



ZAPU

A BRIEF HISTORY

1961 - 2010

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1. INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe is one of Africa's richest countries in terms of natural and human resources. Sadly, the country is home to probably some of the world's poorest people. Apart from the colonial legacy inherited at our independence, this deprivation is largely due to the persistent mismanagement and poor governance we have experienced over the last three decades.

Our country has evolved through many developmental phases in the quest to become a respected member of the international community. This process has been laden with many challenges, some of which have been overcome partly due to the assistance and cooperation of friendly peoples around the world.

Huge successes have been scored through this evolution, but our quest for democratic governance still remains a pipe dream.

Throughout our history, Zimbabwe has been blessed with patriotic citizens who have sacrificed and sometimes paid the ultimate price in an effort to build a better Zimbabwe. These patriots came together in 1961 to form a revolutionary party called ZAPU.

Today, 50 years later, the dream for which tens of thousands died for has still not been achieved. Five decades on, the same patriots are sending out a passionate plea to all, to help us reclaim and bring to fruition that lost dream.

The following account seeks to achieve the following:

- ❑ To demystify the lie that ZAPU was, and is a grouping from a certain tribal group and therefore not representative of all Zimbabweans in general.
- ❑ To highlight, by factual content, the betrayal by the international community when a genocide was committed on innocent civilians in the 1980s.
- ❑ To highlight why ZAPU signed the Unity Accord of 1987 with ZANU.

- ❑ To draw attention to the contributions and achievements of ZAPU in the Unity Government with ZANU.
- ❑ To showcase the violations of the Unity Accord by ZANU.
- ❑ To explain the timing and necessity of the pull-out from the Unity Accord, and finally
- ❑ To lay bare the fundamental differences between ZAPU and the other political players on issues of governance, change and the future of Zimbabwe.

2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For one to understand ZAPU and its vision, we believe that first you must understand the party's genesis from 1961 to date. The following account is not meant to be conclusive and definitive, but hopefully will help you appreciate the nature of the struggles and sacrifices made by members of ZAPU before and after independence. Information provided as fact is derived from the surviving ZAPU archives and we owe a debt of gratitude to those still scouring the country and the world unearthing further updates and preserving our heritage for future generations.

Trade Union movements such as the **Industrial and Commercial Workers Union** (1924 – 1940) under the leadership of Masotsha Ndlovu and Charlies Mzingeli, the **Federation of African Workers** (FAW) formed in 1932, and the **Rhodesian Railways African Employees Association** (RRAEA) were the foundation and the driving force in the development of national liberation politics.

In 1956, the Trade Union movements whose leadership included Joseph Msika, Jason Moyo and Aaron Ndabambi, together with the City Youth League under the leadership of James Chikerema and George Nyandoro decided to form the **Southern Rhodesia African National Congress** (SRANC) commonly known as the ANC. In September 1957, the ANC held its first congress and elected its leadership, Joshua Nkomo became its President, James Chikerema Vice President and George Nyandoro – Secretary General.

Within a short space of time the ANC became a powerful potential political movement. Its followers were African Workers and African subsistence farmers. The political platform of the ANC was “one man, one vote” based on adult suffrage. In order to recruit its membership, it engaged the economic, social and ideological problems obtaining in the country.

On the economic front, the ANC attacked the low wage rates and the Industrial Conciliation Act which was responsible for job reservation (on colour lines), but in the countryside it attacked the Land

Apportionment Act (Land Tenure Act) and Land Husbandry Act which were responsible for land hunger among the African people and the destocking of the African livestock. In towns, social conditions under which the African workers lived were deplorable. The ANC demanded the building of houses for married couples. Hospital services and educational system were not excluded from the ANC attacks. On the ideological front, the ANC concentrated its attacks on white racism which was the basis of the Rhodesian social system.

Racism - like ethnocentrism (tribalism)- is a violation of the principle of equal rights. All human beings are equal in dignity and rights regardless of their race, ethnicity, sex, religion, political or other opinion, etc.

The ANC did not live long; the Rhodesian regime banned it in February 1959, rounded-up and detained its leaders except for Joshua Nkomo who at the time was outside the country attending the All Africa Peoples Convention in Ghana at the invitation of Nkwame Nkrumah.

In January 1960, after some consultation between the ANC leaders who were in detention and trade union leadership, the **National Democratic Party** (NDP) was formed. Joshua Nkomo was elected, in absentia, as the President at its first Congress.

The National Democratic Party, unlike the ANC, became a national political party. Its followers included all races (whites, Africans and Indians). During the existence of the NDP, the political resistance of the African people became increasingly confrontational.

In July 1960, violence broke out in Salisbury (now Harare) Gwelo (Gweru) and Bulawayo, each at various times, and 56 Africans were shot in cold blood. The leadership of the NDP, seeing the gravity of the situation in the country, put pressure on the British government to convene a constitutional conference. This duly took place at the end of 1960 and ended in early 1961.

Under the 1961 constitution, 15 Africans could be voted to parliament under “qualified” franchise which was contrary to the NDP

demand of “one man, one vote”. The constitution was totally rejected. This meant that the road leading to a negotiated settlement was blocked, and the only way left was an armed struggle. The NDP was banned in September 1961, like its predecessor the ANC, before it could engage in further struggle. Its leaders were forcibly transported and “restricted” to their rural home areas for three months.

3. ZAPU – THE EARLY DAYS

The **Zimbabwe African People’s Union** – commonly referred to as **ZAPU** – was then formed in 1961, to replace the banned National Democratic Party.

ZAPU is the first and authentic liberation movement of Zimbabwe which had grassroots support throughout the country and beyond. Its leadership structure was and has always been national in its outlook. The composition of its first-ever National Executive Committee of **December 17 1961** best illustrates this point:

1. President	Joshua M. Nkomo
2. Vice President	Samuel Parirenyatwa
3. Treasurer	Jason Z. Moyo
4. Financial Secretary	George Nyandoro
5. National Chairman	Ndabaningi Sithole
6. National Secretary	Morton Malianga
7. Deputy National Secretary	Agrippa Mukahlera
8. National Organising Secretary	Clement Muchachi
9. Publicity and Information Secretary	Robert Mugabe
10. Deputy Publicity Secretary	Dan Ncube
11. Secretary for Public Relations	James Chikerema
12. Secretary for Youth Affairs	Joseph Msika
13. Secretary for External & Pan African Affairs	Leopold Takawira
14. Secretary for Women’s Affairs	Jane Ngwenya

Of the fourteen members of the committee, a staggering **ten** were non-Ndebele speaking fearless revolutionaries.

The 1961 ZAPU Constitution, which has obviously been amended and updated but spiritually adhered to by today’s ZAPU, states very clearly that ZAPU was formed to fight the British colonial system,

for Zimbabwean people's right to self-determination, and for national independence.

In other words, ZAPU was fighting for human rights, the essence of democracy. This is the compass of nation-building politics and good governance, as well as a foundation for peace.

At its inception, the following were set-out as the Party's main objectives:

- 1) To fight for the immediate and total liquidation of imperialism and colonialism, direct and indirect, and to cooperate with any international forces as are engaged in this struggle
- 1) To establish a democratic state, with a government based on "one man, one vote"
- 1) To foster the spirit of Pan-Africanism in Zimbabwe and the maintenance of links with pan-African movements all over Africa
- 1) To maintain peaceful and friendly relations with such nations as are friendly and peaceful towards us
- 1) To eliminate the economic exploitation of our people, and
- 1) To foster the best values in African culture and thereby develop the basis of desirable social order.

These were the founding goals and objectives of ZAPU. The existence of ZAPU was based on achieving these goals. A bitter war was waged to accomplish them. Tens of thousands of lives were lost in the process.

Sadly, thirty years after independence, most – if not all – of these objectives have not been achieved. Instead of establishing a democratic state, ours is a tyrannical one with no respect for human life or the wishes of the majority. Instead of maintaining friendly relations with nations that are friendly and peaceful towards us, we are at war with imagined enemies. Instead of eliminating economic exploitation, we have become the worst exploiters of our own people in order to enrich a select few.

However, success was scored in fostering the spirit of Pan Africanism which led to excellent relations between ZAPU and sister

liberation movements like MPLA (Angola), ANC (South Africa), FRELIMO (Mozambique) and SWAPO in Namibia. These ties have remained intact and have been a major source of strength for revived ZAPU.

4. THE MOTHER OF ALL DIVISIONS

ZAPU splits and ZANU is born

In what must rank as a monumental and criminal betrayal of the people's struggle for self-determination on the African continent, on August 8, 1963 ZANU was founded. This was solely as a result of non-ideological but ethnic and personal differences among the nationalists.

The rebels - among them Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Enos Nkala, Leopold Takawira and Robert Mugabe - charged in 1961 that Joshua Nkomo had accepted a British-sponsored constitution for Southern Rhodesia that accorded Africans 15 out of a proposed Parliament of 65 seats.

However, Nkomo had spoken-out both privately and publicly against the distribution of seats in the proposed parliament, which he emphasised left power in white hands. Due to the widespread grassroots support Nkomo enjoyed, the coup attempt was averted; but Takawira and his supporters stayed in the Party awaiting any slight slip in Nkomo's leadership. At that same period, Mugabe went as far as to suggest the inauguration of a new party as the only way to rid themselves of Nkomo as leader.

As a result, and according to Eliakim M. Sibanda's book, one Melwa Ntini – a fellow nationalist – when interviewed about the split, had this to say:

“The major leaders of the opposition to what I saw as Nkomo's leadership and not the constitution as such, for this was used as a pretext of a personal attack on the President of the Party. With the exception of the sorry Enos Nkala who had his personal vendetta against Nkomo, Sithole, Mugabe and Takawira were all late-comers to the party who all joined the party after Bottomely (Sir Arthur) announced that there was going to be a constitutional conference on Rhodesia..... and they can only be dismissed as the work of agitators who were bent on securing leadership even at the risk of dividing the party”

And according to the same book, the road to the split was littered with a number of ploys by the dissidents. At one point, they convened a meeting on the farm of a liberal white sympathiser called Sir Stuart Gore-Brown. When James Chikerema tipped-off Nkomo about the plot to either capture or assassinate him at the farm meeting, Nkomo declined to attend. After extracting a confession from one of the dissidents – Eddison Zvobgo – that he and his comrades no longer considered Nkomo as their leader, Nkomo suspended Sithole, Malianga, Mugabe and Takawira as a disciplinary measure.

The dissidents then convened a meeting in Tanganyika (Tanzania) whose sole purpose was to eliminate Nkomo as leader. At that meeting, Nkomo was deposed and Ndabaningi Sithole put in his place.

Upon realising that Nkomo remained popular, the dissidents formed a splinter group, ZANU.

Two days after ZANU was formed, ZAPU called for a People’s Conference at Cold Comfort Farm just outside Salisbury. **Five thousand** delegates attended this conference and among other things, the suspensions of Messrs. Sithole, Mugabe, Malianga and Takawira was confirmed and a new look executive was elected.

True to ZAPU culture, a national and not ethnic leadership was announced as follows:

1. President	Joshua M. Nkomo
2. Deputy President	James D. Chikerema
3. Secretary to the President	William J. Mukarati
4. Secretary General	George Nyandoro
5. Deputy Secretary General	Edward S. Ndlovu
6. National Chairman	Samuel Munodawafa
7. Treasurer General	Jason Z. Moyo
8. Financial Secretary	George Marange
9. Secretary for External Affairs	Joseph Msika
10. Secretary for Youth and Cultural Affairs	Clement Muchachi
11. Dep. Sec. for Youth and Cultural Affairs	Mhariwa B. Gumbo

12. Secretary for Information and Publicity	T. George Silundika
13. Deputy Information and Publicity Sec.	Alois Z. Wingwiri
14. Secretary for Women's Affairs	Jane Ngwenya
15. Secretary for Public Relations	Willie D. Musarurwa
16. Secretary for Organisation	Lazarus Nkala

Again, just like in the previous executive committee, only six of the sixteen members were Ndebele speaking.

5. BEGINNING OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

ZAPU spearheaded the armed struggle for 18 years, and remained a leading political force advancing the Zimbabwe struggle for the right to self-determination and National Independence. It was one of the Big Six Authentic liberation Movements which included the ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of Namibia, FRELIMO of Mozambique, MPLA of Angola and PAIGC of Guinea Bissau.

ZAPU started to prepare for the armed struggle immediately after its formation so as to implement the decision which was taken by its predecessor, the National Democratic Party (NDP). In 1961, it sent out the first groups for military training.

In 1964, after all trained cadres from Cuba, Egypt, the Soviet Union, China and North Korea assembled in Zambia, they formed the first military wing of ZAPU under the Department of special affairs led by James Chikerema and J.Z. Moyo. Its command structure was comprised of:

1. Akim Ndlovu	Commander
2. Robson Manyika	Chief of Staff
3. Dumiso Dabengwa	Head of Military Intelligence
4. Abraham Nkiwane	Chief of Personnel and Training
5. Report Mpoko	Chief of Logistics, and
6. Ambrose Mutinhiri	

ZAPU launched its first deployment into the country in 1964. The first unit entered the country to carry-out in-depth reconnaissance, training and local sabotage operations.

6. ZAPU AND ANC ALLIANCE

In 1966, ZAPU and the ANC of South Africa formed an alliance that brought their two military wings (**Zpra** and **MK**) to operate together whenever the MK deployments were to pass through Zimbabwe. Two outstanding such joint events were the Wankie operations in 1965 led by Charles Sotsha Ngwenya (John Dube) and Chris Hani and Sipolilo ones in 1966.

Because of the scale of such military operations and the outstanding courage of the fighters, those operations had a profound effect on the people of Zimbabwe. They showed that it was possible to tackle the enemy on its ground with modern weapons, and inflict serious damage on it. They showed that the Rhodesian forces were not invincible as they claimed. A good number of MK guerrillas lost their lives on Zimbabwean soil from the formation of the ZAPU – ANC alliance in 1966 up to the time Zimbabwe gained its political independence.

7. POLITICAL CRISIS AND ESCALATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Between 1969 and 1971, ZAPU experienced political crisis which was caused by James Chikerema and George Nyandoro. After the departure of the two who later formed FROLIZI, the remaining four National Executive members of ZAPU (Jason Moyo, Edward Ndllovu, Jane Ngwenya and George Silundika) decided to restructure the party politically and militarily. They formed the **Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Council (ZPRC)** whose membership was composed of the four members of the National Executive, External Representatives of ZAPU and the ZPRA High Command. Initially, Jason Moyo was the Chairman of the ZPRC and the Commander-in-Chief on behalf of Joshua Nkomo who was at that time in detention in Zimbabwe and Dumiso Dabengwa became the Secretary of the ZPRC.

In addition to the formation of the ZPRC, a new ZPRA High Command was put in place, which included Nikita Mangena, Charlies Sotsha Ngwenya (John Dube), Report Mpoko, Gordon Sibanda (Tapsen Munyanyi) and Cephas Cele. The restructuring of ZAPU politically and militarily enabled the organisation to escalate the armed struggle.

During this crisis, Zpra lost the opportunity to utilise the Tete (Mozambique) front which it had assisted Frelimo to open. Instead, ZANU took advantage and reaped where it did not sow.

8. RELEASE OF ZAPU LEADERS FROM GONAKUDZINGWA DETENTION

When ZAPU was in the initial stages of escalating the armed struggle, all ZAPU leaders including those of ZANU (PF) were released from detention. Their release was negotiated by the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda and other Presidents of Frontline States (Botswana and Tanzania). The release of ZAPU and ZANU (PF) leaders was followed by three constitutional talks (Victoria Falls Bridge, Malta and Geneva) aimed at ending the armed struggle, but without success. After the release of ZAPU leaders, many young men and women came to Zambia to join the armed struggle.

Following their release, Joshua Nkomo and other leaders left Zimbabwe, and came to Zambia to join those leaders who were already outside Zimbabwe. Joshua Nkomo immediately took his position as the Commander-in-Chief of ZPRA to direct the armed struggle. The years after 1977 saw an influx of Zimbabweans into Zambia.

9. ATTEMPTS TO UNITE ZAPU AND ZANU (PF)

The attempts to unite ZAPU and ZANU (PF) began in 1972, with the formation of Joint Military Command (Council), which was led from the ZAPU side by Jason Moyo and others. The JMC did not succeed, but attempts to unite ZAPU and ZANU (PF) continued.

Discussion between ZAPU and ZANU (PF) leaders, including those ZANU (PF) who were held in Zambian prisons following Herbert Chitepo's assassination led to the agreement to form The Zimbabwean People's Army (ZIPA) There was pressure to arrive at some agreement in order to offset the "third force" idea that was being contemplated by both Nyerere and Machel to liberate Zimbabwe.

From the ZAPU side the discussions were attended by Jason Moyo, Dumiso Dabengwa, Nikita Mangena, Charlies Sotsha Ngwenya (John Dube) Jevan Maseko, and from the ZANU (PF), Simon Muzenda, Dzino Machingura, David Todhlana and Mudzingwa. ZIPA disintegrated before fulfilling expectations due to contradictions which arose between the Zpra and Zanla commanders.

Despite the collapse of ZIPA, ZAPU did not give up. It initiated the formation of Zimbabwe Patriotic Front as a common front at International forums, as well as to consolidate the unity of the people of Zimbabwe. Through the Patriotic Front ZAPU hoped to further the effort of uniting ZPRA and ZANLA into a single army. In addition, ZAPU did not regard the Patriotic Front only as an alliance of ZAPU and ZANU (PF), but as a framework for building a broad united front for all anti-colonial and democratic forces in Zimbabwe. In 1979, ZAPU and ZANU (PF) attended the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference as the Patriotic Front.

Despite the failed attempts to unite ZAPU and ZANU (PF), the two organisations as separate entities continued to shoulder the armed struggle for liberation from Zambia and Mozambique.

10. THE TURNING POINT

At this stage, the War Council revised its fighting strategy and noted that whilst guerrilla warfare had made some achievements at the fronts and created “**no-go**” areas (semi-liberated zones) the enemy was far from being defeated.

Nkomo then suggested what he termed the “**Turning Point**” strategy as a way forward. Semi-liberated zones had to be fully liberated by well-trained regular Zpra battalions that would be deployed simultaneously under the command of two brigades: one to cross through Chirundu and the other at the Victoria Falls, while the guerrilla forces pushed further into the interior of the country. It would also entail administrators following behind them to take control of all services in both the liberated towns and rural councils.

The British learnt of this plan during the 1979 Commonwealth Conference and Margaret Thatcher proposed to hold the Lancaster House Talks/Conference.

A ceasefire was agreed to and elections quickly held in March 1980.

11. ZAPU'S INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

ZAPU did not only have majority support in Zimbabwe, but also internationally, including at the United Nations. The International support was in various forms. It included funds, food stuffs, clothing, medicines, scholarships for Zimbabwe students, provision of shelter for Zimbabwean refugees, and provision of diplomatic offices, as well as war materiel and military training.

The former socialist countries, especially the former Soviet Union played a leading role in supporting the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. It supplied ZAPU with medicines, foodstuffs, war materiel and military training. In addition, the former socialist countries provided ZAPU students with scholarships to study in their Universities and Technical colleges. Cuba, Algeria and Libya helped in the training of ZPRAs soldiers. The Frontline states, especially Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Angola helped ZAPU. Zambia was the Headquarters of ZAPU and ZPRA. In addition, it provided many ZAPU refugees with shelter and land to cultivate some crops so that they could feed themselves, as well as build schools for their children. Botswana provided ZAPU refugees with shelter. Tanzania and Angola provided ZAPU with military training camps. Tanzania was the Headquarters of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, as well as the entry point of material supplies for ZAPU.

While the armed struggle was being escalated, ZAPU established its diplomatic relations with a number of countries and International organisations. By 1977 it had established its diplomatic offices in about 16 countries. Some of the countries included Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Cuba, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, former German Democratic Republic, Holland, Libya, Mozambique, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Uganda, United States, Canada and Zambia. In addition to these diplomatic offices, ZAPU was a member of the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO).

12. LANCASTER HOUSE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AND INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS

The “Turning Point” strategy would have enabled ZPRA forces to begin to actually seize and defend the territory under their control. The Rhodesian regime, through intelligence information passed on to it by its allies, began to know what ZAPU was planning. The Rhodesian regime together with its allies worked out a strategy to pre-empt ZAPU’s plans.

It started to launch cross border air attacks into Zambia and Mozambique which housed the Headquarters of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU and ZANU). In these two countries they bombarded economic infrastructure and refugee camps. This was intended to force the two neighbouring Frontline States leaders to persuade the Patriotic Front leaders to attend the Lancaster House Constitution Conference which the British government had hurriedly arranged towards the end of 1979. In order to stop the bloodshed and the bombing of the two Frontline States, the Patriotic Front attended the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference under protest.

Immediately after the success of the constitutional conference, ZANU (PF) abandoned the Patriotic Front and decided to campaign separately for the independence elections. ZAPU even delayed its registration for the independence elections until some minutes before the final deadline whilst waiting to agree with ZANU on the procedures to be followed.

During the campaign for independence elections, ZAPU faced a serious problem in those parts of the country where ZANU (PF) maintained armed elements outside the Assembly Points, in violation of the Lancaster House Agreement. ZAPU supporters, campaign workers and parliamentary candidates were beaten and even killed in these areas. The independence elections were supervised by the British government and ZAPU registered its displeasure at the declaration of a “free and fair” election in light of the widespread violence and

intimidation perpetrated by ZANU. ZAPU did not get majority votes to form the government.

13. INDEPENDENCE

ZAPU, alongside ZANU, formed the Patriotic Front that negotiated the Lancaster House agreement in 1979 through which power was transferred from the colonial regime to the African majority in 1980.

During the pre-independence period, ZAPU – together with the ANC of South Africa, MPLA of Angola, FRELIMO of Mozambique and SWAPO of Namibia – received substantial material and logistic support from the Soviet Union.

It must be noted that this was during the **Cold War** period when the West and the East were on a permanent nuclear war stand-off.

Regrettably, this close association with the Soviets at the very height of the Cold War created understandable concerns in the West which led to ZAPU being out-manoeuvred in the 1980 elections in favour of the Chinese backed ZANU [PF], which then ironically went on to pursue relentless human rights violations and complete disregard for the rule of law – the very “crimes” a ZAPU government was feared for.

Soon after independence over 20,000 members of ZAPU, mainly Ndebeles from Matebeleland and the Midlands provinces were brutally murdered in a genocide conducted by Robert Mugabe’s notorious North Korean- trained **Fifth Brigade**. Aided by the **state of emergency** derived from Ian Douglas Smith’s Law and Order Maintenance Act, the killings were heinous, savage and in cold blood.

The operation was carried out under the guise of fighting dissidents after false and fabricated claims that **arms caches** were found on ZAPU properties in Bulawayo, Gweru and their surrounding areas.

14. GUKURAHUNDI GENOCIDE

Upon attainment of independence, ZANU always harboured the establishment of a one-party state. ZAPU opposed this idea and chose to be a loyal opposition party in government.

This was, however, misread as a weakness on the part of ZAPU. This is explained more accurately in the Central Committee report of 15 October, 1984 presented at ZAPU's **Sixth Congress** by Party President Joshua Nkomo:

".....the results of these elections gave ZANU the option to form the first government of an independent Zimbabwe. From the moment that ZANU prepared to form this government we had serious reservations about their approach. Rather than acting in a manner which would preserve and strengthen national unity, they acted only to advance the interests of the ZANU leadership."

He continued,

"Despite reservations, however, we continued to act in what we believed to be the national interest. We ignored provocations, we advocated unity and we took every possible step to foster peace. With the benefit of hindsight we can now see that our sincere approach was seen by the ZANU leadership as a weakness and gave them an opportunity for sinister manipulation."

Nkomo went on,

*"We were mistaken, comrades. We made a very grave error of judgement in attributing to the ZANU leadership the same sincerity with which we ourselves acted. **The price we are paying and the whole people of Zimbabwe are paying for this mistake is very high**".*

The genocide started after ZANU Minister Enos Nkala addressed a political rally in Bulawayo. Immediately after that rally, clashes between Zpra and Zanla forces erupted at Entumbane in Bulawayo. These are the words by Nkala that provoked the clashes:

"As from today ZAPU has become the enemy of ZANU. The time has

come for ZANU to flex its muscles. Our supporters must form vigilante committees for those who want to challenge us if it means a few blows, we shall deliver them."

What followed was a campaign of mass murder, rape and torture of unprecedented levels. Men, women, children and the elderly were slaughtered in cold blood. Some were buried alive.

As the campaign escalated, another ZANU Minister, Edgar Tekere, had this to say:

"Nkomo and his guerrillas are germs in the country's wounds and they will have to be cleaned up by iodine. The patient will have to scream a bit."

While addressing Parliament in 1982, then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had this to say about the genocide,

"Some of the measures we shall take are measures which are extra-legal. An eye for an eye and an ear for an ear may not be adequate in our circumstances. We might very well demand two ears for one ear and two eyes for one eye."

He went on to describe Nkomo as ***"a cobra in the house and the best way to deal effectively with a snake is to strike and destroy its head"***

In 1984, an officer of the 5th Brigade, named Black Jesus warned Matabeleland villagers who were faced with starvation due to drought, the blockade of the whole region and discriminatory food aid by government, that:

"First you will eat your chickens, then your goats, then your cattle, then your donkeys. After that you will eat your children and finally you will eat the dissidents"

As such villagers were reduced to eating insects and grass to stay alive. Further stoking up the flames, Robert Mugabe is quoted as having said these words while addressing a rural Matabeleland crowd,

“We have to deal with this problem ruthlessly. Don’t cry if your relatives get killed in processwhen men and women provide for dissidents, when we get these we eradicate them. We do not differentiate who we fight because we can’t tell who is a dissident and who is not ”

When Catholic Bishops presented a report on the genocide in Matebeleland and the Midlands, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe described the Bishops as ‘**sanctimonious prelates**’ who were ‘**playing to the international gallery**’. He queried whether they were their own master or ‘**merely megaphone agents of their external manipulative masters.**’ He went on, ‘**in those circumstances, their allegiance and loyalty to Zimbabwe becomes extremely questionable**’

Even when the **Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice**, together with the **Legal Resources Foundation** published a joint account of the atrocities they were labelled by the Prime Minister as ‘**mischief makers wearing religious garb**’

In the end over 20,000 [twenty thousand] lives were lost and **no one** has been brought to account for these crimes against humanity. In fact, most of the perpetrators of these crimes against humanity are occupying senior positions in government and public offices.

In the circumstances, we are failing to understand those that question the reasons or morality of our forced decision to join the government of ZANU in 1987.

Equally shocking is that those that question our decision to join ZANU in 1987 were themselves fierce supporters and dedicated members of ZANU during the atrocities. Even more breathtaking is that those that now claim to represent the victims of this genocide have the international community stampede to assist them after only 200 [two hundred] of their supporters unfortunately lost their lives.

15. A DEAFENING SILENCE

While ZAPU supporters were being butchered, the rest of the country (except for one or two religious and lawyers' non-governmental organisations) and the whole world – including the west – watched and did nothing. The only time the west (represented by Britain) did something was when Her Majesty, the Queen of England, knighted then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for *“his excellent service to the Queen and British interests”*

The United States government, despite a Congressional Bill passed way before Zimbabwe's independence – that of rewarding developing countries with a good human rights record with aid – continued to lavish and spoil the ZANU government during the very same period of the genocide. Speculation is actually rife that the US support for Zimbabwe was three times more between 1980 and 1990 than from 1990 to date.

That was a definite violation of that Bill; but what is beyond doubt is that by continuing to deny support and assistance to ZAPU, the US was violating the *moral* Bill between its citizens and the Zimbabwean people, represented by ZAPU.

16. UNITY ACCORD

Having been faced with the reality that its supporters faced possible extinction, ZAPU was coerced into a coalition with ZANU in 1987. The terms of the agreement were as follows:

The ZANU (PF) and (PF) ZAPU Agreement

1. The ZANU (PF) and PF (ZAPU) have irrevocably committed themselves to unite under one political party
2. That the unity of the two political parties shall be achieved under the name Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front), in short ZANU (PF)
3. That Comrade Robert Mugabe shall be the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF)
4. That ZANU (PF) shall have two Second Secretaries and Vice Presidents who shall be appointed by the First Secretary and President of the Party
5. That ZANU (PF) shall seek to establish a socialist society in Zimbabwe on the guidance of Marxist-Leninist principles
6. That ZANU (PF) shall seek to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe
7. That the leadership of ZANU (PF) shall abide by the leadership code
8. That the present leadership of PF-ZAPU shall immediate vigorous steps to eliminate and end the insecurity and violence prevalent in Matebeleland
9. The ZANU (PF) and PF- ZAPU shall convene their respective Congresses to give effect to this Agreement within the shortest possible time
10. That, in the interim, Comrade Gabriel Mugabe is vested with full powers to prepare for the implementation of this Agreement and

to act in the name and authority of ZANU (PF)

Signed at this day of 1987

Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo
President: PF ZAPU

Robert Gabriel Mugabe
First Secretary and President: ZANU (PF)

It is quite evident that this document had different meanings to the two different organisations:

For PF-ZAPU, this was a surrender document meant only to save the lives of its supporters.

For ZANU (PF), this was an act of humiliating ZAPU and its leaders while at the same time realising their long-cherished dream of a one-party state with them in full control of State power.

17. VIOLATIONS OF THE UNITY ACCORD

As part of the Agreement, it was agreed in principle that senior government and civil service appointments shall be done in consultation with colleagues from ZAPU and that the distribution of these appointments be spread equally among members of the two parties, but based on merit.

It was also agreed that members of the “new” Party be governed by the leadership code, which - among many things - was designed to curb corruption. It was also agreed that violence, of which ZAPU was a victim, would never be used against the people of Zimbabwe in future.

❑ Only a few token appointments were made of ZAPU members in government. One of the areas of concern was the appointment of personnel to diplomatic missions. This was coupled with the neglect and humiliation of senior Zpra commanders who are dying as paupers.

❑ The leadership code was thrown into the dust bin and senior ZANU members are enjoying a free-for-all in looting government and national resources.

❑ Violence was – and still is – being used against innocent people, although not targeted exclusively at ZAPU supporters. The 2008 General Elections and the current situation in Harare are just a few examples.

❑ The economy was so badly mismanaged that it led to **millions** Zimbabweans becoming refugees and beggars both at home and in far-flung countries of the world.

All these and more led to ZAPU and its members reviewing their relationship with ZANU.

18. RESISTANCE IN GOVERNMENT

During the life of the Unity Accord, ZAPU members played a crucial role in Government. Despite saving people's lives, the signing of the Unity Accord by ZAPU leaders helped avoid a civil war which could have led to unimaginable consequences.

ZAPU's acquiescence therefore brought-about relative peace and stability which promoted whatever economic growth for the duration.

ZAPU leaders, especially Joshua Nkomo, were instrumental in reigning-in the ZANU excesses. This is evident in that soon after his death in 1999, ZANU (PF) started formulating and implementing disastrous and often tragic economic, political and military policies like the chaotic and murderous land reform, the DRC military excursion as well as the unbudgeted, corruption-ridden ransom payments to marauding real and false ex-combatants.

At about the same time, then Home Affairs Minister Dumiso Dabengwa was harshly criticised by members of his then party (ZANU-PF) after sending a strong contingent of riot police to evict a mob of "war veterans" who were parcelling out white-owned farms. He was also strongly rebuked and threatened **in Parliament** for his constant referral to the plight of Gukurahundi orphans over welfare, birth certificates etc.

These are just some examples of how ZAPU leaders tried, mostly in vain, to play a positive role in improving the lives of people. Many other efforts (not mentionable) were undertaken in private and the decision of the majority usually prevailed against them.

19. THE PULL-OUT AND ITS TIMING

The 2008 elections led to two important developments. Firstly they showed beyond reasonable doubt that ZANU PF will never cede power by democratic means. Secondly, that the international community was suddenly interested in the Zimbabwe discourse, and more importantly, putting the spotlight on the human rights record of ZANU PF.

The above reasons, coupled with Accord violations mentioned above , and many others reasons which shall not be mentioned for strategic reasons ,led to the revolutionaries of yesteryear to pull out of the disgraceful Unity Accord with ZANU PF .

The process was initiated by ZANU PF Provincial leaders of Bulawayo province . They went and approached Dr. Dabengwa seeking his guidance and leadership in the face of continued humiliation by their ZANU PF colleagues. This was sometime in 2008. Dr. Dabengwa advised them that the leader of ZAPU in ZANU PF was Cde. Joseph Msika and only he could give advice and directions. A delegation was sent meet Mr. Msika [then Vice President of the republic] and he advised them that only a congress, like the one that endorsed the Unity Accord in 1987, could endorse the decision to pull out of same. In December 2008, a special Congress was called and the decision to pull out was endorsed overwhelmingly by representatives of the country's ten provinces plus the South African province.

Later, a Special Congress in May 2009 elected Dr Dumiso Dabengwa as the interim chairman of ZAPU, deputised by Mr.Canciwell Nziramasa from Mashonaland West Province.

20. ZAPU 'S POSITION ON THE WAY FORWARD

ZAPU is not part of the inclusive government but supports the **Global Political Agreement** (GPA) because it presents a window of opportunity for constitutional reforms which should lead to a legitimately elected government with a mandate to govern. Article 6 of the GPA states; "that it is the fundamental right and duty of Zimbabwean people to make a constitution by themselves and for themselves". Although the implementation of the GPA has been slow and sometimes in fits and starts, largely due to ZANU [PF] insincerity and intransigence, the process must be completed and a new constitution must be produced before the next elections.

In the meantime, ZAPU is disturbed by some actions or lack of action by members of the GPA. This is mainly due to the continuing violations of the human rights of certain Zimbabwean individuals by the state. Trumped-up charges are being leveled against innocent individuals and sometimes their only crime is that of having a different political persuasion or simply that they belong to a minority race. This is totally unacceptable and we condemn it in the strongest possible terms. The state, or members of it, have also embarked on a criminal campaign of stripping assets owned by minorities and selected international investors under the guise of the equally illegitimate **Empowerment Laws**. This is an Act by a greedy criminal few designed to enrich themselves and their immediate friends and families.

ZAPU is calling for an immediate end to this madness and allow the process leading to fresh elections to go ahead unhindered so that a new **legitimate** government should decide on how empowerment should be implemented. We also call upon every Zimbabwean to ensure that the new constitution guarantees that property rights are sacred, irrespective of colour race or ethnicity.

21. THE (NEW) NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

ZAPU Submissions and Key Concepts

Governance and Electoral Reform

The checks and balances on power that are necessary in any democracy were removed in 1987 with the amendment of the constitution to create an Executive President with unlimited powers.

As a result the President can do almost anything he wishes and is not accountable for his actions.

This has led to an authoritarian government which survives on a climate of fear, deception, control of the media and general manipulation of the population. Parliament has been reduced to simply rubber-stamping Presidential orders.

The President is out of touch with the trials and tribulations of the citizens.

Although there is a new political dispensation with formation of a **Government of National Unity** (GNU) that provides for a Prime Minister and his two Deputies, real political power remains in the hands of an authoritarian President.

ZAPU believes that the leader of Zimbabwe must not have the powers of a nineteenth century monarch. The ideal leader must be in touch with the people and the people's representatives in Parliament.

The other problem is that the President has put his Party's programs, and its survival, above the well-being of the country and its people.

Accordingly, ZAPU is demanding a constitution that is informed by our recent history, particularly the experiences and events of the past 29 years. It is important to note that **national healing and reconciliation** can only succeed if we have a constitution that gives all our people - irrespective of colour, religion, race, sex or ethnicity – **hope** of a future free of the abuses and impunities of the past.

A close look at the current electoral system and laws shows them to

be at best unfair or at worst a misinterpretation of the voters views.

For example, the results of the March 2008 parliamentary elections show the seats won by the contesting parties being inconsistent with their popularity. The 207 seats that were allocated by the elections are as follows:

PARTY	SEATS WON (Current System)	POPULARITY	DESERVED SEATS (Proportional Representation)
MDC-M	10	14%	29
MDC-T	99	40.3%	83
ZANU-PF	97	44.7%	83
INDEPENDENT	1	1%	2
Totals	207	100%	207

In a situation where you have results as presented above, the parties in a General Election using the proportional representation system will have had no choice but to form a **coalition government** between at least two parties.

The next elections in our country will most likely give birth to a coalition government.

We do not view this as a necessarily bad outcome because it will give the country's political parties a rare opportunity to consult and negotiate policies and membership of the Coalition Government.

The actual parties that eventually form that government are not the subject of our discourse now, but the undeniable fact is *that such a government will dismantle the existence of a permanent state of confrontation that has characterised the conduct of politics in Zimbabwe between the ruling party and the opposition.*

Advantages of a Proportional Representation

- All votes count towards the composition of the NHA
- All opinion in the country finds expression in the NHA
- Political parties, forced by the electorate, learn to work together as they consult each other and make compromises for the way

forward

The present government has spoken much about giving power to the people but the reality is that all decisions (or lack of) are made by the President and a small clique from his own political party.

This has given rise to corruption, nepotism and marginalisation of those people, regions or provinces that are not represented in the circles of power.

To this end, ZAPU is advocating for the devolution of power to the Provinces.

22. DEVOLUTION OF POWER

Three undisputed advantages of devolution of power to Provinces are that:

1. Responsibility is divided between various centres to prevent abuse of power by central government
2. Local needs are more effectively identified and addressed
3. It increases efficiency, promotes greater accountability and produces more sustainable social, political and economic development.

Our government is too centralized and too controlling, yet very remote from the people to the extent that there is no relationship between the government and the governed. This is wrong and must change.

Zapu envisages the creation of **five regions or provinces**, namely:

1. Mashonaland
2. Masvingo
3. Midlands
4. Matabeleland
5. Manicaland

These are to be run by elected provincial governments presided over by an elected premier or governor. There must also be regional houses of assembly or parliaments to formulate relevant provincial legislation and supervise government. The provincial governments must be elected through a first-past-the-post system to ensure that the popular party in the region or province presides over its affairs. The national house of assembly and government must be elected using the proportional representation system to ensure that all political or regional interests are catered for and every vote counts towards the composition of the National House of Assembly – ensuring that all opinion in the country will find expression within that national constituent body.

Our vision is that provincial governments must have **control over development** issues in their areas, and must **own and control the natural resources** in their areas on behalf of their people. Obviously there must be a formula of how to share the resources between regional and the national government. Provincial governments must also be **responsible for the provision of social services** such as water, health, education, law and order, agriculture etc., leaving central government to run defense, security, and international relations, among other matters.

Devolution of power will result in the localisation of decision-making - resulting in better service delivery – and proportional representation will result in inclusive elected bodies all the way up to the National House of Assembly.

This is not just a rebalancing of ethnic or regional inequalities, real or imagined. It is the first step towards the actual empowerment of citizens through their increased sense of ownership, control and participation in the governance of their localities. The people can, and will, achieve this through devolved power.

23. ZAPU'S STRUCTURE TODAY

Our supreme decision-making body is **The People's Congress**, composed of delegates from all the branch, district, and provincial structures of the Party, including those in the Diaspora. That is our Government.

Between Congresses, the **National Peoples Council** acts as our legislative assembly, guiding, advising and interpreting the Congress' resolutions.

Our **Council(s) of Elders** are the custodians and judiciary of the Party's values, rules and regulations.

The **National Executive Council** (elected at Congress) is the like the Cabinet of the Party and responsible for the implementation of the Party's policies

24. CONCLUSION

The fact that **ZAPU is back** cannot be wished away.

That ZAPU has successfully revived its structures throughout the country is an evident fact.

Zimbabweans now have a **crystal clear choice** to make;

Either join and support us on our journey to successfully develop our country, or base your hopes on the failed politics and policies you have witnessed so far in Zimbabwe.

For how long ???!

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