed by the Native Commissioner to the effect that he was earning a living in the town by lawful means; if employed outside the town, a written permit from his employer; a visiting pass.

Against this background the natives in Southern Rhodesia felt suffocated by Rhodesian legislation hence they aspired to rule themselves. In the late 1950s the Rhodesian government declared a State of Emergency and passed the Unlawful Organisations and Preventive Detention Acts in 1959 in an attempt to check the rise of black nationalism. The same year the Native Affairs Amendment Act made it a crime for an African to say or do anything 'likely to undermine the authority' of officials, chiefs or headmen, and prohibited meetings of 12 or more people in the reserves without the Native Commissioner's approval (Alexander 2006).

The Native Affairs Amendment Act (1959) was followed by the Law and Order (Maintenance) in 1960 Act which allowed for the banning of publications and meetings, arrest without a warrant, restriction without trial, and created new crimes, ranging from causing 'disaffection' in the police and publishing 'false news,' to intimidation, sabotage and terrorism (Alexander, 2006: 64). Under these Acts, the African national Congress (ANC) was banned and nationalist leaders detained. It is important to note that most of Rhodesia's laws were more of imitations of South Africa's and British Law as portrayed by Desmond Lardner-Burke (1909-1984). Lardner-Burke (1966: 57), in his book, *RHODESIA: the Story of the Crisis*, complains:

We have been accused of being a Police State and not applying the rule of law. If the allegation was not so serious it would be laughable. For Britain to shout about the rule of law is hypocritical when one knows the action that was taken in Kenya, what is happening in Aden today, and what happened during the Irish rebellion. It would be interesting to know how many people the British Government have directly restricted or detained without any pretence of trial. The cry for the rule of law is echoed in the world today, and I can only say that in Rhodesia we respect the rule of law to a far greater extent than many other countries in Africa and elsewhere. A fundamental truth is that the rule of law only operates when there is tranquillity. When there is any chaos it is impossible to apply the rule of law.

A close scrutiny of Lardner-Burke's statements reveals the shortcomings of a government that failed to empathise with the majority of its people. The fact that what was happening in

Rhodesia had happened in Britain and elsewhere does not necessarily make it right. This absence of the rule of law in Rhodesia increased bitterness among blacks and persuaded them to fight for freedom. Lardner-Burke accused Britain's Prime Minister and British media of twisting news out of all recognition.

The Times (2004) has described Lardner-Burke¹¹ as '...responsible for the harassment, arrest and detention without trial of tens of thousands of black nationalists, including President Mugabe, fighting against white rule in the 1960s and 1970s.' According to Norman (2004), Lardner-Burke first ordered Mugabe to be detained in December 1963, writing:

'...whereas certain information has been placed before me and whereas due to confidential information which I cannot reveal, I am satisfied that you are likely to commit acts of violence throughout Rhodesia...'

Mugabe spent the next eleven years in various prisons.

While Rhodesian legislation was causing concern among the blacks it also worried some British politicians such as Mr Denis Healey, Labour MP, Mr Joe Grimond (1913-1993), a liberal democrat, and Sir Humphrey Berkeley (1926-1994), a conservative, who wanted to see, or feared democracy in Southern Rhodesia. The debates in the House Commons in 1962 exposed the differences among British politicians regarding the Rhodesian colony. It appears some MPs viewed the administration of Rhodesia as a social experiment based on a European model because the legislation that was applied in Rhodesia had been tried in Ireland and Cyprus. This was disclosed in a parliamentary debate by Grimond, MP for Orkney and Shetland commenting on the repressive climate in Rhodesia. Grimond argued:

We have had this story before in Ireland and in Cyprus. The one way to get an extreme government is to deny the moderate elements in the country what they consider to be their legitimate rights. I can understand denying them the rights if we do not think them right, but everybody in this House believes in some form of democracy, genuine democracy based on universal suffrage. History has shown that delaying handing over power for too long gives the Africans no alternative other than the use of force and we are going to get force (Hansard, 30 July 1962).

Grimond's argument was a response to some MPs who felt people in Southern Rhodesia were not fit for democracy but should have a form of paternal government which had been tried

¹¹According to Mungazi (2004), Lardner-Burke who was born in Kimberly, South Africa, in 1909 became a lawyer and a leading member of the Dominion Party. Bull (1967) noted that in 1957 Lardner-Burke became leader of the Southern Rhodesian Association and in 1962 he became a prominent member of the Rhodesia Front. Todd (1972) describes Lardner-Burke as a supporter of white supremacy who claimed to support the views of Cecil Rhodes. After a period as a backbencher, Lardner-Burke was appointed Minister of Law and Order and Justice. In this role, he gave advice on which political detainees were suitable for release (Todd, 1972).

elsewhere with varying degrees of success. Other MPs had proposed a racial state in Southern Rhodesia on the grounds that the whites were superior, better educated, and had a right to rule the country. In their view, a racial government would be logical and reasonable. Kovel (1970), in his book, *White Racism: A Psychohistory*, advanced several reasons that account for racist views that were central to colonists' attitudes. One was that opposition between white and black as cultural symbols was deeply rooted in European culture. Kovel (1970: 62) elaborates:

White had long been associated with purity, black with evil. The symbol 'blackness' held the following meanings before the West came into extensive contact with black peoples: 'Deeply stained with dirt; soiled, foul...Having dark or deadly purposes, malignant; pertaining to or involving death, deadly; baneful; disastrous, sinister... indicating disgrace, censure, liability to punishment.

According to Giddens (1994: 263), such symbolic meanings tended to influence reactions to blacks when they were first encountered and, led Europeans to regard blacks with a mixture of disdain and fear. The coinage and diffusion of the concept 'race' itself was another factor influencing racism. It was Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) who said, 'The white race possesses intelligence, morality and willpower superior to those of other races while blacks are marked by an animal nature, a lack of morality and emotional instability.' In light of this development, Frantz Fanon (2004: 150), in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* observed that:

For colonialism, the vast continent of Africa was a den of savages, infested with superstitions and fanaticisms, destined to be despised, cursed by God, a land of cannibals, a land of 'niggers.'...The pre-colonial period was akin to a darkness of the human soul in the entire African continent.

Giddens (1994) explained the rise of racism in terms of the exploitative relations which the Europeans established with non-white peoples. He further argued that racism helped justify colonial rule over non-white peoples, and the denial to them of the rights of political participation which were being won by whites in their European homelands. It can be argued that the symbolic connotations attached to 'black' partly explain the settler government's attitude towards the indigenous people in Southern Rhodesia which had provoked debates in the House of Commons in England.

For the above reasons, Sir Humphrey Berkeley (1926-1994), who became Conservative MP for Lancaster in 1959, argued that there was a difficulty in giving Africans in Southern Rhodesia one vote per head because of the presence of a white minority (Hansard, 24 November 1965). Joseph Grimond (1913-1993), who became Liberal MP in 1950, questioned

Berkeley's reasoning on the grounds that such a difficulty had not arisen in Tanganyika, Ghana or Nigeria which also had a white minority (Hansard, 24 November 1965). If the 'one man one vote' had been allowed in other African countries, he argued, why could it not be allowed in Southern Rhodesia? That question helped to promote nationalist campaigns. It follows therefore that the independence of other African nations such as Ghana (1957), Tanzania (1961), Kenya (1963), Uganda (1962), Zambia (1964), and Malawi (1964), to mention a few, as well as the influence of the First (1914-1918) and Second (1939-1945) World Wars were an inspiration to black nationalism in Zimbabwe.

Davidson (1994) highlights the influence of the First and Second World Wars on the rise of African nationalism in Zimbabwe. The long and forced 'war effort' was severe in its effects on rural peoples as many rural people went into forced or migrant labour. Davidson (1994) points out that the strain of these war years deepened rural poverty, further interfered with farming and family life, and drove bigger numbers of rural people to seek relief in towns. According to Nyambara (2001: 776), one Police Commissioner in Midlands, one of the provinces of Zimbabwe noted:

A significant factor in this situation is the high proportion of 'abandoned wives' left in the new areas of Gokwe by husbands in employment in the major centres. The husbands take leave to effect the move, construct the huts and obtain their Gokwe registration certificates. Thereafter they depart leaving their wives (and) children to deal with their conservation problems and responsibilities.

It should be noted that the African experience in these wars helped to develop a better political understanding of the colonial systems. It raised political consciousness on the African proletariat (Arrighi, 1983). There was pressure for higher wages, better working conditions and greater investment in industrial training and African education. The opposition to an institutional framework which meant a decreasing productivity of the peasantry grew stronger while the loss of security of land tenure was resisted (Arrighi, 1983). As noted by Davidson (1994: 64):

Having joined the war to end Nazi domination, many African servicemen began to see that the war should make an end to colonial domination as well. Having fought as equals alongside white soldiers and winning battles in distant lands made them question the colonial-white claim to superiority. The war reinforced ideas about colonial injustice and equality.

The black Zimbabweans clamoured for equality in legislation. Two pieces of legislation namely; the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) caused concern among the blacks. Birmingham and Martin (1983) noted that the Land Apportionment Act (1930) discriminated against Africans in rural areas and increased

pressure on African land. It made social contact between the whites and blacks rare thereby making the two rival groups manufacture myths about each other. The injustices, seen through the effects of the Land Apportionment Act (1930) propelled a large number of African males into the labour market to provide cheap labour for European employers (Loney, 1975: 56).

The migration of large numbers of black people into urban areas strained urban facilities. Black workers found themselves suffering exploitation in terms of low wages and poor accommodation. It can be argued that Rhodesia's situation best describes the Marxist-based social conflict theory which posits that individuals and groups within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources and that the more powerful groups use their power in order to exploit groups with less power. This social conflict paradigm, a theory based on society being a complex system characterised by inequality and conflict that can generate change fits the Rhodesian context very well. Inequality between blacks and whites pointed to the need for change.

In a letter to Sir Eric Machtig (1889-1973), Secretary of State for the Dominions Office, on 7 February 1946, Sir William Eric Campbell (1886-1946), Governor of Southern Rhodesia, acknowledged African grievances. In his concluding paragraph, Sir Campbell said:

Except for the farmers, the majority of the white population is of the artisan class either actual or a generation removed. This class lives extraordinarily well and does not realise it only does so because of the relative abundant and startlingly cheap labour of the Africans. It reminds me of a people used to travel third class now finding itself travelling first class, and not knowing quite how to behave towards porters.

Sir Campbell attached in his letter leading articles from the press which exposed the dire African housing situation in Salisbury. One article stated that one room housed 6 males, 3 females and 4 children and that this treatment of Africans was by no means exceptional. The reason behind this overcrowding was that Africans did not and could not own land in urban areas as made clear by the Land Apportionment Act (LAA), 1930.

The effects of the Land Apportionment Act (1930) in African areas resulted in the Native Land Husbandry Act in 1951 which was aimed at addressing problems resulting from the LAA. According to Ranger (1960), the government had seen the grave deterioration of land in reserves; the overstocking; the excessive fragmentation; and the overspill from the reserves into the Native Purchase Areas. While the NLHA had noble aims, the Act was a tragedy of good intentions because it added more misery to indigenous people as this Act interfered with

African wealth (cattle) and African cultural practice. In order to alleviate the effects of overgrazing the NLHA recommended the reduction of the number of African cattle. Phimister (1993) argued that the NLHA failed because it did not take into consideration the ecological diversity of the land it reallocated. Hence the Act was heavily opposed by both rural farmers and urban workers.

Destocking in reserves was resented by the blacks on the grounds that it had stopped the traditional system of land tenure and unsettled the traditional African concepts of land possession. Within the British colonial land policy framework, much of African land was governed by customary systems of tenure and traditional rights, while European land was based on property rights similar to those to be found in Europe (Zachrisson, 1978). This suggests that colonial land policy in Zimbabwe was a social experiment based on a European model. The black people resisted it through 'weapons of the weak' or covert resistance (see chapter 7. The Minister of Native Affairs in Zimbabwe in 1955 mentioned that land problems were the root of the greatest failures and miseries on the African Continent. It is interesting to note that the British colonial land policy designed to create full-time farmers and full-time workers was again a tragedy of good intentions because the British settlers failed to achieve their objectives. Both the black rural farmer and black urban worker preferred to be oscillating peasants who had one foot in the urban area and another in the rural area.

Alexander (2006: 58) observed:

The effort to create full-time farmers and workers failed and provided a tremendous boost to nationalism. The attacks on officials and the spread of nationalist parties into rural areas constituted the most pressing force behind the NLHA's suspension.

According to Alexander (2006), the British settler government was scared by the expansion of African nationalism in the 1950s and, in 1959 it declared a State of Emergency followed by the Unlawful Organisations Act (1959) and the Preventive Detention Act (1959). As already alluded to earlier, under these Acts the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) was banned and 300 nationalist leaders detained. While these Acts were meant to scare Africans away from nationalism, the Acts actually made them more determined as will be noted later. These discriminatory Acts provoked debates in the House of Commons in Britain. Denis Healey, Labour Member of Parliament (MP) for Leeds East, in his speech, expressed deep concern over African leaders such as George Nyandoro (1926-1994),

Ndabaningi Sithole (1920-2000), James Chikerema (1925-2006) and others, who were arrested and imprisoned for three years without trial.¹²

The white liberals participated in the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) then the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC). Guy Clutton-Brock in particular was responsible for the non-racial and black/white partnership policies of SRANC. The arrest of nationalist leaders as well as Guy Clutton-Brock made Healey compare Southern Rhodesia to a police state. He therefore appealed to the Majesty's government to influence events in Southern Rhodesia. Healey added:

Europeans in Southern Rhodesia have slowly come to realize the direction of the wind of change, and that much as they regret or resent it, cannot avoid recognising its existence and in the end, will bow to its force (Hansard, 30 July 1962).

Berkeley, (MP) for Lancaster, shared the same sentiments with Healey regarding the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Berkeley, who had visited the Central African Federation, got the

¹²George Nyandoro was born in 1926 in Chihota Reserve to one of the ruling Shona families. His grandfather fought against the BSAC with great tenacity and courage during the First *Chimurenga*, 1896-1897. His father was deposed from chiefship in 1946 after pointing out that 'African ex-servicemen were given bicycles whereas their European counterparts were given farms.' George followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather and demonstrated his interest in nationalist activities by joining political parties such as ANC and SRANC. His involvement in politics landed him in prison. His colleague, Ndabaningi Sithole was born in 1920 in Nyamandlovu, Matebeleland. Sithole was a teacher, clergyman and politician who played a critical role in early nationalist movements in Zimbabwe. He entered politics as a member of the National Democratic Party (NDP) which was later banned. Sithole continued politics as a member of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) then as a member of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Sithole was arrested when these parties were banned. James Chikerema was born at Kutama Mission, Zvimba in 1925. He became involved in nationalist activities in the late 1950s. Like other nationalists, Chikerema was arrested under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960 when political parties he had joined were banned. Chikerema went into exile in Zambia where he organised nationalist activities as acting president of ZAPU in place of Nkomo who was in detention. The arrest of faction leaders was meant to isolate them from their support and from each other in prison and in exile so that it would be most difficult to construct a stable structure for communication and control within and between parties. However the importance of these African leaders remained as active politicians who drove nationalist movements in Southern Rhodesia and moved the agenda of nationalism on to a new level. Chikerema, Nyandoro, Didymus Mutasa and white liberals, Guy Clutton-Brock (1906-1995), Michael and Eileen Haddon who donated their land, helped create Cold Comfort Farm to improve African farming methods. In an inspiring book of reminiscences put together by many of the Clutton-Brock's friends for Guy's eightieth birthday, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania wrote: 'They played a unique and invaluable part in the long struggle for world peace ... and influenced the minds and the work of many people now dispersed throughout Southern Africa' (Haddon, 1987).

impression that conditions in Southern Rhodesia were by far the most dangerous compared to the other two territories. He had this to say in the House of Commons in July 1962:

In the next few months there will be an outbreak of violence unless intervention takes place on the part of the Majesty's government. This is the fault of the British government of 1923 which created the most extraordinary anomaly of a self-governing country which was not independent and for whose internal affairs they were apparently in no way answerable (Hansard, 30 July 1962).

Healey drew attention of the House of Commons to the situation of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia, who could see far less advanced African peoples all over the continent completely independent. Healey's observation was at variance with the speech made by the First Secretary of State at Savoy Hotel boasting that African education in Southern Rhodesia was more advanced than anywhere else on the African continent. 'If this is the case, Healey argued, why is the African in Southern Rhodesia politically inferior to the African in every other State on the African continent?' The arguments above demonstrate the importance of history. Warren (1998: 160) posits, 'History shapes all types of political judgement. It offers lessons (be they true or false) to which leaders, nations and peoples respond. Some of these lessons may have moral implications,' and in the Zimbabwean context, as in the famous Santayana Quotes (1905: 284), in *Life of Reason, Reason in Common Sense*, 'Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.'

In Southern Rhodesia the atmosphere which prevailed was one not of co-operation but of suppression, of mutual suspicion and of mounting tension. The government of Edgar Whitehead (1958-1962) was using legislation to repress the black people. While pressure to repeal the Land Apportionment Act (1930) was mounting Sir Edgar Whitehead was proposing new amendments to toughen the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. Henriques (1977) points out that in 1964 there were 4 435 contraventions of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act alone, and between 1959 and 1965 the number of people in prison doubled from 5 000 to 10 000. In spite of such repression African nationalist movements continued. Blacks devised ways of voicing their grievances such as sending petitions and representations, forming political parties and finally waging an armed struggle against colonial rule as will be noted in subsequent sections. Two common issues that dominated the African movements were; the overwhelming issue of the question of land, and the contact of African population with the European labour market.

9.2.2 Nationalist Activities in Zimbabwe

The Ndebele became more active in nationalist activities earlier than the Shona because of their influence from South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) with which they had links through their shared tribal heritage. The Ndebele formed the Matabele Home Society which organised petitions and representations in Zimbabwe at the British High Commission in South Africa and even in London (Loney, 1975). The Ndebele were particularly unhappy because they were not allowed to choose a new king according to custom. The issue of kingship and land united the Ndebele urban workers, the emerging intellectuals, clans and the royal family. In spite of the unity and vigour with which the nationalist campaign was conducted, there were no concessions from the Company or British government (Loney, 1975). This paved the way for another protest movement, the Rhodesian Bantu Voters Association (RBVA) in 1923, which stood more for the problems of the emerging African elite than for the African masses (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). Consequently, the same problems which confronted both the Ndebele and Shona greatly helped in the development of nationalism in Zimbabwe.

Hooker (1966) highlights the aims of the RBVA as: to propagandize the African viewpoint; to uplift the masses and to safeguard African Constitutional rights. The RBVA resolved to press for a modification of pass laws, for some means of buying crown land, lower franchise qualifications, standardisation of schools, Government grants-in-aid and the grading of teachers (Hooker, 1966). The RBVA emulated the African National Congress (ANC) from the Cape by bargaining black votes for commitment to legislation favoured by the organisation (Loney, 1975). The disadvantage here was that African voting strength was insignificant and certainly not sufficient to force concessions from the settler government (Loney, 1975). The Chief Native Commissioner defended the high qualifications required for one to vote on the grounds that they were an incentive for Africans to attain European standards; to lower them would be to cheapen rewards of enterprise (Hooker, 1966).

Msindo (2007), writing for the *Journal of African History*, argues that although these political movements championed African causes, they were not well organised in their articulation of problems and had neither effective leadership nor a nationalist ideology that might have helped to overcome the forces that divided them. Msindo (2007) further comments that the founding fathers of nationalist parties used nationalism loosely without clearly defining the nation. Nonetheless, Msindo, (2007: 207) argues that these organisations prepared the groundwork for later territory-wide nationalist movements in that they inculcated a

widespread culture of activism in the African community. Loney (1975) noted that the weaknesses of African political movements were exposed in the result of the Morris Carter Land Commission and the adoption of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931, and the systematic rejection of African demands.

Loney (1975) further noted that the failure of the Matabele Home Society and the RBVA paved the way for the Rhodesian Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (RICU) in 1927 which brought to the African urban workers the first taste of class politics. By 1929, the RICU under Charles Mzingeli, Masotsha Ndlovu and Job Dumbutshena had popularised itself in both urban and rural Matabeleland, especially in the mining areas (Msindo, 2007). Van Onselen (1976) viewed the RICU as not exclusively an urban labour movement speaking against exploitation of workers as it also looked into non-labour-related and rural matters such as land shortage, racial discrimination, the violence of native commissioners and other issues. Unlike the elite and Ndebele movements characterised by politeness, eagerness to affirm loyalty, anxious claims for respectability and the regular assertions of their Christian principles, the RICU appealed to black urban workers to set aside ethnic differences and unite to fight for better conditions (Vambe, 1976). Ndabaningi Sithole (1963: 38) noted:

The clash between African nationalism and Christianity comes in the area of methods used in the struggle for the liberation of the African people. Christianity has tended to advocate non-violence, whereas African nationalism has tended to espouse violence. Because African nationalism has upheld violence as a method of bringing about the new social order for which millions yearn, the supporters of Christianity have not hesitated to brand it as an evil force. Some have actually called it 'satanic manifestation.' In retaliation the supporters of African nationalism have described Christianity as the white man's religion which oppresses the African.

It is worth noting that the colonial government loved these differences between Christian supporters and nationalists because this was 'divide and rule' at work. Moreover these conflicts between groups of black Zimbabweans would have the effect of delaying the progress of nationalism. For example, Loney (1975) observed that RICU leaders occasionally talked in terms of Christian morality but were quick to blame missionaries and established churches for their cooperation with colonial rulers. To the advantage of the colonial government, indigenous groups wasted time fighting with each other instead of concentrating on the common enemy, the colonial government. This made Msindo (2007: 21) to make this observation about nationalist parties:

They were not clear who the future national citizens were to be, and to them, it does seem nationalism was a desire for freedom, justice and self-governance. The project required an imagined collective Zimbabwean community of *abantwana benhlabathi*: (children of the soil) transcending ethnicity. Interestingly this definition was flouted by the very people who coined

it, making it difficult to assert that there was any founded collective ideology of the 'nation' as we know it intellectually.

As noted by van Onselen (1976), the government was suspicious of the RICU activities and closely monitored it, intimidating its leaders and labelling them communists thereby contributing to its collapse in the mid-thirties because it lacked a financial base to help in the coordination of activities and because of the arrest and imprisonment of its members.

The RICU failed to resolve the problem of the relationship between the urban worker and the rural areas. For many urban workers, the issues of the rural areas and particularly the shortage of land were more important than their temporal condition as wage-earners (Sibanda, 2005). Any urban worker viewed his stay in town as transitory. Michael West summed up the difficulties of developing 'a nationalist consciousness' in Rhodesia by the 1930s:

The emergence of an African identity specific to Southern Rhodesia, which is to say a Zimbabwe African national consciousness, as evidenced by the rise of anti-colonial nationalism in the late 1950s, had been a long time in the making. The 'nationalising' of the African elite took an important turn in the mid-1930s, culminating in the establishment of the Bantu Congress, the first political formation that could claim to represent Africans throughout the colony, albeit largely in the urban centres. Even when they had the will, the quest for national representativity had eluded earlier protest groups, which essentially were organised on a regional ethnic basis (West, 2002: 33-34).

However, the importance of RICU still remained as it became a precursor to the later militant nationalist parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the (ZANU) Zimbabwe African National Union (Day, 1975). In cooperation with the militant nationalist parties, independent religious movements also expressed political opposition and acted as strong advocates of African rights and critics of Company and settler practices. Churches such as the Watch Tower, Vapostori and Zionists condemned the white seizure of land and the exploitation of African labour (Loney, 1975). It follows therefore that the unfairness of land discrimination policies and Rhodesian legislation stimulated black nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe. The more or less dormant Bulawayo based African National Congress under Joshua Nkomo in the 1930s to 1940s was followed by the Rhodesian Railways African Employees' Association in Bulawayo (Loney, 1975). In 1945 the railways workers in Bulawayo went on strike and this was followed by what has been called 'the first general strike' in 1948 (Shamuyarira, 1965). According to Loney (1975: 100), 'The militancy of the strike and the widespread support that it gained gave a considerable shock to the settlers.' Although many settlers responded by demanding repression the government more intelligently planned reforms. According to Gray (1960: 294), Godfrey Huggins told the

Legislative Assembly: ‘We are witnessing the emergence of a proletariat, and in this country it happens to be black.’

Although the ANC, had not been active in the 1948 strike, Loney (1975) highlights the supportive role it played participating in the negotiations with the government on African grievances. It should be noted that the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia in 1950s provided fertile ground for nationalist activities. General cost of living, race segregation in hospitals, hotels and schools, and many others made life difficult in urban areas. In 1955 James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Dudziye Chisiza and Edison Sithole founded the Harare based City Youth League (later African Youth League), made up of newly landless young Africans and directed against price hikes of transport fares. In 1956 the City Youth League organised a mass boycott that was successful in preventing price change (Phimister, 1993). The involvement of Dudziye Chisiza¹³ in Southern Rhodesia’s affairs illustrates the cross fertilisation in nationalist politics within the three territories of the Federation (Martin and Johnson, 1981).

Following the bus boycott in 1956 the largely dormant ANC and the City Youth League merged to found the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) with Joshua Nkomo¹⁴ as its president on 12 September 1957 (Martin and Johnson, 1981). Unlike other organisations SRANC was unique in that it extensively recruited the rural folk for its membership.

According to Day (1975: 14):

In the history of African political organisations in Southern Rhodesia the revitalised ANC was unique, for it succeeded, as no other had done, in creating by vigorous proselytizing a countrywide, mass movement with perpetual momentum. It united the new proletariat of African townships with the traditional peasantry of the African Reserves in radical protest at political, economic and social discrimination practised by the European minority against Africans.

Nathan Shamuyarira in Sibanda (2005: 47) speaking of SRANC seemed to share the same views with Day (1975) when he observed:

¹³Dudziye Chisiza was born in Nyasaland, went to Southern Rhodesia looking for work. He became a dedicated nationalist in Southern Rhodesia till his deportation to Nyasaland where he became prominent in politics and sadly died in a car crash in 1962.

¹⁴Joshua Nkomo was born in Bukalanga, Matebeleland South in 1917 in a family of eight. His father was a preacher for the London Missionary Society. Joshua Nkomo completed his primary education in Rhodesia and studied carpentry at Tsholotsho Government Industrial School before becoming a graduate of Adams College and Jan H. Hofmeyer School of Social work in South Africa. Nkomo’s stay in South Africa made him learn more about South Africa’s African National Congress (ANC). Nkomo’s influence from South Africa’s ANC was instrumental in SRANC activities.

The peasantry and workers overwhelmed the few intellectuals of the country. This was even reflected in the leadership. The SRANC was both urban and rural based. The masses shared in the leadership particularly in the rural branches.

The SRANC's commitment to non-violent promotion of Native African welfare marked the beginning of political action towards self-government by the native majority. By the 1950s the native people of Southern Rhodesia were increasingly discontented with their treatment by the white minority government and this provided fertile ground for the development of African nationalism. Sabelo Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2009), writing about the growing strength of nationalist movements in Zimbabwe said:

Nationalism was fuelled by complex local struggles, histories and sociologies within the colonial environment that had a basis in the fading pre-colonial past, myth and memories. When talking about nationalism being shaped from 'above,' we mean that the local formation and enunciations remained open to continental and global ideologies as they were seen as fitting and advancing the local agendas. It is within this context that nationalism incorporated such external ideologies as Garveyism, Negritude, Marxism, Ethiopianism, Christianity, Pan-Africanism, Leninism, Maoism and Liberalism, mixing these with indigenous resources entitlement to land for instance (2009: 109).

Against this background Moyo (1957) in Sibanda (2005: 47) proclaimed:

It was easy to recruit people for a party that championed their grievances because people were already angry with the government, the Izinduna (*chiefs*) and Uzulu (*general black population*). We visited people in their fields, villages and often took advantage of people's gatherings organised by chiefs who sympathised with our causes. We also spoke to people at dip tanks.

The Southern Rhodesia Africa National Congress established itself as a non-violent reform group, acting on platforms of universal suffrage anti-discrimination, increased standards of living for African peoples, the eradication of racism, expanding and de-racializing the education system, free travel for all Rhodesians within the country, the inauguration of democratic systems, and direct participation in the government (Gutterage and Spence, 1997). By adopting a constitution, SRANC established themselves as the first mass resistance movement in Southern Rhodesia (Sibanda, 2005). As noted by Phimister (1993), Nkomo successfully suspended the Native Land Husbandry Act and openly condemned the bill in a public statement saying:

Any act whose effects undermine the security of our small land rights, dispossess us of our little wealth in the form of cattle, disperse us from our ancestral homes in the reserves and reduce us to the status of vagabonds and as a source of cheap labour for the farmers, miners, and industrialists – such an Act will turn the African People against society to the detriment of the peace and progress of this country (Phimister, 1993: 227-228).

The Congress was accused of having made the implementation of the NLHA impossible. Godfrey Huggins, now Lord Malvern frankly admitted that 'the Southern Rhodesia African

National Congress must be put behind wire so that they cannot create a diversion and prevent the sending of necessary police to Nyasaland' (Mason, 1960: 216). According to Ranger (1963), in 1953 the Federal government believed opposition of the African majority in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia was irrational. The Federal government realised later that the Nyasalanders really meant it when they said 'they preferred freedom under a ragged blanket to prosperity under Federal rule' when they achieved their independence a year after the break-up of the Federation in 1963. Frantz Fanon (2004) in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* seems to agree with the Nyasalanders when he says, 'Better to go hungry with dignity than to eat one's fill in slavery' (2004: 47). Ranger (1963: 285) comments; African leaders were playing not the politics of prosperity but the politics of dignity, and as a result they were constantly misunderstood and under-estimated.

Disturbances in Nyasaland on 3 March, 1959 meant white Southern Rhodesian troops had to be flown to Nyasaland where a state of emergency had been declared and the Nyasaland Congress banned. According to Birmingham and Martin (1986), Hastings Banda and other Congress leaders were sent to prisons in Southern Rhodesia. The same fate awaited Zambia on 11 March 1959. Birmingham and Martin (1986) comment that the 1959 emergencies were a turning point for the Federation. As highlighted by Mason (1960: 217):

The effect on the people of Nyasaland can hardly be overestimated. What they feared most about Federation was that they would be ruled by Southern Rhodesia. They had been told that under Federation they would keep their own government.... Yet they had seen Southern Rhodesian white troops come into Nyasaland and search their villages; aircraft had been used, as if against an enemy, to frighten them.... From Southern Rhodesia many Nyasalanders who were not active politicians...had been suddenly arrested, detained for weeks without trial, and at last released and returned to Nyasaland without jobs.

Although SRANC flopped in the face of repressive laws it was successful in preventing government interference in traditional marriage customs. Commitment to nonviolence, utilization of [Civil Disobedience](#), and [Pan-Africanism](#) created a resemblance between SRANC and the [Civil Rights Movement](#) happening at the same time in the United States. It was [Dr. Martin Luther Jr.](#) (1929-1968) who proclaimed of the Congress in 1963:

Although we are separated by miles, we are closer together in mutual struggle for freedom and human brotherhood... there is no basic difference between colonialism and segregation... our struggles are not only similar; they are in a real sense one (Sibanda, 2005: 41).

Day (1975) described the SRANC as a multiracial political party in Southern Rhodesia which included white members such as Guy Clutton-Brock¹⁵, an anti-apartheid agriculturalist who was finally deported to the United Kingdom for supporting nationalists. The then Prime Minister Garfield Todd¹⁶ had seen this coming during the period 1953-1958 when he said, 'The Unlawful Organisations Bill which is being rushed through to detain Mr. Clutton-Brock and others offends against the basic principles of British justice.' Martin and Johnson (1981) commend Todd¹⁷ for having introduced modest reforms aimed at improving the education of the black majority. Noteworthy was his introduction of the appellation 'Mr' for the Africans instead of 'AM' (African Male) and permission of blacks to drink European beer and wine, but not spirits (Martin and Johnson, 1981).

It was Todd's government that passed a bill that allowed for multiracial trade unions and tried to increase the number of Africans eligible to vote from 2% to 16%. In an address made to Parliament by one of his ministers, Sir Patrick Fletcher on 11 January 1958, Todd was accused of driving a wedge between the black man and the white man by making it appear that he (Todd) was the 'champion of the black man against the white and that Todd was speaking a travesty of the truth.' Todd's sympathy and support of nationalists led to his being voted out of power. In his farewell statement Todd said, 'We must make it possible for every individual to lead the good life, to win a place in the sun. We are in danger of becoming a race of fear-ridden neurotics- we who live in the finest country on earth.' In spite of Todd's downfall SRANC remained a movement which had the black people's faith and trust.

There was widespread agitation in Southern Rhodesia. Edgar Whitehead attributed the unrest to the handiwork of a few individuals (African nationalist leaders) whom he characterised as a tiny minority of irresponsible, selfish and guileful agitators, whose removal from society would lead to a rapid restoration of order among Africans (Day, 1975). In the southern

¹⁵Guy Clutton-Brock was a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies and also of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland who was well known for his good work in Christianity and his heroism in the World War Two (Day, 1975). The arrest and detention of Mr. Clutton-Brock and others without charge had caused an outcry in the House of Commons in March 1959. Most MPs were not pleased with the arrest of Mr. Clutton-Brock whose good works they all appreciated. Ever since Mr Clutton-Brock joined St Faith Mission Farm in Southern Rhodesia as an Agricultural Officer, European and African co-operation resulted in the stopping of soil erosion.

¹⁶Garfield Todd, born in New Zealand in 1908 had a Christian background similar to Guy Clutton-Brock's. Missionary work and opportunity drew Todd to the African continent in 1934. Todd was a teacher at Dadaya Mission in Southern Rhodesia and some of his early sympathies with blacks were developed at Dadaya. In 1958 the Prime Minister Garfield Todd, supported SRANC and met with its members regularly. According to Williams and Hackland (1988), Todd was a well-known critic of the rebel Rhodesian regime and its leader Ian Smith. When he was in prison, Todd acted as Nkomo's consultant during the Geneva Conference in 1976.

Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debate in March 1959, Edgar Whitehead, in his Preamble to the Unlawful Organisations Act passed in 1959, said:

... certain persons have contrived to upset the peace, order and tranquillity of the Federation and of the Colony in particular...[they] have wickedly and maliciously embarked upon a campaign for usurping the functions of government and in furtherance thereof have resorted to various dishonest and seditious practices and have assembled meetings or gatherings of ignorant and unwary persons (Hansard, 18 March 1959).

Whitehead declared in March 1959 that the detention of 250 Congress officials should prevent the revival of Congress (Day, 1975). It is interesting to note that the colonial administrators assumed that African nationalist leaders were maliciously destructive, intent on gaining power and glory for themselves, and, in general, persons of low character (Day, 1975: 55) and they suspected nationalist parties were tools of international communism, a fact that was disputed by many people. Guy Clutton-Brock, who was arrested with the African Congress leaders in 1959, denied that they were communists (Leys and Pratt, 1960: 167), while *the Central African Intelligence Report* for March 1963 said the Southern Rhodesian Africans did not understand or care for communism, no matter how well informed they were. Further, *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 September 1967, quoted an African MP, M'kudu saying, 'Communism was meaningless to all Rhodesian Africans.' It can be argued that the colonial leaders in Southern Rhodesia used repressive laws and arrested nationalists in order to eradicate communist influence.

The arrest of Clutton-Brock and overthrow of Todd among other factors was a blow to the SRANC. These arrests helped to cripple the SRANC movement. Before the revolution in Zimbabwe nationalists demanded change only within the limitations of the imperial constitution, calling for equal access to land, jobs and the right to participate in government (Gann, 1981). Beginning in the 1960s the nationalists' vision of freedom became more radical; they now demanded an overthrow of minority rule if their rights were to be fully recognized (Gann, 1981). On 1 January 1960 the National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed with the aim of achieving majority rule by gradual means and Michael Mawema was its President and Joshua Nkomo its Secretary for External Affairs (Martin and Johnson, 1981). Its members demonstrated, rioted and committed acts of arson in the hope of attracting the attention of England and compelling the British to intervene and force a colonial hand-over of power in Rhodesia (Gann, 1981). According to Loney (1975), in July 1960 there were demonstrations in Salisbury and Bulawayo which resulted in eleven people being killed and widespread damage to property.

As the NDP gathered momentum its leaders made promises to supporters. Enos Nkala, for example, proclaimed in August 1960 that ‘we must get freedom by June 1961 or never,’ (the Daily News, 29 August 1960) while the following September Leopold Takawira was content to predict that NDP would be either the Government or Opposition by 1961. As these forecasts became more frequent their constant repetition made them, to objective listeners, increasingly less convincing (Day, 1975). For instance, Peter Mtandwa, a once detained Congress leader predicted that Southern Rhodesian Africans would crush imperialism in their country and be in power by 1962. Robert Mugabe, another NDP leader stated in November 1961 that NDP would be the government in a year while Joshua Nkomo, president of NDP pledged himself on his birthday in July 1962 that he would not celebrate another birthday as a slave (*Daily News*, March 1961). As a response to nationalist pressure the British Foreign Office under Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth secretary, organised a constitutional conference which began end of January 1961 attended by both nationalists and government representatives.

9.3 The 1961 Constitutional Conference

While the agenda of the conference included the review of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the parties present had their own pressing issues to include in the agenda. As noted by Day (1969), the nationalists wanted radical changes in the franchise and equal representation in parliament while Edgar Whitehead’s government wanted the removal of the British government’s reserved powers. Under these powers, certain classes of legislation, including laws which subjected Africans to conditions or restrictions not applying to Europeans, were subject to veto by the British government (Day, 1969). The British government had made it clear to Southern Rhodesian government that it would demand an extension of the franchise in return for removing its reserved powers (Chikuhwa, 2004 and Day, 1969). Although Whitehead’s government welcomed the British government’s demand it did with certain modifications. Consequently the outcome of the conference was disappointing to the nationalists, the reason being, the nationalists were assured of only 15 seats in a legislature of 65 which they rejected on the grounds that it fell far too short of their target of one man one vote (Day, 1969).

Lardner-Burke (1966) attributed the nationalists’ rejection of the 15 seats to greediness arguing that nationalists wanted 12 extra seats. Lardner-Burke (1966: 56) elaborated:

Anyone who knows the mind of the African will realise that had we given these 12 seats they would have claimed a victory and would never have been satisfied, but merely persisted in their attitude of demanding more and more. The African is not prepared to

work for anything, it must be given to him— and this is what the British Government wished to do.

While Lardner-Burke's observation would seem unfair to the Africans Lardner-Burke is not totally to blame, for he might have been informed by the past which he remembered too quickly and too soon. As in Santayana's quotes 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.' Lardner-Burke might have remembered the British policy of appeasement after the First World War (1914-1918) and how this policy was manipulated by Hitler in order to get more and more. Lardner-Burke might have been trying to prevent history repeating itself. Day (1969) and Chikuhwa (2004) concur that Nkomo had accepted the constitution but it was denounced by the hard-core leadership of the NDP such as Robert Mugabe.¹⁸ Robert Mugabe, Leopold Takawira, Jason Moyo and Ndabaningi Sithole criticised Joshua Nkomo for having accepted the 1961 constitutional conference's 15 out of 65 seats. Nkomo came out with the theory of 'two burning fires' in order to persuade his colleagues (Chikuhwa, 2004). In his view it was essential to 'plant' some African representatives in Parliament so that they would raise African concerns and represent their interests, that is, burn from within, while intensifying mass protests against repressive legislation from outside parliament (Chikuhwa, 2004). Although this left nationalists with no influence in the new political system the 1961 constitutional conference can be seen as milestone in both nationalist politics and Whitehead's government in Southern Rhodesia in that it provided the nationalists an opportunity to help modify the Southern Rhodesian political system in existence since 1923 which had excluded Africans while it made sure that Britain retained ultimate sovereignty while relinquishing her reserved powers over local legislation (Day, 1969). Since 1958 Edgar Whitehead had been trying to persuade the British government to remove the reserved powers which he considered irksome (Day, 1969) Settler representatives sought to safeguard their control of government, while African nationalists fought unsuccessfully for majority rule (Chikuhwa, 2004).

¹⁸Robert Mugabe was born in 1924 at Kutama in Zvimba. He became a leading political figure and rose to prominence in the 1960s when he joined the National Democratic Party (NDP), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Mugabe was jailed and detained at Gonakudzingwa Restriction Camp by Ian Smith's government in 1964 with fellow revolutionaries, Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole, Edgar Tekere and Maurice Nyagumbo for the conflict against the white minority rule of Ian Smith. They were released in 1974 due to pressure from South African president John B. Vorster. When Mugabe was released together with Edgar Tekere in 1974 he left Rhodesia in 1975 to rejoin the liberation struggle from bases in Mozambique (Sibanda, 2005).

There was discontent among the nationalists regarding the 1961 constitutional conference resulting in Nkomo and his sympathisers repudiating the agreement resulting in another conference being held in May 1961 and attended by the NDP delegation which now was emphasising that the land problem was not satisfactorily settled at the first conference (Chikuhwa, 2004). As a result, the NDP delegation wanted the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act written into the constitution. They continued to oppose the constitution vigorously and in October 1961 the party decided to boycott elections and to discourage eligible voters from registering (Day, 1969). According to Loney (1975), the election boycott reflected the NDP's success in incorporating the African middle class, who were the potential voters, into the nationalist movement. This success may have misled the NDP leaders into assuming that the government would give way under the pressure of popular opinion. On 9 December 1961 the Rhodesian government under Edgar Whitehead banned the NDP the same day Tanganyika became independent (Gann, 1981). The collapse of NDP had unintended consequences. The masses began to question the utterances by nationalist leaders regarding imminent majority rule as their patience was wearing thin. The hopelessness of their situation was made bitterer by contrast with the relatively easy victories of Africans in nearby territories (Day, 1975).

While Day (1975) saw hopelessness in Southern Rhodesian blacks Martin and Johnson (1981) viewed the 1960s as a period of high hopes as shown by events on the African continent. Twenty-six countries in Africa had gained their independence by the end of 1961. It was during this era that the President of the United States of America, John Kennedy, spoke of 'new frontiers' emerging while Sir Harold Macmillan of Britain spoke in Cape Town of the 'wind of change' gusting across the continent (Martin and Johnson, 1981: 66-67). Although the colonial government in Southern Rhodesia continued to use repressive measures to deal with African concerns mounting pressure from nationalists led to the abandonment in 1962 of the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 leaving it only partially completed in many reserves (Thompson, 2004). This decision was never publicly announced to avoid any appearance of weakness on the state's part (Nyambara, 2001).

The Tribal Trust Land Act (TTLA) of 1967 replaced the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) Nyambara (2001) and transferred authority over land allocation from District Commissioners (DCs) to traditional leaders while stressing the power of 'communal' land tenure. While this was seen as a positive response by the Rhodesian government it can be argued that it did not

do this out of generosity as they had their own hidden agenda. Nyambara (2001) argues that the colonial state stressed communal land tenure because they wanted to shift the responsibility for land shortages in the rural areas from state to traditional leaders, and to ward off the rising tide of African nationalism.

The TTLA (1967) did not solve the land grievance among black Zimbabweans. As observed by Riddel (1971: 9), the massive over-population in the TTLs was bringing ecological disaster to the land as evidenced by overgrazing in TTLs in 1965. In an attempt to accommodate population, land designated as suitable only for grazing purposes had been gradually turned over to arable cultivation. The scarcity of land in TTLs forced men out to look for work. Riddel (1971: 14) gave a touching description of the situation prevailing in the TTLs:

People looking for work leave the TTLs because they are not able to make a living from farming. But even when they find employment they are forced to continue to rely on the TTLs for two interrelated reasons. The wages paid to workers are so low that they do not enable a man to support his family and the majority of workers are not allowed to bring their families with them to town. And of those who are permitted to bring their families to town with them, most are forced to return to their rural 'homes' when they retire, so rural links have to be maintained as an insurance policy both against unemployment and against their retirement. Thus the TTLs act as a wage supplement for employers: workers are forced to maintain their rural links during time of employment to make up the shortfall in wages. At the same time the TTLs act as a continual source of labour supply because the low level of production in the TTLs acts as a guarantee that workers will continue to seek work outside the TTLs to supplement their desperately low subsistence agricultural income.

Alongside land segregation policies land tenure systems in Southern Rhodesia remained prone to manipulation by various groups of people who wanted to acquire land through various channels. As noted by the Council Report (1964), even where there is no material discrimination there can be 'intangible discrimination' as a result of Africans being treated differently from Europeans. Discrimination was further exacerbated by the coming to power of the Rhodesia Front party which shattered any hope Zimbabweans may have had. The Rhodesia Front declared its objective of preventing black rule (Martin and Johnson, 1981). This made many nationalists realise that the only way to liberate their country was to use the same means the colonisers had employed to take it; force of arms, and that violence and bloodshed were inevitable. However some nationalists still hoped that Britain or the United Nations (UN) or both would force the settlers to give way. Such hopes undermined commitment to armed struggle (Loney, 1975).

In 1961 Nkomo put their case to the United Nations Committee of Twenty Four on Decolonisation which rejected Britain's argument that Rhodesia had been a self-governing

colony since 1923 and that the internal affairs were not a matter for discussion by the world body. It took long for all black nationalists to choose the armed struggle as a quicker way of achieving independence. The downfall of Todd had led to a marked shift towards greater settler repression of the African majority and tightening of repressive laws. In 1962 the NDP was reconstituted under the name of ZAPU with Nkomo as leader. Gann (1981) states the aims of ZAPU as:

- The establishment of one-man-one-vote as the basis of government in Zimbabwe.
- Unification of the African people so as to allow them to liberate themselves from imperialism and colonialism.
- The elimination of oppression in all forms and the development of the best values in the African tradition to facilitate the establishment of a desirable order.

Immediately the white government recognized the revolutionary nature of ZAPU's goals and banned the group in 1963 thereby forcing it underground (Gann, 1981 and Loney, 1975). In the same year 1963, internal conflict within ZAPU led to a split and formation of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under the leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole (Gann, 1981). Several reasons have been advanced for the split by Masipula Sithole (1999), Nathan Shamuyarira (1965), Brian Raftopoulos and Mlambo Alois (2009). According to Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2009), the split occurred because some nationalists felt Nkomo had sold out by accepting 15 seats at the 1961 Constitution. The resulting violence between the movements gave the new Rhodesia Front government a ready excuse to ban them in 1964 (Loney, 1975). The violence among the black nationalist groups made Msindo (2007: 21) to pose the following pertinent questions about the mission of nationalism in Zimbabwe before independence:

Was nationalism just about anti-colonialism or simply the desire for independence? In which case did it become a struggle for power? Was it mere xenophobia, justifying an anti-white stance...? Alternatively, was it about defining a nation in which questions such as 'Who are we?' and 'Who should be part of the nation?' became issues in those years?

Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2011) and Davidson (1994) seem to share the same views about black nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. Hence they comment respectively:

The 1963 split in Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) that gave birth to a Shona-dominated Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) remains one important event that indicated how tribalism and ethnicity were deeply embedded within nationalism. (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2011: 35-37). Colonial tribalism had its dividing influence, making it difficult to build a firm unity between the Shona majority and Ndebele minority. Some nationalists continued to think that peaceful protest was still the only way although it offered little promise (Davidson, 1994: 153).

Although nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe was not clearly defined Birmingham and Martin (1986) observe that this period of open mass nationalism in Southern Rhodesia produced a single sequence of parties which shared the same social order. They go on to say:

All were led by the same sort of people in class terms; all enjoyed a following among urban workers and rural cultivators. The leadership was stigmatised as 'petty bourgeois reformist.' Congress and ZAPU, for example, were labelled 'petty bourgeois populist' while NDP and ZANU were labelled "petty bourgeois elitist" (Birmingham and Martin, 1986: 369).

Although the two parties shared the same basic goals they differed in the methods of implementation. ZANU favoured immediate armed confrontation of the enemy and self-reliance while ZAPU preferred intervention from the international arena (Day, 1975). The split occurred loosely along ethnic lines with ZANU being more strongly aligned with the Shona and ZAPU with the Ndebele. These differences were further exacerbated by the subjection of party leaders and activists to harassment and the possibility of arrest (Loney, 1975). Although urban workers and rural cultivators sometimes felt frustrated by some nationalist predictions of majority rule they supported the nationalists because of their strong attachment to land (Birmingham and Martin, 1986). However, frustration and popular disillusion led to faction fighting between the nationalists.

According to Fry (1976: 120), "Africans began a hunt for 'sell-outs.' The confrontation between white and black had been diverted into a search for the enemy within." A number of theories that have been put forward seek to explain clashes between nationalists in terms of differences such as personality, ideology, or tribe, by which the groups may be distinguished (Henriques, 1977). What is remarkable is that similar explanations and accounts of faction fighting are produced by members of both the victors and the subordinate group, and by commentators of both allegiances. As noted by Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2011), the immediate post-split ZAPU-ZANU faction fights in Harare, Gweru, Bulawayo and other sites took clear tribal and ethnic dimensions. Amidst these problems Nkomo decided to set up a government-in-exile in Tanzania but the idea was not supported by Tanzania or Zambia or the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) because of their previous unfortunate experience with Holden Roberto's Angolan Revolutionary Government-in-exile. Even some nationalists such as Maurice Nyagumbo, disagreed with Nkomo's idea of government-in-exile. On 14 May 1963, Nyagumbo wrote from Tanzania to Shelagh Ranger:

I don't know what's going on. I am being pushed from one place to another. That's why I feel I must say No to staying here in Tanganyika even if it means expulsion from the party.... Some of us must remain at home to be with people, even if it means to be in gaol with them.

At this point ZANU's patience was waning. So it declared a policy of confrontation with the Smith regime but the policy was delayed by confrontation with Nkomo's ZAPU. Conflicts between nationalist parties provided fertile ground for Smith's repressive measures. Day (1975: 80) argues that in the face of repression in Southern Rhodesia, 'the web of foreign offices at least gave the nationalists the feeling that all their organisation effort had not been paralysed by the government.' With pressure from the OAU members, ZANU and ZAPU reluctantly embraced the idea of unity. The OAU which coincided with the coming to power of the Rhodesia Front Government of Ian Smith recognized both parties in 1963 thereby giving them the impetus to prepare for guerrilla warfare. According to Davidson (1994), the Rhodesia Front was an extreme racist party influenced by the successful whites-only power in South Africa.

Davidson (1994) points out that the Rhodesia Front government was not pleased with the 1961 Constitutional Conference which gave Africans a small share in parliament. Hence they demanded again full independence and their demands were turned down by Britain. On 24 October 1964, just after his election, the British prime Minister, Harold Wilson issued a statement to Ian Smith saying:

A Declaration of Independence would be an open act of defiance and rebellion and it would be treasonable to take steps to give effect to it...The economic effects would be disastrous to the prosperity and prospects of the people of Southern Rhodesia...in short, an illegal Declaration of Independence in Southern Rhodesia would bring to an end relationships between her and Britain, would cut her off from the rest of the Commonwealth, from most foreign governments and international organisations; would inflict disastrous economic damage on her; would leave her isolated and virtually friendless in a largely hostile continent (The Telegraph, October 1968).

Faced with the refusal, the most extreme settlers under Ian Smith took the lead and rebelled against Britain in November 1965 (Davidson, 1994). They declared independence unilaterally under their minority rule on 11 November 1965. This was called the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) that followed the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in December 1963 which had led to the achievement of black majority rule in Malawi and Zambia the following year (Zvobgo, 2005). So Ian Smith wanted to prevent the African majority from ever taking power in Rhodesia.

9.4 The Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia (UDI), 1965

Although the white minority in Rhodesia declared UDI they still maintained allegiance to British Queen Elizabeth the second. In his address to the nation announcing the UDI, Ian Smith stated, 'In the lives of most nations, there comes a time when a stand has to be taken for principle, whatever the consequences,' and ended by saying, 'We have struck a blow for

the preservation of justice, civilisation and Christianity, and in the spirit of this belief, we have this day assumed our independence' (*The Rhodesia Herald*, 12 November, 1965). The British Government, the Commonwealth, and the United Nations condemned the move as illegal. The Anglican Bishop of the diocese of Mashonaland, Cecil Alderson and the Christian Council of Rhodesia also denounced the UDI as illegal (Zvobgo, 2005). Harold Wilson, the British Prime Minister warned Smith that independence taken by unilateral action 'would be acting illegally in a state of rebellion' and advised Smith to 'think again.'

Wilson further advised Smith to take steps to end racial discrimination and speed up progress to majority rule. Smith rejected the deal and announced that Rhodesia was being denied the right to be 'master in our own house' (BBC News, 11 November 1965). Sir Roy Welensky once remarked that 'dealing with Smith is like trying to nail jelly to a wall. Make no mistake: Smith is a ruddy ruthless man' (The Telegraph, October 1968). After his meeting with Wilson aboard the ship *Fearless* in October 1968 Smith told his people, 'There will be no majority rule in my lifetime- or in my children's' (The Telegraph, October 1968). As if to prove his determination, Smith later said he did not 'believe in black majority rule ever in Rhodesia, not in a thousand years.' In his address to the people of Rhodesia, Smith said he had taken the action 'so that dignity and freedom of all may be assured.' After proclaiming the UDI, Smith went on to say:

There can be no happiness in a country while the absurd situation continues to exist where people, such as ourselves, who have ruled themselves with an impeccable record for over 40 years, are denied what is freely granted to other countries (BBC News, 11 November 1965).

A few hours after the Smith regime had declared its renunciation of the law, Harold Wilson, speaking in the House of Commons, said:

We did not seek this challenge... We did everything in our power to avoid it, but now it has been made, then with whatever sadness, we shall face this challenge with resolution and determination. Whatever measures the Government, with the support of this House, judge are needed to restore Rhodesia to the rule of law, to allegiance to the Crown, these measures will be taken. And I am confident that we shall have not only the support of this House, not only the support of nations of the world, but we shall have the clear and decisive verdict of history (Hansard, 11 November 1965).

It should be noted that the UDI was a painful blow to British prestige. Davidson (1994: 153) states that the UDI was met with little more than verbal protest from London, and then, hesitatingly, by partial sanctions against the Smith government. Davidson (1994) elaborates that these British sanctions were adopted by the United Nations (UN), but the 'bite' in their blockade had many missing teeth. Had these sanctions been applied in earnest they could have

crippled Smith's government economically. Gann (1971) argues that sanctions were a serious matter for a country that was badly in need of funds to finance agricultural improvements in European and African areas alike, to equip new industries, or even to maintain existing facilities in working order. *The New York Times* (12 November, 1965: 46) and *The Economist* (8 January, 1966: 83) voiced the same views of some people when they stated that Britain and the Commonwealth co-operation could strangle Rhodesia's economy over a period of months. Although according to Gann (1971), the sanctions gravely injured the tobacco farmers, the very men who had most fervently supported UDI and who were strongly represented in the UDI cabinet, they were ineffective.

This ineffectiveness could be attributed to lack of support from Portugal, South Africa and from big-business interests in Britain and elsewhere (Davidson, 1994). Portugal was too weak to help and South Africa too frightened of its own internal problems (Gann, 1971). According to *The Telegraph* (October 1968), international companies keen to maintain trade links undermined the sanctions from the beginning. It can be argued that the piecemeal and counterproductive sanctions enabled the Rhodesians to solve their difficulties at an easier pace and also served to unite white Rhodesians round Smith. Amidst lack of funds the Smith government devised ways of coping rather than yielding to nationalist demands. The government urged all Rhodesians to become more careful in the use of capital, to improve farming methods and diversify their products wherever possible (Gann, 1971).

The Rhodesians responded by expanding their production of maize, wheat, sugar, groundnuts, soya beans and other crops. Figures from the Economic Survey of Rhodesia (1971) show that from 1965 to 1970 Rhodesia's economy grew despite the sanctions imposed. This is shown by the rise of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from Rhodesian 703.6 million dollars in 1965 to Rhodesian 970.7 million dollars in 1970. With this economic growth Ian Smith's government was able to carry on. According to Davidson (1994), Smith's government multiplied laws to safeguard and enlarge settler power and privilege while hitting still harder at all African protest of any kind. ZANU and ZAPU both called upon the British government to use force to suspend the Smith government but this fell on deaf ears. Wilson told the House of Commons he would not be sending troops to deal with the crisis (*BBC News*, 1965). At this point, Jason Moyo who was in exile in London decided to leave London but before leaving he told the *BBC news* (November, 1965), 'Treason and rebellion have been committed. The lives particularly of 4 million unarmed Africans are in jeopardy.'

Under Smith's rule about 220 000 white Rhodesians enjoyed privileges over nearly 4 million black Rhodesians. Against this background it can safely be said that the UDI galvanised black nationalist feelings. Although some nationalists continued to think that peaceful protest was the only way they abandoned the idea in 1964 when Smith's government arrested as many of the ZANU and ZAPU leaders as it could find while others escaped into exile. Davidson (1994) observed that there was no way left for the nationalists except armed resistance. All the same it took long for nationalists to wage an armed struggle against the Rhodesia Front government.

9.5 Reasons for the delay in starting the armed struggle

Birmingham and Martin (1986) outline several reasons for the delay in armed struggle in Southern Rhodesia. They blame the inadequacies of the African Political movements in Southern Rhodesia for having delayed the armed struggle. They argue that leaders of the successive parties made an erroneous analysis of the situation in Southern Rhodesia because they had been misled by the successes of nationalism in Zambia and Malawi, and they thought they could win independence by appealing to Britain or the UN. By demonstrating the mass support they enjoyed by means of large public rallies, they never realised that force might be necessary to overthrow the settler regime.

Birmingham and Martin (1986) identify further loopholes in the strategy of nationalists in Southern Rhodesia. They point out that the nationalists launched no effective training programme for guerrilla struggle and failed to prepare a network of underground cells which might have perpetuated political organisation in the countryside. Nationalists believed political parties, through strikes, demonstrations and negotiation, would bring about independence. Loney (1975) mentions three major obstacles that prevented the above from bringing independence. These were; widespread urban unemployment which made strike action difficult. There were few Africans with jobs which would not be jeopardized by an active involvement in nationalist politics. Secondly, the poverty of African masses made fund-raising difficult and last, it was difficult to forge effective links between the different reserves.

Disunity among nationalist parties diverted attention from the armed struggle. As stated by Shamuyarira (1965: 191), 'The present tendency ... is to hate each other more than we hate the real enemy of the cause we are fighting.' Birmingham and Martin (1986) point out that confrontation between black nationalists and white settlers was delayed by confrontation

between Nkomo's ZAPU and the new ZANU. This is echoed by Martin and Johnson (1981: 70) who highlight some of the ugliest incidents in nationalist politics in Rhodesia:

Rival supporters attacked each other with any weapons they could lay their hands on and many people were killed as former colleagues turned against each other. Homes and stores were burned and looted.

According to Birmingham and Martin (1986), the Smith government was able to sit back for several months while the rivals assailed each other. In his account of nationalist politics in the early 1960s, Shamuyarira (1965: 189) highlights the Rhodesian government's exploitation of the differences between the nationalist factions by writing:

The government and its police played their cards cleverly... the government refrained from commenting in any way which might have unified the parties, and enjoyed watching the rivals fight the issue out. The police patrols in the townships were for months cut to a minimum, to allow this party warfare to gain hold. I remember one occasion when some People's Caretaker Council, PCC (i.e. ZAPU) youths stoned the house of a ZANU official; when the police finally arrived, they said: 'Well, this is Joshua's (i.e. Nkomo's) government. This is what you must expect when he comes to power.'

It can be argued that instead of ordering immediate police action to put down the conflicts the Rhodesia front government bided its time before banning the parties in 1964 and putting the leaders in detention for ten years.

While some nationalist supporters looked on in dismay, independent African states, perceiving the increasing threat of a unilateral declaration of independence by the Rhodesia Front, demanded unity among the feuding nationalists (Martin and Johnson, 1981: 71). The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 found the nationalist movement divided, its formal organizations banned, and its leaders jailed or restricted. It is common sense that a new leadership was required. For a while, without leaders, it looked as if nationalist activities had gone into extinction but this was not the case. The nationalists were busy searching for Plan B. Birmingham and Martin (1986) state that a new leadership emerged in exile. They highlight problems faced by these new leaders in planning guerrilla war. Most of these leaders were immigrants from Southern Rhodesia living in Zambia. None of the new men in charge of ZANU or ZAPU had any experience of warfare, and supplies of arms and money were slow to arrive. It was difficult for the new leaders to recruit men for military training from inside the country since the well-policed Zambezi border prevented travel from Southern Rhodesia. Despite these problems both ZANU and ZAPU were able to train small groups of fighters to begin the armed struggle that will be explored in the next section.

9.6 The Armed Struggle in Southern Rhodesia (1966-79)

The failure to successfully end UDI left nationalists with no choice but to wage an armed struggle. According to Loney (1975), the first major response to UDI came from ZANU in 1966 when the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), a military wing of ZANU engaged Rhodesian troops at Sinoia. All the seven ZANLA guerrillas died at Sinoia in a fierce twelve-hour battle with Rhodesian security forces supported by helicopter gunships (Martin and Johnson, 1981). Because of this battle, nationalists perceived the battle as a lesson in how not to attempt guerrilla penetration (Henriques, 1977). This move was condemned by ZAPU and Great Britain (Loney, 1975). The 1960s and 1970s saw the OAU making an effort to promote unity between ZANU and ZAPU.

Unbeknown to the Rhodesians, in 1967 a joint South African Congress and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), a military wing of ZAPU entered Rhodesia and headed for the Wankie Game Reserve, a move that drew sharp criticism from ZANU and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa (Martin and Johnson, 1981). As observed by Loney (1975), their effect was as limited as the ZANLA force's. The importance of the 1966 battle and the 1967 incident in the history of Zimbabwe remains because the two signified the beginning of a protracted armed struggle. It is important to note that guerrilla groups which got through to Shona-speaking or Ndebele-speaking rural areas did not find universal support as they were seen as strangers.

The 1966 battle provided very important lessons for the liberation struggle. It made nationalists realise their earlier belief that training guerrillas and sending them home with guns would easily end white minority domination was wrong. Mayor Urimbo, ZANU's Political Commissar commented in 1980 in an interview with Martin and Johnson:

We thought that it was easy to just go and get a gun and fight in Zimbabwe but it was very difficult for that group in 1966. That was why they failed. It was very simple for them to go and fight but very hard for them to retreat (Martin and Johnson, 1981: 11).

Both ZANU and ZAPU began a lengthy reassessment of policy. ZANU learnt that it was vital to mobilise the masses, a lesson that shaped future strategy (Martin and Johnson, 1981). According to Martin and Johnson (1981), ZANU and the PAC embraced the Maoist approach to guerrilla warfare which was quite different from the theories of the Soviet Union, which supported ZAPU and the ANC. In an interview with Granada Television on 1 January 1970, Chikerema's suggestion of ZAPU's reassessment of earlier policy was made clear when he said:

We do not intend to finish in a matter of two, three, four or five years...this is a protracted struggle. The type of war we fight depends on changes of tactics and I can tell you that we have changed our tactics. We will combine both, where they meet us and intercept us, we will stand and fight; where they don't see us, we will go to our own areas and infiltrate ourselves into the population and organise our masses (Moorcraft and McLaughlin, 2008: 76).

The armed struggle which both ZANU and ZAPU embarked upon was, in part, a manifestation of nationalism. From 1968 guerrillas began to infiltrate into Zimbabwe. When nationalism gained momentum and the armed struggle began the role of chiefs became more complex. Alexander (2006: 106) describes the role of the chiefs as follows:

Some chiefs were active nationalists before occupying office, others turned against government, if not to nationalism, as a result of the disregard for their demands, notably for land, still others reluctantly obeyed nationalist dictums out of fear of retribution. Both nationalists and guerrillas preferred to use chiefs rather than to attack them: guerrillas were not opposed to chieftaincy per se but to its use in the services of the government.

Alexander (2006) reiterates that some chiefs who supported the colonial government faced the wrath of the guerrillas. Others developed a reputation as nationalists and openly supported guerrillas. Nyambara (2001) elaborates that chiefs and headmen adopted a wide variety of political ideologies and strategies depending on local circumstances. While some chiefs complied with and enforced state policies, others used their newly acquired powers under the TTLA (1967) to enhance their position or undermine policy (Alexander, 2006). During this period of guerrilla activity illegal expansion of land (freedom ploughing) by peasants who felt they had been unjustly deprived of their land rights by the NLHA was undertaken. 'Freedom ploughing' (*kurima madiro*) meant that people could plough anywhere they wanted. Most chiefs were virtually powerless to take action against their own people (Nyambara, 2001). Village heads could not control their people in matters of land allocation because they feared being sold out to the guerrillas (Holleman, 1969).

Although many chiefs and headmen feared guerrillas some abused their authority and admitted immigrants into their villages and allocated land to them illegally in return for a fee. Through ethnographic observation the researcher witnessed her village head in Chihota TTL allocating land to immigrants from Seke TTL in the late 1970s. Many cases were reported to District Commissioners (DCs). Taurai Dube, a concerned resident of Gokwe, in Nyambara (2001: 785), for example, wrote to the DC:

what is happening here by the Headman John Nyambo. He is taking people from other districts and giving them new Registration Certificates. From their districts they are said to be dead and then he gives them a new father and a new certificate. If you want to make sure, send your police. The Headman is selling field[s] at \$7 each and [you] get

this certificate for \$12.50. Please send police here, we are suffering from this headman (Taurai Dube to DC, Gokwe, 1 May 1971).

While land remained an issue among rural people and their village leaders the Smith government was basking in the glory of peace. It would be proper to suggest that the Smith Government was caught napping when a squad of nine ZANLA guerrillas attacked Alterna Farm, a settler farm in North-Eastern Rhodesia on 21 December 1972. Unbeknown to Smith, on the same day, according to the Ministry of Information, Immigration and Tourism Press Release (21 December, 1972), Ian Smith told a Rotary Club lunch in Salisbury:

I have been taken to task in certain quarters for describing our Africans as the happiest Africans in the world, but nobody has yet been able to tell me where there are Africans who are happier, or, for that matter, better off than in Rhodesia. The reasons for this relaxed racial climate which we enjoy here are many. First and foremost is the nature of the people who make up our country. The Africans of Rhodesia are by nature unaggressive, and they have an instinctive leaning towards a peaceful communal life. They have a highly developed sense of humour, which is an essential ingredient of happy race relations, and they have an appreciation of the security, both for themselves and their families, which flows from a stable and orderly system of government.

A few hours after Smith's address to the Rotarians, the Rhodesian Security Force Headquarters issued a military communique` that, guerrillas had attacked Alterna Farm and that the possibility exists of further terrorist-inspired incidents in border areas (Martin and Johnson, 1981). One Native Commissioner remarked, 'We were sitting on a smouldering fire and we didn't know it' (Ranger, 1980). The attack of Alterna Farm in 1972 marked the beginning of a decisive phase in the armed struggle in Southern Rhodesia. The guerrillas had revised their fighting tactics after realising the importance of mass support. They began to hold political rallies at night to mobilise and politicise the black peasantry. Emphasis was on the national grievances of land deprivation, limitations on the number of cattle a family could keep, restrictions on education and job opportunities, hut, dog and cattle taxes, and the inferior African health services (Martin and Johnson, 1981). In this way the grievances touched on everyone and thereby involving everyone in the war. Chung (2007: 80) elaborates:

The process of analysing grievances followed Paulo Freire's approach, in terms of which the people were invited to voice their grievances and, through dialogue with the freedom fighters, come to a consensus on the meaning of the liberation struggle. Key grievances remained the land issue, educational deprivation, poverty, and unemployment. In this way, the people's aspirations could be voiced. Guerrillas had to be good listeners. They had to respect the people's culture and views. They also had to integrate the people's grievances and aspirations into their daily work.

One of the major tenets of guerrilla warfare was to win the support of the people, in this case the Zimbabwean peasantry, so that the guerrilla would merge into the people like 'fish in water' (Chung, 2007). As a result peasants supported guerrillas with food and shelter. Wage workers provided guerrillas with clothing while girls and boys (*chimbwidos and mujibas*)

became the eyes and ears of the guerrillas. These girls and boys furnished guerrillas with information on government soldiers' activities (Martin and Johnson, 1981).

According to Martin and Johnson (1981), the Rhodesian government forces did not realise they were fighting a new and more determined force of guerrillas, whose priority was to mobilise the people politically rather than to confront the security forces militarily. On 19 January 1973, in the British Broadcasting Corporation Monitoring Service, Smith explained the new and serious threat of terrorist incursions in the north-east, and unusual developments which had gone undetected for weeks. Smith attributed the failure to detect terrorist activities to support from the masses and from witchdoctors who were intimidated and bribed respectively. The support included shelter, food, clothing information and advice. Although Smith's observation was seen through the eyes of the victors there are some truths to be gleaned from them.

While Smith's observation regarding witchdoctors could be true to some extent it can be disputed on the grounds that Smith was ignorant of African religion. Martin and Johnson (1981: 75) argue, 'witchdoctors Smith referred to were in fact spirit mediums and were not of doubtful character and little substance.' As already explained in Chapter Two, African religion was interwoven into day-to-day existence of Africans with spirit mediums providing a link between the living and the dead. The importance of spirit mediums in African religion can be viewed through their influence in wars of liberation from colonial rule such as in the First and Second *Chimurenga* in Zimbabwe, the Maji-Maji Rebellion (1905-1907) in Tanganyika and the Nama-Herero rebellion (1904-1907) in Namibia. The spirit mediums such as Nehanda in Rhodesia helped with recruitment and gave advice and guidance to guerrillas.

As witnessed by the researcher at night political rallies (*pungwe*) in Chihota TTL, her own home, in 1979 the masses and spirit mediums readily supported the guerrillas because they identified with the cause the guerrillas were fighting for. The people of Chihota were suffering increasing poverty as a result of injustices in land allocation, taxation, education, employment and health services. Although one researcher Margaret Meade was criticised for using ethnographic observation on the grounds that she did not understand the culture of the people she studied this researcher feels her observations hold more water because she was an eye witness to and a participant in the phenomenon under study.

During political rallies the researcher observed the guerrillas educating the masses and appealing to them for support. Although the majority of the people readily supported guerrillas there were few elements who did not give their support voluntarily. Examples include those who worked for the government such as chiefs on government payroll, retired policemen and land development officers. The researcher noted that in such cases covert intimidation was used. The guerrillas at a political rally, for instance, would emphasise that those who did not support the liberation struggle or who sold out would be killed by the ancestral spirits. This implied that the ancestral spirits through spirit mediums would authorise guerrillas to kill all sell-outs.

After Smith's announcement of terrorist activities, there followed a period of *détente*. *Détente* is a French word meaning to relax or loosen. In the context of Rhodesia it was defined as 'the easing of strained relations' between Smith's government and groups of nationalists (Hirschman, 1976: 108). During this period Smith was able to play one nationalist group against the other. By playing on nationalist ambitions and rivalries Smith was able to keep them divided and continue to rule while undermining the efforts of the guerrillas by raising false hopes of a settlement (Martin and Johnson (1981: 99).

As a response, Smith met the nationalists at the Victoria Falls Conference in August 1975 in order to work out a way forward regarding ceasefire and majority rule in Rhodesia. The nationalists preconditions to the talks were: a demand for one-man one-vote; amnesty for all guerrillas on death sentence; and permission for all nationalists to return and begin political campaigning (Nkomo and Harman, 1984), and these were not welcomed by Smith who refused to grant diplomatic immunity to the nationalists, labelling them 'terrorist leaders who bear responsibility for... murders and other atrocities' (*BBC News*, 26 August, 1975). Consequently the conference broke up without reaching an agreement. Although the Victoria Falls Conference (1975) failed to achieve its objectives it gave the nationalists time to regroup and reorganise themselves. The revival of internal mass nationalism and the simultaneous opening of guerrilla action marked a decisive new phase in the country's history (Birmingham and Martin, 1983).

As the guerrilla war escalated another conference was held in Geneva in 1976 between the Patriotic Front (ZANU and ZAPU), Bishop Muzorewa, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole and Ian Smith to discuss Ian Smith's implementation of the Kissinger proposals (Martin and Johnson, 1981). The Kissinger proposals which included white control of defence, law and order were

drafted by the American and British Governments who hoped to see majority rule in Rhodesia (Williams and Hackland (1988). Nationalists rejected the proposals and chose to continue fighting until they would get their independence. Two years after the Geneva Conference, ZANLA forces attacked petrol tanks in Zimbabwe and burned them in December 1978. In African rural areas the war was fought with ever-increasing ferocity with peasant cultivators who hoped to regain their lost land providing shelter to the young guerrillas and sustaining their attack on the Smith regime (Birmingham and Martin, 1983). The Smith government realised that peasant support was a corner stone in the Second *Chimurenga* and that there was need to sabotage peasant support.

The Smith government tried to stop peasants from supporting guerrillas by;

- Forcing hundreds of thousands of rural Africans into consolidated villages where they would be unable to support the guerrillas.
- Imposing curfews.
- Destroying standing crops.
- Closing down food stores and grain mills to deny the guerrillas access to food.
- Attacking villages and schools from the air whenever guerrilla sightings were reported.
- Imposing tight censorship to prevent widespread brutalities from being publicised. (Birmingham and Martin, 1983).

In spite of all effort to stop peasant support of guerrillas the Smith government finally gave up the struggle to control African rural areas (Tribal Trust Lands) which came to be controlled by nationalists. ZANLA and ZIPRA forces had opened a number of war fronts which overwhelmed Government forces as they found themselves fighting on many war fronts (Martin and Johnson, 1981). Martin and Johnson (1981) highlight the costly and bloody stalemate in 1979 which made Smith realise the importance of ending the Second *Chimurenga*. He sought to have an Internal Settlement with those African leaders who no longer commanded guerrilla forces namely, Muzorewa and Sithole, which brought the first black Prime Minister, Abel Tendekayi Muzorewa into short-lived power in 1979.

According to Martin and Johnson (1981), the new leader came under heavy criticism from nationalists for having agreed to the Internal Settlement. To make matters worse Muzorewa's government failed to redistribute land, to increase urban wages or to reduce unemployment, thus guerrillas continued fighting fiercely (Birmingham and Martin, 1983).

The failure of the Internal Settlement culminated in the Lancaster House Conference which involved the front-line states, Britain and South Africa. ZANU and ZAPU, with encouragement from Julius Nyerere of Tanzania temporarily united under the banner of Patriotic Front and entered the British-brokered negotiations to end guerrilla war (Alexander, 2006). Land was the central sticking-point during the negotiations. The Lancaster House constitution protected property rights for ten years and dictated that 'European' land be acquired under 'a willing buyer willing seller' agreement (Alexander, 2006). The British government agreed to help fund the land reform, meeting fifty percent of the costs of buying land from white farmers who refused reconciliation (Alexander, 2006). The Lancaster House Settlement succeeded in signalling the end of the UDI period and colonial rule. The one-man one-vote elections that followed resulted in majority rule and finally ended colonial rule in Rhodesia. Indigenous people looked forward to regaining their ancestral land. From the discussion above it is possible to reach several conclusions.

9.7 Conclusion

It can be concluded that nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe was the peasantry's effort to regain what they had lost to colonialism. This chapter noted that black nationalism was not clearly defined although the blacks were unanimous on one thing; namely, to remove foreign rule so that the blacks would regain ancestral land. Isaacman (1990) and Scott (1976) concur that the attack on material and cultural worlds of peasants invited conflict. The colonial government's interference in land and cattle ownership invited conflict and stimulated nationalism in the country. This chapter highlighted and identified a number of factors that influenced the rise of nationalism in Zimbabwe. These included the Second World War (1939-45), the independence of other African states, the emergence of an educated African elite and traditional religion. The chapter illustrated how indigenous people tried to have their grievances addressed through peaceful means and how the colonial government responded by using repressive measures until the indigenous people resorted to the armed struggle. Further the chapter explained why it took long for the blacks to wage a war which ultimately brought independence.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the peasantry and nationalism in Zimbabwe and the role land and cattle played in the rise of nationalism from pre 1890 to the UDI period. This period was carefully selected because of its impact on the culture of the peasantry during colonisation. The thesis engaged an inter-disciplinary approach in order to differentiate the study from numerous others on the land issue in Zimbabwe. Several dynamics were targeted for their contribution to the complex Zimbabwe land issue and various conceptual frameworks were correspondingly applied to assess the impact on the peasantry of the contradictions in redistributive justice. It is therefore the contribution of this thesis to help illuminate the relationship between the peasantry and nationalism. Using historiography and subaltern techniques this work contributed to knowledge by challenging the omission in the literature to date, of the role of the Zimbabwean peasantry in forming the nationalist movement that waged civil wars in order to restore their property rights and their dignity. Using historiography this study examined the psycho-spiritual significance of land to the peasantry which the colonial administrators did not fully understand. The strong attachment of the peasantry to land as the abode of the ancestors and of other natural resources as grazing pastures for cattle influenced the peasant's view on land. It is worth noting that overlooking the psycho-spirituality of land to the African peasantry always brings challenges that can lead to perpetual conflicts as evident in Zimbabwe whose land conflict is over a century old.

Using historiography this work analysed colonial land policy and distribution, the unfairness of which created land shortages and grievances among the peasantry. Historiography involves critically examining and analysing records and survivals of the past. The method was carefully chosen because it is appropriate for researching on Zimbabwe's peasantry from pre-1890 to the end of the UDI period as it covers a number of years and requires historical information (Bryman, 1988). Historiography involves analysing archival material, records, letters, diaries, handwritten manuscripts or printed books (Baker, 1994). Valuable data were gleaned from private correspondence between the colonial office in London and the governor's office in Salisbury because; in such records influential people confided to their friends which makes the information closer to the truth. For example, a lot of private correspondence unknown to the Dominions Office between Baring in Rhodesia and Machtig in the Dominions office in London provided important information which was complemented by data from newspaper cuttings. Although the research used a variety of primary sources to complement secondary sources the work presented here is not conclusive because every

research is not free from bias. Newspapers, for example, contain only what is fit for public consumption, that is, what governments are prepared to reveal.

Using documentary material the thesis generally examined the conception of the peasantries in the whole world and in Zimbabwe in particular. Common peasant characteristics were identified world-wide which include; the status of peasants as rural cultivators; the presence of social subordination; cultural distinctiveness of village communities; and ownership or control over land. Zimbabwe's peasants like all other peasants initially used family labour to work the land and meet subsistence needs while valuing communal relationships. With time peasants all over the world evolved in response to colonialism whose governments demanded taxes from peasants and forced them into wage labour. Literature has shown that the wage labourers differ from the rural peasants in that the proletarians have their labour as their basic resource while the peasants own and control the land they work (Bernstein, 1990). In the context of the Zimbabwean wage labourers, the wage labourers still felt they were peasants because they hoped to regain the land of their ancestors so that they could rebuild their cattle herds which had dwindled as a result of colonial policies (Metcalf, 1996). Hence they identified with peasant grievances.

Using historiography the thesis investigated the development of a land-based grievance amongst the peasantry in Zimbabwe. It is important to note that many peasants throughout the African continent and particularly in Zimbabwe regarded land rights as a birthright. Documentary evidence found at the Kew Archives showed that all members of the community in Zimbabwe had a right of access to land for cultivation, pastoralism, hunting, fishing and residence. Although land was held by the community, individual rights were secure and this traditional land tenure system was successful in managing common property resources (Metcalf, 1996). The seminal works of Palmer and Parsons (2001), Ranger (1960), Loney (1975), Yudelman (1964), Birmingham and Martin (1983), Chigwedere (2001), Alexander (2006), Phimister (1988), Rukuni and Eicher (1987) and, Martin and Johnson (1981) to name a few, are critical in developing an understanding of the role of land in the development of a nationalist agenda based upon long standing grievances over land. These academics have made it clear that the peasantry in Zimbabwe had a strong attachment to land for subsistence. This study is therefore complementary as it produces a narrative on the psycho- spiritual significance of land to the peasants and their strong attachment to land for cattle for cultural purposes and which influenced their view on land ownership.

When reviewing literature on the peasantry this work noted that the relationship between Zimbabwean peasants' attachment to land and cattle was not fairly explored. This thesis filled that gap by exploring the cultural value of cattle to Zimbabwe's peasantry and the symbiotic relationship between cattle and land. Furthermore the thesis clarified that the peasant class in Zimbabwe existed before colonial rule and that the class became more pronounced with colonialism due to land issues. Prior to colonialism the peasantry in Zimbabwe followed a traditional type of tenure system in which everyone had rights of access to land.

Using Zimbabwe as an example, this thesis has shown that peasantries in contemporary developing countries differ from one another as a result of their varying cultural backgrounds, histories of incorporation into the world system and because of differences in farming systems. Zimbabwe's case however provides evidence that peasants in Africa followed a similar route as peasants in the rest of the world and that the changeover to capitalism was a painful process all over the world. The thesis sought to explain Zimbabwe peasant's attachment to land in terms of nativism, its importance as the abode of the ancestors and other natural resources and for cultural embeddedness of cattle in addition to farming. Like the Irish who wanted land for piggery Zimbabweans wanted land for cattle which were important for funerals, marriage, appeasement, food and in restorative justice. The thesis has shown that the 'subsistence ethic' has a strong influence on the peasants and that peasant communities are aroused to protest when the terms of the local subsistence ethic are breached by state authorities or market forces (Thompson, 1971).

Further the thesis assessed the impact of colonial land policies such as the Land Apportionment Act (1930), the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the Land tenure Act (1969), all of which created grievances that drove nationalism into the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. By collating data from different sources namely; primary, secondary and archival material the thesis illustrated the impact of land tenure in the rise of nationalism. Evidence from the above-mentioned sources indicates that colonial land policies among other factors created hardships and bitterness among indigenous inhabitants of Rhodesia which gave rise to nationalism. Although peasants and nationalists in colonial Zimbabwe showed determination in regaining their ancestral lands through peaceful means; negotiation and petitions; their efforts were frustrated by repressive legislation of the white rulers which led to the arrest and detention of nationalist leaders such as Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole, Robert Mugabe, Herbert Chitepo, George Nyandoro, Guy Clutton-Brock and Garfield Todd, to mention a few.

The detention of nationalist leaders temporarily crippled the progress of nationalist activities in Zimbabwe.

In order to regain their ancestral lands the nationalists in colonial Zimbabwe resorted to armed struggle which started in 1966 and ended in 1979. The progress of the armed struggle was hampered by fighting among African political parties, repressive colonial legislation, the 'divide and rule' techniques of the British rulers, lack of adequate funding, disagreements on strategy, poor leadership and the absence of military bases. Finally, with help from frontline states in Africa, China and Russia the Zimbabweans succeeded in fighting for their land and ending colonial rule and the UDI period in 1979. On the whole the story of Zimbabwe shows a success story of peasants fighting for what they believed to be their traditional rights.

Although Zimbabwe's case is a success story of peasants fighting for their ancestral land it is worth emphasis that the independence in Zimbabwe never provided a lasting solution to the unequal distribution of the land resource and the land conflict in Zimbabwe has continued for more than a hundred years. This thesis provided insight into the need for a lasting solution to Zimbabwe's land conflict. Because Zimbabwe's economy is agro-based; land plays a vital role in the economy. The thesis provided lessons from the Lancaster House conference in December 1979 which attempted to solve the land conflict in Zimbabwe through the 'willing buyer willing seller' principle (See Chapter Seven). Because the principle was not fully implemented or was misunderstood, Zimbabwe's land issue did not go. Both white and black historians (Birmingham and Martin, 1983; Alexander, 2006; Rukuni, 1987) concur that countries which had promised to contribute to funding the land reform in Zimbabwe did not keep their promises except Britain. As a result the funding was inadequate and it left the land issue unresolved. Peasants were left discontented as they did not get what they fought for.

This thesis highlighted that economic issues such as the land issue in Zimbabwe do not disappear easily. If ignored they can translate into political and social issues and the spill-over effects can be far reaching and with disastrous consequences. Inter-ethnic conflicts, migration and involuntary displacements are all effects of the unresolved land conflict in Zimbabwe. The migration of Zimbabweans to foreign countries in Europe, America, Australia, Asia and other African states has created problems to the receiving countries. Involuntary displacements caused by *Operation Murambatsvina* in Zimbabwe can be seen as results of the unresolved land conflict. Currently the spill-over effects of the unresolved land conflict in

Zimbabwe can be seen in neighbouring South Africa where a young man, Julius Malema,¹⁹ has called for the Zimbabwe-style seizure of mines and farms in South Africa (*The Times*, 4 April 2010). Malema accused the whites of ‘stealing land’ and advocated the redistribution of land without compensation in South Africa (*The Times*, 16 June 2011).

The work presented in this thesis solely relied on documentary evidence from archives in Britain and secondary sources from libraries. The quality of this thesis could have been enhanced if historiography was triangulated with qualitative data collection methods such as interviews at the time of research. This thesis used historical method because of the contentious nature of the topic. The land question in Zimbabwe is a sensitive and political issue. As such carrying out qualitative research would be risky to the researcher and the researcher would be limited in the nature of questions to ask. Despite these problems the researcher was able to gather data and process them into the information that is presented in this thesis. On the whole, knowledge about Zimbabwe’s land problem can provide a basis for a problem-solving strategy for local communities which can help prevent history repeating itself.

¹⁹Julius Malema was born on 3 March, 1981 in Seshengo in South Africa. Malema, the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters views President Robert Mugabe as his hero.

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