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THE MUTINY AGAINST INDEPENDENT AFRICA

In the morning of November 11, 1965, when the candles were lit in all churches of Britain in remembrance of those who had fallen in action, news came from Rhodesia that Jan Smith's government had unilaterally "proclaimed the independence of the country". The conversion of Rhodesia into the white racialists' "independent state" has far-reaching consequences. Having created a new hotbed of racialism, similarly to the Republic of South Africa, the Rhodesian racialists did what had been denounced by the heads of independent African countries and the United Nations. Thereby they challenged impudently not only Africa but also the entire world.

THE ANATOMY OF RACIALISM IN RHODESIA

There is one peculiarity distinguishing Rhodesia among other African countries: the country has a considerable stratum of white settlers and this stratum has captured political power as well as the country's wealth. In the number of the white settlers (220,000) Rhodesia ranks second, following the RSA. On the other hand, 4,000,000 Africans are living in the atmosphere of appalling poverty, oppression and brutal reprisals.

Rhodesia is a country in which racialism has been elevated to the rank of state policy. The penetration of racialism into the former British colony, separated from the centres of world policy was an inevitable result of the evolution of imperialist ideology. In the country imperialism stakes on the white settlers, playing on their fear of being deprived of their spoils and privileges. Cast on petty-bourgeois soil, the seeds of racialism quickly sprouted among the white shopkeepers, farmers and also white workers corrupted by the bourgeoisie.

Three generations of Europeans grew in the seventy years of the colonial-racialist regime in Rhodesia. The third generation is living on the land which their grandfathers captured. The latter ranged from respectable tradesmen to fortune-hunters and unemployed for whom their country had been unkind. Their ambition was to belong to the white gentry and live prosperously by plundering the indigenous population.

The monopolists helped them willingly. They knew that having had a taste of the colonial pie, these people would become loyal servants of British imperialism which had contaminated them through and through with the ideology of racialism. Today, under the aegis of the "white man problem", they deny the people of Zimbabwe of the right to independent and social progress.

The "theory of the inferiority" of African nations is being used by racialists to justify their exploiting claims. The racialists would like to convert 4,000,000 Africans into mute slaves. Their misanthropic political course has received a special name: a pluralistic society. The racialist legislature prescribes "separate development" for different races, peoples and ethnic groups. Twenty years after the defeat of nazism in Europe attempts are made in Rhodesia to realize Hitler's maniacal ideas. The fanatical nazi leader's contentions that a people who does not observe the purity of its race destroys thereby the integrity of its national soul are received here as the acme of state wisdom.

To keep away the indigenous population from participating in administration, the colonialists have introduced a high property, educational and residential electoral qualification. Africans are barred from hotels, cinemas, restaurants and parks intended for Europeans. They have to use special cars when travelling by rail. Special buses are assigned for them. Post offices are separated by barriers with inscriptions: "For Whites Only" and "For Blacks Only". In cities a special curfew is in force for Africans in the European sections. Africans may travel about the country only if they carry special passes.

The racialist "Law and Order Act" legalizes any reprisals wreaked by the police and military. The authorities are entitled to ban processions, meetings, the singing of songs, poetry recitals or listening to undesirable broadcasts. African parties, their emblems, streamers and mottos have been banned. The authorities carried out mass arrests of their leaders and rank-and-file members. At present the racialists are striving to railroad through the local "parliament" what they call the law on the suppression of communism. This is a typical subterfuge of extreme reactionaries. Under the auspices of the struggle against a "communist menace" the Rhodesian ultras intend to drown in blood the national-liberation movement.

Still dissatisfied, the Smith government declared in August 1965 its intention to amend the Rhodesian constitution. If the local "parliament" accepts this amendment, another step will be taken towards eliminating Britain's tutelage since formally only Britain is empowered to alter the Constitution of Rhodesia introduced in 1961. The purpose of the amendment is to give the racialists a completely free hand in suppressing any African protest. The amendment will enable the Smith regime to adopt immediately a state security law which will empower the regime to arrest citizens of Rhodesia or restrict their activity without legal proceedings even when the state of emergence has been repealed in the country.

The consolidation of the colonialists' political power and the suppression of the Africans' human dignity are not the only purposes of the policy of the racial discrimination. There are other, far-reaching purposes rooted in the economic substratum. The policy of racialist discrimination and segregation is a special form of the overall system of colonial exploitation and is motivated by the colonialists' thirst for profit.

To secure the most favourable conditions for exploiting the country, the colonialists have put forward the "inter-racial partnership" doctrine, one of the architects and especially active exponents of which is Sir Roy Welensky, ex-Premier of the erstwhile Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. According to this doctrine, the relations between Africans and Europeans are based on a commercial deal, allegedly including two equal partners. One of them are the Europeans who represent capital, economic experience and leadership, and the other are Africans who represent only man-power. The partners form a kind of share stock company, the Europeans controlling the land and its wealth by way of a "just compensation" for the "benefits" they bestow on the Africans. The country is governed by "civilized and responsible people" as the racialists style themselves without excessive modesty.

The inter-racial partnership system is in practice a horse-and-rider alliance. The realization of the doctrine means the establishment of white man's domination with racial discrimination and segregation and is a tool for converting Rhodesia into a racialist RSA-type state.

The conversion of Rhodesia into a settlers' colony and the realization of the inter-racial partnership doctrine have left a special imprint on the country's economy which is split into two territorially isolated sectors: the European and the African. The former is represented by the capitalist enterprises of foreign firms and European settler bourgeoisie and exists by exploiting the latter sector with respect to which it acts as a kind of domestic "parent country". The latter is represented mainly by semi-natural small peasant farms as well as few small enterprises owned by the African national bourgeoisie and acting as a kind of domestic colony. The dominant and privileged position of the European sector is secured by exploiting the African sector as a source of cheap man-power and a supplier of some agricultural raw materials.

The system of exploitation of the African sector aims at impeding its development and ruling out any possibility of competition with the European sector. Territorially, the system implies the segregation of the African and the European economic sectors.

The racialist legislature in Rhodesia is based on the Land Apportionment Act the colonialists adopted as early as 1930. The Act legislated the expropriation of the African lands which foreign firms and European settlers had carried out by that time. The country was separated into European and African areas. They accounted for 92 per cent of the entire territory, including 49 per cent for 220,000 Eu-

Europeans and 43 per cent for 4,000,000 Africans. The remaining 8 per cent are under forests and national parks.¹

Africans are forbidden to settle permanently or buy land in European areas. In cities they are allowed to live only in special localities. The African areas are in turn divided into three sections: reserves (50 per cent), special areas (31 per cent), and areas for the sale of land to Africans (19 per cent). The reserves are intended for communities that own the land on which they settle. The special areas are also intended mainly for communities, but in contrast to the reserves, private individuals may lease or buy land here as private property. As for the areas for the sale of land to Africans, the name is self-explanatory.² As a result of the colonialists' predatory policy, the amount of land per African decreased for the seventy years of the colonial-racist regime from 200 to 10.5 acres, i. e., to less than $\frac{1}{17}$. At the same time, there are more than 635 acres of land per European settler.

The land seized from Africans is the country's best. The areas set aside for Africans are as a rule located far from railways, highways and markets. The colonialists have deliberately excluded out of the reserves all land capable of yielding profit and containing minerals. Most African areas consist of infertile lands. The line separating different types of soils is as a rule the demarcation line between European and African areas. As a result of the racist distribution of lands, no more than 60 to 70 per cent of the lands set aside for Africans, i. e., about 8 acres per person, are suitable for farming.

The colonialist policy has led to an extreme over-population of African areas which can accommodate only 1,300,000 out of the 4,000,000 Africans.³ The scale of the latent overpopulation can be gauged from this "residue": 2,700,000 persons who will be ultimately forced to abandon farming.

Since the country's underdeveloped industry may employ only near 600,000 persons, approximately 2,000,000 persons are doomed to semi-starvation. Yet vast tracts of fertile land lie idle in the European areas. The European farmers till only 3 per cent of the land they control.⁴ This is quite sufficient for them to secure high standards of living for themselves. For example, in one district Wankie alone 750,000 acres of "non-alienated land" are not cultivated. Yet there are only two acres of ploughland per African living in this district, and many farmers have no land at all.⁵

Overpopulation in the African areas, an extremely acute artificially created land shortage, stagnation in the development of the productive forces of the countryside, and violent soil erosion have all resulted from the predatory policy of racial discrimination.

The partnership doctrine has, when applied to industry, produced a colour bar banning the employment of Africans for high-skilled jobs and establishing for them extremely low pay rates. Even in those rare cases when an African gets a high-skilled job, his pay is still much

lower than his European counterpart's. Thus, the African's pay averaged £ 121 in 1964 while the European's £ 1241.⁶

On the one hand, the colour bar contributes to an enormous growth of profit for foreign firms and the European bourgeoisie. On the other hand, it enables them to use part of this profit for paying high wages to European workers and thus winning them over to their side. Moreover, with the aid of the colour bar the racialsists deliberately prevent the origin of a hereditary working class, since the absence of permanent workers and instead the employment of fluctuating man-power of different tribes and tongues make it easier to suppress strikes.

The racial discrimination policy affects the occupational composition of man-power. An excess of cheap unskilled man-power is created in the country. The gap between an unskilled worker's and skilled worker's wages is wider in Rhodesia than anywhere in the world. Therefore, entrepreneurs prefer to employ unskilled labour.

The colonialists justify the existence of a colour bar by the Africans' "dullness", "inferiority", "laziness" leading to inefficiency. Actually, the policy is motivated by political and social as well as economic considerations. The racialsists keep the African population in the state of ignorance and backwardness and concentrate all power in their own control. The idea of the white man's superiority is inculcated upon the minds of Africans, and Europeans are given responsible and privileged positions. As a result, the interests of European settlers and those of Africans are drastically opposed. Characteristically, the reactionary European trade unions advocate the colour bar even in those rare cases when European entrepreneurs consider it economically profitable to give African employees more or less skilled jobs.

Aware of the fact that the erection of a colour bar will be opposed by Africans, the racialsists have passed a special law (Industrial Conciliation Act). Actually, the law is aimed at the aggravation of racial conflicts. Under the law Africans are forbidden to set up their trade unions and offered to join European trade unions. However, the racist trade-union bureaucrats refuse to accept African workers. As a result strikes and marches carried out by Africans are usually declared illegal and the conflicts between Africans and entrepreneurs are usually "pacified" with the aid of "good offices" of the army and police.

One of the gravest consequences of the racial discrimination policy is the abject poverty of the African population. The annual income of the African family in the reserve hardly reaches one third of the official living minimum. The position of seasonal workers is even worse.

The labour market is constantly flooded with unskilled man-power which cannot resist the arbitrary terms of racist employers supported by the local government. The seasonal system makes it possible to exploit labour for a pay which can barely sustain one person. The system exempts employers from expenses on housing, services, social

insurance, pensions and unemployment grants as well as expenses on education and occupational training.

The security of aged people, people disabled while working for the colonialists as well as unemployed, is shifted onto the community. Practically all forms of the African's social insurance have been replaced by a small plot of exhausted land set aside for him in the reserve.

Characteristically, the level of the African worker's wages is described by a special term: the "poverty line". According to Professor Batson, of the Republic of South Africa, the "poverty line" is characterized not by what it includes but by what it does not include.⁷ This is not a living minimum but only a minimum ensuring a pauper's existence for a worker. The calculation of the "poverty line" takes into account only a minimum amount of food, clothes, fuel, hygienic articles and the cost of transport and shelter necessary for the existence of one single worker.

The "poverty line" does not set aside a single penny for amusement, sports, education, newspapers, tobacco, sweets, medicines or hospital treatment. Nor is a single penny set aside for the renewal of furniture, plates and dishes, linen, etc. Sometimes the African receives part of his pay in kind, mainly as a ration. In other words, the "poverty line" does not ensure a living standard which could be called human.

The African is only ensured a subsistence of semi-starvation. The food which he can buy with his wages contains very little proteins and fats. Exhaustive work, hunger and poor living conditions are responsible for a high mortality rate.

The most brutal colonial-racist exploitation has brought the people of Zimbabwe to the verge of a national catastrophe. Foreign monopolies, especially mining firms, and the European settler bourgeoisie, above all farmers, are mainly responsible for the national tragedy. They constitute a social force interested in the policy of racial discrimination and segregation while the Smith government fulfils obediently their will.

THE EUROPEAN SETTLER BOURGEOISIE: A PRODUCT OF THE POLICY OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Africans and their friends throughout the world are deeply concerned about the plans of converting Rhodesia into a racist republic of the RSA type. These plans were suggested by the policy of Britain which has been transforming it consistently into a "white man country". The imperialists regarded the increase of the number of European settlers as a guarantee of the strength of their positions.

A plan was being worked out under the auspices of London to bring the number of European settlers to 1,000,000. Rhodesia was to be converted into a vent for the drain from the parent country of

"surplus population": paupers and unemployed who were given weapons and sent to fight against unarmed Africans to get for themselves land and wealth by undisguised plunder. Cecil Rhodes, the notorious financial magnate and principal inspirer of Britain's annexation of the Zambezi-Limpopo area, called for imperialist aggrandizement for the sake of saving capitalism in the parent countries. "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."⁸

Originally the colonialists were obedient servants of foreign firms and the parent country, but gradually a European settler bourgeois stratum developed out of them and became an independent force. The latter rallies the most reactionary strata of the European population: officials and clerks, office employees, policemen, military servicemen, etc. Their consciousness was steadily contaminated by preaching the "superiority of the white race" and paying them high incomes at the expense of exploiting Africans.

Britain ensured a privileged position for the European bourgeoisie. Its role in political and social life is disproportionately great compared with its position in the economy where foreign capital predominates. A social basis of foreign capital, the settler bourgeoisie and the settlers rallying around it act as a police force intended for protecting the property of foreign capital and suppressing the national-liberation movement.

With the parent state's support, the settler bourgeoisie captured the key posts in the government and legislature. Its thirst for profit and power motivated its drive for "independence"; and what it lacks in economic power, it compensates by strengthening political oppression and reprisals against Africans.

However, despite the seizure of power, the position of the settler bourgeoisie is dubious and extremely unstable. Though directly in power, the settler bourgeoisie are forced to rely on foreign monopoly capital to preserve this power along with privileges. The settlers realize that without the support of foreign capital and the ruling circles of the West they will be unable to keep political power now that the liberation struggle is growing throughout Africa. Against this background, foreign firms have stepped up their support of the settler bourgeoisie of Rhodesia. In their desire to prevent the liberation of the African population, the interests of the colonial circles of Britain and the settler bourgeoisie blend with the colonialists' united front. Nevertheless, the position of the self-appointed rulers remains rather shaky. An insignificant minority in an enslaved country, the settler bourgeoisie faces the majority of the African population rising to the struggle for freedom.

The ruling circles are seeking a way out of the current situation along the lines of intensifying their dictatorship. The latter permeates all aspects of the Africans' life. It bars for them the possibility of rising to the European level in the type of economic activity and living standards. Thereby the ruling bourgeoisie are striving to rule out the emergence of competitors from the African environment and ensure a steady flow of cheap manpower.

A characteristic of the alignment of class forces in the country is the concentration at one pole of foreign firms, the European settler bourgeoisie and a considerable section of the settlers. Their interests are expressed by the Smith government and the Rhodesian Front Party. At the other pole are the African working class, peasantry, progressive intellectuals and some members of the nascent African national bourgeoisie.

Of course, this division is arbitrary to some extent. There are Europeans denouncing racialism and sympathizing with the national-liberation movement. On the other hand, among the Africans there are few traitors of their people, mainly the chiefs of tribes appointed by the colonial administration and some representatives of the local African bourgeoisie who have gone over to the colonialists' side.

For a long time the colonialists did not dare to cross that last line beyond which all the rights of Africans are trampled upon and open terror begins. The unilateral proclamation of the independence of Rhodesia was a decisive step towards the implementation of the British plan of setting up a second white racialist country in the south of Africa. The colonialists were given a chance to capture the state machinery, army and police. Simultaneously a test of strength was carried out: would the white extremists be able to keep power, left face to face with the African patriots and the young independent states? As a result of this foul play, the establishment of the racialist republic, once a remote prospect, is becoming a sinister reality.

The settler bourgeoisie strengthened its positions in Rhodesia and advanced to power with the aid of monopoly capital. The present-day political power is a compromise and alliance between the foreign firms and the settler bourgeoisie. Both sides are interested in the maintenance of the alliance but at the same time there is a tussle for power between them. Four stages can be discerned in the history of this struggle: (1) unchallenged domination of foreign monopolies (1893-1923), (2) growth of the influence of settlers (1923-1945), (3) division of power between the two sides (1945-1963) and (4) transfer of power following 1963 to the settler bourgeoisie.

The state machinery of Rhodesia actually grew from the domination in the country of one company which had exercised military and police as well as economic functions. For more than thirty years, up to 1923, the colony was administered by British South Africa Co. The company organized the capture of Rhodesia, having sent the "pioneer

columns", armed with cannons and machine guns against the troops of king Lobengula of Matabele who could protect themselves with only bows and arrows. The company laid by the sword and fire a new "Suez Canal" leading north across the ancient land of Monomotapa. At that time the company's board acted as the cabinet, and the first head of executive power was the founder of the company, Cecil Rhodes.

When South Rhodesia became a self-governing colony in 1923, the control of foreign monopolies over its government did not weaken. The BSAC ruled supreme during that period as well. Its director, Lord Malvern, was the prime minister of the colony for twenty years: from 1933 to 1953. However, as the settler bourgeoisie's economic positions became stronger, the foreign monopolies yielded several key posts in the government. The respectable owners of foreign monopolies realized that it was to their advantage to rely on the settler bourgeoisie in order to recede into the background and protect their property and power through the less squeamish settlers.

The growth of national-liberation movement and the collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland shook the pillars of the colonial regime in Rhodesia. Now the actual prospect for the Africans' victory and their conquest of independence confronted the colonialists with full stature. Under these conditions the Rhodesian reactionaries set up their party the Rhodesian Front the aim of which has been the perpetuation of the white minority's rule.

The most reactionary layers of settlers, and above all the white farmers, came to the political foreground. Their creatures were at the head of the government. The colonialists needed someone maintaining ultra reactionary positions, and they found the proper candidate in the local "fuhrer" Jan Smith, the mob idol, who came to power on the turbid wave of chauvinism and racialism.

Smith is not chary of promises. He promises the white farmers the inviolability of their rights to the land captured from Africans. He promises the foreign monopolies sky-high profits and the European workers the earth of milk and honey. In exchange he demands implicit trust and obedience. The colonialists believe him because the racialist regime Smith champions so ardently brings them generous returns. Meanwhile Britain still refuses to listen to the voice of reason, continues to oppose the demands that effective sanctions be used against the Smith regime, and renders him covert support.

"The Devil's Union"

The Rhodesian racialists are not the only participants in the conspiracy against the people of Zimbabwe. An alliance of South African and Rhodesian racialists as well as Portuguese fascists known as the "Devil's Union" is aimed at perpetuating colonialism on the vast expanses of the southern end of the African continent. The living con-

ditions in these areas are especially brutal and little differ from the regime which once existed in the Nazi state.

In the RSA racialism has been legislated as an official policy known as apartheid. More than 10,000,000 Africans are driven into the position of slavery. They cannot move about the country. Every African must always carry a pass which gives elaborate information down to the minutest detail on its owner. One of the most reactionary manifestations of the apartheid policy is the Bantustan scheme under which 10,000,000 Africans are to be driven into eight "black states" occupying 12.5 per cent of the country's area. The people living there on infertile lands, in unhealthy climate and under the conditions of extreme overpopulation are doomed to slow extinction. The African is constantly threatened with death, prison, forced labour or whipping.

In the Portuguese colonies the heinous essence of racialism is masked by the "policy of racial assimilation". The Africans are classed as an "inferior race" capable to reach civilization only through the assimilation of the Portuguese culture. In the five centuries of their "civilizational mission" the colonialists' culture has been "assimilated" by less than 1 per cent of the population of the colonies. At such a rate the Africans are doomed to another 50,000 years of colonial imprisonment.

The racialists all support each other. The punitive expeditions from the RSA and Rhodesia participate in the criminal war against the people of Angola while the South African paratroopers are in training in Mozambique. The Portuguese had hardly completed with the RSA's aid the building of a military airfield on the Green Cape Islands when construction started of military airfields near the borders of the RSA, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Zambia. Thousands of soldiers are concentrated at these airfields ready, at the signal from Pretoria, to wreak reprisals on the African patriots. According to the press of independent African states, these three countries have signed a secret military treaty.

The RSA and Portugal are giving the Smith government all the economic aid they can. Their actions have brought to nil the much-vaunted British "sanctions" against Rhodesia. Campaigns are afoot in the RSA to buy Rhodesian goods and make collections for their accomplices in the neighbour countries; hence issues a stream of goods constituting British staple exports. Owing to the support of the RSA and Portugal, Rhodesia could overcome the consequences of financial sanctions and the embargo on oil deliveries.

The colonialists have forged a single chain engirdling Africa east-west, Rhodesia being the central link of the chain. The new racialist state is intended as a buffer against the victorious advance of the anti-colonial revolution. The buffer state is to cover the RSA from the front while the Portuguese colonies from the flanks. A joint base is being set up to enable the racialists to help each other promptly. The establishment in Rhodesia of a state in which any opposition

will be outlawed will make it possible for the local racialists to prepare a more close alliance with the South-African and Portuguese fascists.

Collective Colonialism in Action

The tyranny of the Rhodesian racialists and their patrons which the world public witnesses is supported by the imperialist states of West Europe and the U. S.A.

It is no secret that the establishment of a "white state" in Rhodesia is part of a wide plan of British, American, West German and other monopolies which have been the principal instigators of the local racialists' and their allies' criminal activity. Their purpose is to bar the complete liberation of Africa and hold at least the southern part of the African continent under their control. For the reasons mentioned above Rhodesia has been assigned a special role in their plan.

The conversion of Rhodesia into a hotbed of racialism and a bulwark of British colonialism in Africa has been financed lavishly by foreign monopolies. At least £ 300,000,000 to 350,000,000 had been invested into the economy, including £ 200,000,000 to 220,000,000 of private capital and £ 130,000,000 of official donations.⁹ The bulk of the capital comes from British sources, though the U.S.A. and the RSA account for a considerable portion of it. Now that the colonial system has collapsed, the importance of Rhodesia as a sphere of application of capital has increased and indeed acquired a new meaning. Rhodesia has become a political guarantee of preservation of foreign capital in the face of the growing national-liberation movement of African nations. Since the interests of powerful monopoly groups are involved in this case, imperialism is using highly varied and harsh measures for preserving its domination.

Rhodesia can truly be called the private domain of foreign firms whose interests are closely interlinked. Foreign capital has subjugated not only the key sectors of the country's economy but also the press, advertising, television, the cinema, schools and the church. Foreign capital is exercising an immense influence on the policy of the self-appointed government. Preserving the colonial regime in this area and strengthening and extending its positions in the country's economy, foreign capital ensures in the final analysis the highest rate of profit possible.

Following the Second World War the penetration of U.S. private capital into Rhodesia received a new impetus: the primary aim has been to establish control over the sources of minerals and obtain markets for the sales of goods. Daughter companies of the Morgan, Mellon, Rockefeller, Vudvord and Hohschild got ensconced in Rhodesia. The U.S. firms pay special attention to the country's mining. Apart from a high rate of profit, they receive under their control the world's largest deposits of chromites, lithium and other minerals. For example, one of the accounts of the board of Vanadium Corporation of America

bluntly states: "The company's Southern Rhodesia reserves of metallurgical chrome ore continue to be a vitally important element of confidence in viewing the company's outlook".¹⁰

However, the deepest roots in Rhodesia have perhaps been struck by the giants of the group of the "uranium and diamond king" Harry Frederick Oppenheimer. The daughter companies of the group are engaged in the mining of gold, asbestos, coal and copper, in metal making, in the production of the building materials, chemicals and fertilizers, in the assembly of cars, in the transportation and processing of oil, in cattle breeding and timbering. In Rhodesia Oppenheimer's interests are represented by British South Africa Co. rendering constant financial aid to the Rhodesian Front Party. The company's role in the country's social life is not completely clear. Actually, meetings of the company's board are of greater political importance than those of the cabinet.

Harry Oppenheimer is interested not only in the RSA and Rhodesia, but also in Zambia, Tanzania, Ghana, Sierra-Leone, the Congo (Kinshasa), Angola, Mozambique, the Central African Republic and other countries. Involved in his companies is British, North American, South African, Canadian, Belgian, Spanish and Japanese capital. This points graphically enough to the existence of a single financial empire dominating all countries in South Africa and beyond, Rhodesia being only a part of this giant empire extending from Cape Town to Katanga. The area is indeed a giant bank safe of the leading monopolies of the imperialist countries, and to protect its capital bringing in huge profits, imperialism steps at no crime against the nations of Africa.

The Clues of the Conspiracy Lead to London

The Rhodesian racialists were able to usurp power owing to the stand taken by the government of Britain which acted as the principal accomplice in this illegal action. Of course, verbally the British Government declared that it did not support the racialists and even applied to them very timid economic sanctions. To mask before the world public its genuine colonialist orientation, the government of Great Britain "debarred" Jan Smith and his cabinet from power and even applied to the Security Council. However, the activity of the ruling circles of Britain points to their directly opposite intentions.

As early as 1961, when the racialist constitution of Rhodesia was introduced, Britain handed over the power over the country's African population to the white minority. Thereupon the British government armed, contrary to UN recommendations, the local racialists with modern weapon. During the negotiations with the Smith government prior to the November events of 1965, Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain gave a free hand to the Rhodesian ultras by declaring that in case they proclaimed independence, British military sanctions would be out of the question. Thus, the way was paved for the crime against

the people of Zimbabwe which took the form of a mutiny against all independent Africa.

The position of Britain on the Rhodesian issue was denounced by the world progressive public. Nine African states declared that they would break off diplomatic relations with her. Alarmed by the wave of protest, the British Government undertook a series of diplomatic manoeuvres one of which was a conference of the British Commonwealth countries in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. However, even on the African soil, Wilson used the rostrum of the conference to reassure Smith again. He re-stated that he was against recourse to military power for settling the Rhodesian crisis. The African public estimated this manoeuvre of Britain for all its worth and defined it as an attempt to remove the Rhodesian problem from the competence of the OAU.

At the Lagos Conference the head of the British cabinet promised to bring the Smith regime to knee not later than the spring of 1966. However, the spring, summer and autumn passed, 1969 came round, but the mutineers' positions became stronger than they had been in the first day after the seizure of power. Contrary to London's promises to put an end to the rebels the Smith regime is getting ever stronger.

As the Rhodesian drama unfolded, it became clearer with every day that Britain was unable to suppress the racialists' mutiny and indeed was against the very idea of the transfer of power to the majority of the country's population. The economic sanctions which the British Government applied to Rhodesia to mask its true plans and support its prestige in the eyes of the world public were just part of a play the stake in which was the destiny of the four-million-strong people of Zimbabwe.

Smith and his accomplices merely smiled at seeing London's sham struggle. They continued to smile when the royal navy was moved into the Mozambique Strait area, allegedly to blockade the Beira port and stop some of the numerous holes in the oil embargo. The Rhodesian reactionaries knew better than anyone else that the true purpose of this action was to wrest the initiative from the independent African states and prevent their application of effective measures against Rhodesia.

Coping successfully with the British sanctions, the racialist government of Rhodesia, with the aid of outside assistance and British connivance, is striving to demonstrate that it is the sole master of the situation. The impression is that the sanctions had been intended to fail and merely afforded Salisbury sufficient time for reorganizing economic ties and furnishing an economic basis for the new regime.

The racialist seizure of power was accompanied by the Right-Labourite ministers' thunderous pledges to suppress immediately the Smith mutiny. But as time passed, the last reverberations of the November thunder died away in Whitehall as well. Voices began to be heard more and more often in the government circles of Britain that Smith and his party Rhodesian Front were not so bad as they

had been painted, and a common language could be found with them. While British destroyers plied the waters of the Mozambique Strait, Mr. Oliver Wright, a personal representative of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, paid an inobtrusive visit to Salisbury.

This time Wilson wasted no time. Several days after this visit the British diplomats proceeded to negotiations with the rebels. The entire course of the negotiations and especially the atmosphere of top secrecy immediately suggested dismal forebodings of a deal with the racialists being in preparation. Before the negotiations the British Government had enabled Smith to seize power de facto while now both sides were engaged in the search of constitutional forms of solving the Rhodesian problem. Compromises, concessions, hesitation, hypocrisy, vacillations and ornate yet non-committal promises: such have been the basic features of the Right-Labourite government's policy towards the racialists. This policy is aimed at sustaining the hopes of the African public requiring an immediate check of the outrageous mutiny and at the same time at encouraging Smith clandestinely to new outrages and crimes.

An Undeclared War

An undeclared war is actually in progress in Rhodesia. International imperialism is giving a battle on the banks of the Zambezia and the Limpopo to the anti-imperialist revolution of the African nations. The white farmers, the urban bourgeoisie and all reactionaries of the country supported by the South-African and Portuguese fascists are fighting against independent Africa, with the British government's tacit connivance.

The ruling circles of Great Britain continue to ignore the demand of the world public to put an end to the racist outrage and begin negotiations with genuine representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. The British diplomats are canvassing the version that the Smith government and the Rhodesian Front Party constitute the only force that can be negotiated with. The argument is entirely unsound, however. During the struggle against the colonialist-racist regime the Africans set up their own party: the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Actually the party had originated in 1939 under the name the African National Congress (ANC) and was the first general territorial organization of Africans in British Central Africa. The Party was steered in the crucible of the struggle against the colonialists and drew ever new power from the young people's and workers' movement.

Simultaneously with the establishment of the ANC an attempt was made to set up the first African trade union of workers engaged in industrial production and trade; the trade union was to improve the working conditions and in particular to raise the wages. As a result of the efforts of the ANC and trade-union active members, illegal African trade-union organizations sprang up by the end of the Second

World War at the country's largest enterprises, and the colonialists were no longer able to suppress them.

Railwaymen became the most organized and consolidated section of the proletariat. Organized in 1945, their strike aimed at better working conditions and the recognition of their trade union, ended in a brilliant victory. The wages of the workers were raised and the trade union was officially recognized. Up to 1961 it remained the country's only trade union of Africans, recognized officially. The strike had shown that a new generation of Africans had entered the political scene. For the first time Africans saw for themselves that unity meant victory. As a result of the desire for unity, the railwaymen's trade union and eleven other trade unions and associations of Africans set up in 1953 an African Trade Unions Congress headed by Joshua Nkomo, the future leader of the national-liberation movement.

Joshua Nkomo whose name is associated with outstanding pages in the history of struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for independence, was born in a teacher's family. His father did his best to give his son education. On finishing school in his country, Nkomo then studied at colleges of the RSA. Here he attended meetings of the South African ANC. Having returned to Rhodesia in 1947 he went to work on a railway and simultaneously studied by correspondence at the University, Department of Social Sciences. In 1951 he was elected Secretary General of the Railwaymen's Trade Union.

An active trade-unionist, Nkomo was gradually drawn into political struggle. Cooperating with Robert Chicherema and George Nianoro, leaders of the African National Youth League, he contributed to the consolidation of the ANC and its conversion into a real political force capable of fighting against the colonialists. In September 1957, Nkomo was elected President of the ANC and has since been keeping this post. Later the party repeatedly changes its name, was forced to work underground but it has never ceased its struggle.

The reprisals against the party grew especially brutal after the racist seizure of power. However, the party is alive. Its programme expresses the vital demands of Africans: the suppression of the racist mutiny, the abolition of the racist constitution and all anti-African laws, including Land Apportionment Act, Industrial Consolation Act, Native Land Husbandry Act, etc. and the democratization of public life. The ZAPU programme provides for completely equal civil rights for all prominent residents of the country, regardless of their race and skin colour. The programme calls for putting an end to racial discrimination, segregation and the colour barrier in all manifestations and in particular to abolish all types of passes and restore the complete freedom of travel over the territory at any time. The party is fighting for the introduction of universal suffrage, for a local government system uniform for the entire territory and based on democratic principles, the development of health protection and education, and the freedom of the trade-union movement. The ZAPU calls for general election (by the one-man one-vote prin-

ple), the establishment of an African government and complete independence for Zimbabwe.

Vital political slogans, every-day's struggle against racial discrimination and the demand for an agrarian reform draw wide sections of African society into the liberation movement and provide an opportunity for rallying all progressive forces of the country. An active struggle against the colonialists is waged by the African Trade Union Congress, the Zimbabwe African National Union and other organizations of Africans, well aware of the fact that only unity in the face of the imperialist and racist threat and a consistent struggle against the colonialist-racist regime may secure victory.

The prospect of a united front terrifies the Rhodesian governors and their protectors. They are trying to split the national-liberation movement, banking on a narrow section of well-to-do Africans: farmers, tradesmen, tribal chiefs. Their interests are expressed by the United National Party. Though the party has its members in parliament, it represents not the people of Zimbabwe at large but only the bourgeois elements of African extraction who are prepared under some conditions to support a coalition with the Rhodesian Front creating thereby an illusion of multi-racial agreement. This will enable the ruling circles of Britain to contend that their demand to attract Africans for government has been complied with, and will facilitate for them a deal with the racials at the expense of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Africans realize better and better the need of struggle, including armed struggle against the racials. The scope of active resistance can be estimated with difficulty because of the severe censorship introduced by the present government. However, some information forces its way into publicity. Protest marches burst out in various cities, and the police uses tear gas and arms against the marchers. Some 500 Africans have escaped the reprisals wreaked by the Rhodesian troops in the Nkai reserve. The Africans have set up partisan detachments. In Salisbury a trial was staged of a group of Africans charged with making preparations for the overthrow of the government. The wave of popular wrath is rising ever higher, threatening to engulf the criminal regime.

The colonialists are being opposed by a whole front of independent African states. The governments of Guinea, the U.A.R., Algeria, the Congo (Brazzaville), Zambia, Tanzania and other countries have declared that they are determined to protect the suppressed rights of the people of Zimbabwe and render them aid with all forces at their disposal.

The Soviet Government has resolutely declared that it would support the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe against their racist oppressors; in its statement the Soviet Government has noted that it "emphatically denounces the new crime against the nations of Africa". "Loyal to its unswerving policy of support of national-liberation movement of peoples, the Soviet Government does not recog-

nize the racist regime of Smith, declares its complete solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and re-confirms its readiness to cooperate with the African countries in rendering all-out support in the just struggle for genuine national independence".

The Rhodesian crisis is unfolding under new historical conditions. Changes in the relation of international forces in favour of socialism and to the detriment of the front of imperialism open to Africans real prospects for the quickest attainment of independence, the overthrow of the yoke of the European minority and the elimination of age-long poverty and backwardness.

NOTES

¹ "Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly. Second Report of the Select Committee on the Resettlement of Natives", Salisbury, 1960, pp. 14-15; *Survey of Development Since 1953. Report by Committee of Officials*, London, 1960, pp. 232-234.

² "Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly...", pp. 14-15; *Survey of Development Since 1953...*, p. 232-234.

³ "Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly...", pp. 14-15; *Survey of Development Since 1953...*, pp. 232-233.

⁴ "Report on the Agricultural and Pastoral Production of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1958-1959", Salisbury, 1960, p. 8.

⁵ *Rhodesian Farmer*, Salisbury, August 3, 1962, p. 15.

⁶ *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, Salisbury, June, 1965, p. 7.

⁷ Batson, *The Poverty Line in Salisbury*, Cape Town, 1945, pp. 2-6, 12.

⁸ Cited from: V. I. Lenin, Vol. 22, p. 257.

⁹ A. R. Conan, *Capital Imports Into Sterling Countries*, London, 1960, pp. 41, 47, 52; C. Thompson and H. Woodruff, *Economic Development in Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, London, 1955, p. 173.

¹⁰ *Rhodesian Mining and Engineering*, Salisbury, 1962, May, p. 39.