Urban protest, Citizenship and the City: The history of Residents' Associations and African urban representation in colonial Harare, Zimbabwe

By

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Declaration

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the dissertation in favour of the University of the Free State.

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Abstract

This thesis is an account of social movements in the African part of the city of Salisbury in colonial Zimbabwe. It explores how the emergence and character of the "Location", as shaped by segregatory policies which viewed Africans as temporary sojourners in the city, influenced the development of African urban social movements. In doing so, it argues that the reluctance of the colonial authorities and business to invest in basic infrastructure and social services for the Location was the core reason why Africans organised themselves for the improvement of conditions in their segregated part of the City. Seeing themselves as permanent dwellers long before this fact was acknowledged by municipal authorities, many Africans came gradually to understand their collective strength. The emergence of African urban movements was thus a result of a realisation by Africans of the strength of the collective in confronting colonial authorities. This study argues that African trade unions and labour organisations were influenced by the state of affairs in the townships to become mouthpieces for all African urban dwellers. Even later nationalist organisations became *de facto* township residents' associations because of the centrality of urban grievances for African Location residents. Investigating the impact of the Depression and the Second World War on the direction and character that African urban representation assumed in the post 1940s period this thesis argues that it was the conditions brought about by increased African urbanisation such as overcrowding and other accompanying urban ills that led to the emergence of, and increase in, narrowly focussed African urban representative unions and associations in the post war period. The thesis also assesses the operations of residents' representative groupings in an environment of heightened national struggle for independence. It refocuses debates on African agency by exploring "African voices" in the urban arena as they engaged with colonial authorities about the manner in which the Location was imagined, arranged and managed. It captures moments of organised confrontation with colonial authorities by African urban residents organisations from 1908 when the first African Location was created in Salisbury right up to independence in 1980. Paying due regard to the changing and different attitudes of successive colonial governments and local authorities over time and space, the thesis examines the impact of such shifts on the nature and form of African representation.

Keywords: Location, segregation, residents' associations, urban social movements, Harare, protest, representation.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis stel ondersoek in na sosiale bewegings in die swart gedeelte van die stad Salisbury in koloniale Zimbabwe. Dit verken hoe die ontstaan en die aard van die "lokasie", wat gevorm is deur 'n segregasie beleid wat swartes slegs as tydelike besoekers beskou het, die ontwikkeling van swart stedelike bewegings beïnvloed het. Dit voer aan dat die koloniale owerhede en privaatsektor se traagheid om in basiese infrastruktuur en maatskaplike dienste te belê, die vernaamste rede was waarom swart mense hulself georganiseer het ten einde toestande in hul gesegregeerde deel van die stad te verbeter. Swart mense het hulself as permanente inwoners beskou, nog lank voor die munisipale owerhede dié feit erken het, en sodoende het hulle stelselmatig van hul kollektiewe mag bewus geword. Die onstaan van swart stedelike bewegings is dus te wyte aan swart mense se besef van die gesamentlike krag van die gemeenskap in die konfrontasie met die koloniale owerhede. Die studie voer aan dat swart vakbonde en arbeidsorganisasies deur die toestande in die lokasie beïnvloed is, en daarom het hulle sodoende 'n mondstuk vir swart stedelinge geword. Selfs latere nasionalistiese organisasies was *de facto* buurtorganisasies as gevolg van die belang wat stedelike griewe by swart inwoners geniet het. Daar word verder ondersoek ingestel na die uitwerking van die Groot Depressie en die Tweede Wêreldoorlog op die koers en die aard van swart stedelike verteenwoordiging ná die 1940s. Hierdie tesis voer aan dat die toestande wat deur toenemende swart verstedeliking meegebring is, soos oorbewoning en ander meegaande stedelike probleme, gelei het tot die ontstaan en groei van toegewyde swart stedelike verenigings in die na-oorlogse tydperk. Die tesis stel ook ondersoek in na die binnewerke van inwonersverenigings in 'n omgewing waar die landwye stryd om onafhanklikheid aan die verskerp was. Dit bring die debat terug na swart agentskap deur te fokus op stedelike "swart stemme" en hul gesprekke met die koloniale owerhede oor die wyse waarop die lokasie bedink, georden en bestuur is. Dit vang bepaalde oomblikke van georganiseerde konfrontasie met die koloniale owerhede vas, vanaf 1908 toe die eerste swart lokasie in Salisbury gestig is, tot en met onafhanklikheid in 1980. Daar word aandag geskenk aan die verskillende en veranderende houdings van opeenvolgende koloniale en plaaslike regerings, binne die raamwerk van tyd en plek. Hierdie tesis bestudeer dus dié verskuiwings en die aard en wese van swart verteenwoordiging.

Sleutelwoorde: Lokasie, segregasie, buurtverenigings, swart stedelike bewegings, Harare, protes, verteenwoordiging.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late father and mother, Rueben and Idah Chitofiri. You are not here with me but your spirits lives on.

Acronyms

ANC- African National Congress

CID- Central Investigations Department

CNC- Chief Native Commissioner

CYC- City Youth League

HCA- Harare Civic Association

HRP- Harare Residents Party

ICU- Industrial and Commercial Workers Union

MRA- Mabvuku Ratepayers Association

NAZ- National Archives of Zimbabwe

NDP- National Democratic Party

NHRA- New Highfield Ratepayers Association

RF- Rhodesia Front

RICU- Reformed Industrial Workers Union

SRAA- Southern Rhodesia African Association

SRANC- Southern Rhodesia African National Congress

SRBC- Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress

SRNA- Southern Rhodesia Native Association

UDI- Unilateral Declaration of Independence

ZANU- Zimbabwe African National Union

ZAPU- Zimbabwe African People's Union

Chapter One: Introduction and Background

Introduction and Historiographical arguments on the Rhodesian Colonial City and African Representation.

Colonial rule in Rhodesia was hinged upon four key endeavours by the European settler population; an attempt to contain African political ambitions, reconcile socio- political conflict between Africans and Europeans, ensure the efficient functioning of the developing capitalist economy and, above all, maintain European hegemony in an acceptably harmonious environment. The strategies employed by successive Rhodesian governments to this end were informed by an ideology that portrayed Africans as incapable of organising and maintaining a developed Western industrial capitalist economy. At worst they were seen as inherently incapable of acquiring the requisite skills; at best they would require an indefinably long period of exposure to modernising influences.[1] Key reinforcing elements of these attitudes were spatial segregation and discriminatory legislation. At the local authority level, this ideology was reflected in residential segregation and the continued marginalisation of Africans in the day to day process of civic participation. African desires for participation in local affairs and for contributing to decisions that affected their lives were only given flirting recognition and no serious successive attempts were made to accommodate them. They were never, in any meaningful way, able to influence any planning policies or programmes that were fundamental to the self-interest of the European group.

Their European rulers saw Africans as having a cultural background that was not compatible with an urban lifestyle. As such, urban Africans were never afforded effective access to municipal decision makers and compounding the problem was a pervasive belief among Europeans that they "knew and understood" the African mind and that they could prescribe for them. Hence Africans had little opportunity to determine the conditions of their urban environment or to direct development in what they considered to be their best interests. It is from such perspectives that this work provides an explanation of African experiences in the colonial city in Rhodesia from a perspective of African struggles for representation in the

[1] J. N. Paden and E. W. Sofa, *The African Experience*, Evanson: North Western University Press, 1970, p. 28.

urban setting. It explores the role of urban residents' movements in Harare (Salisbury in the colonial period) since the establishment of the first African Township[2] as a representation of urban social movements. In essence, the study's primary goal is to provide an account of African representation in the urban arena and trace the vicissitudes, operationalisation and impact of such representation on urban Africans' lived environment. In this work, I argue that urban protest movements took root in African townships because of the specific forms of social organisation and domesticity that characterised township society. I contend that these forms were largely the product of colonial exercises in social engineering through racial urban planning deployed in the beginnings of African township formation. As a method of control, racialized townships marked the beginnings of a decisive strategy by colonial administrators especially when African urbanisation proceeded particularly in response to industrial demand for labour. A constant worry confronting the colonial administrators was that "detribalisation" and the consequent urbanisation of Africans would engender social indiscipline and political agitation. African Townships were thus engineered in such a way that would allow colonial administrators to assert control over the urban African population. This thesis argues that this colonial social engineering of the African township, while intended to ensure the maintenance of "law and order," ended up making the townships centres of social unrest and political activism- precisely the consequence the scheme was designed to prevent. Ultimately, then, the colonial state became the victim of its own strategy of social control. This fits comfortably with Mahmood Mamdani's description of apartheid South Africa; "the form of rule shaped the form of revolt against it."[3]

The earliest signs of African urban protests assuming characteristics of residence- based group action was as early as 1914, when Location residents came together under one collective of People in Location, led by the Location headman, Makubalo to protest against the administrative changes made in 1913.[4] Before that, from the establishment of the Location,

[2] In October 1907, the town council of Salisbury opened a new "native location" outside the boundary of the town. Shortly after this a declaration was made by the central government declaring that beginning of May 1908, all Africans in Salisbury, except those already living on employers' premises, must reside on the Location. Hence, a segregated official ghetto, which was later to develop into the Harare African Township, came into being.

[3] M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism,"* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 24.

[4] NAZ, LG 38, People in Location to Town Clerk, April 3, 1914. This protest action will be discussed in much detail in chapter two.

people's methods of protesting were usually limited to stay- aways from the Location. Tsuneo Yoshikuni cites the increased enforcement of state control of the Location from 1913 as the cause of the "collectivisation" of African protest.[5] This thesis agrees with Yoshikuni's argument that the Location became a "neighbourhood, where everyday interactions formed new bonds of co-operation based on a common tenant status before the despotic landlord."[6] It was such bonds of co-operation that became formidable residents' movements in Salisbury.

The "conscription" into and participation of urbanised Africans in the residents movements was made possible by the presence of difficulties that confronted urban Africans from the initial onset of the African Location's establishment. Such problems had emerged largely because of the lack of agreement between the local council, the colonial state and capital over who would be responsible for the cost of housing and social services required in the African Townships. African associations, unions and boards thus became important platforms from which urban Africans could collectively air their grievances. Yoshikuni argues that the expansion of the African township "not only curtailed Africans' already limited freedoms, but also helped collectivise African grievances over living issues, as it concentrated more and more people in one place."[7] This made the different African associations and unions to become an important front for urban social protest and the Location to become an important focal site of such African urban social movements. This study is thus a history of social movements and popular struggles around community issues.

Work has been done on African urban movements in the colonial era, but most of the works have looked at some of these groups more as labour movements concerned mostly with African workers.[8] As such, these movements have been analysed mostly from a labour relations or worker- employer relations perspective. This thesis argues that some of these groups, and more, represented more than just the African worker. They represented

[5] T. Yoshikuni, "Strike Action and Self Help Associations: Zimbabwe Worker Protest and Culture after World War One", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1989, p. 441.
[6] *ibid*
[7] Yoshikuni, African *Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe, A Social History of Harare Before 1925*, Harare: Weaver Press, 2007, p. 17.
[8] Some of the key works in this respect include B. Raftopoulos and I. Phimister (eds), *Keep on Knocking, A History of Labour Movement in Zimbabwe 1900- 97*, Harare: Baobab Books, 1997; D. G. Clarke, *Contract Workers and Underdevelopment in Rhodesia,* Gweru: Mambo Press, 1974; I. Phimister and C. van Onselen, *Studies in the History of Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1978.

unemployed women, men and all the people who were affected by township issues. Other scholars have also examined the associations as nascent nationalist organisations with a broader nationalist agenda for Africans.[9] Indeed, with a few exceptions, scholarship on African responses to colonialism in colonial Zimbabwe has largely been limited to analysing them in the context of the nationalist historiography which viewed most African movements of the early period of colonialism as typifying African nationalist consciousness. There has been a focus on African organisations' political tradition, and here political tradition has mostly been taken to mean nationalist aspirations, which has tended to make scholars blind to some of these organisations' rich tradition of protest and representation with regards to civic matters. Scholars such as C Sanger have thus described the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) and the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) as "hardly effective bodies".[10] He limits the scope of these groups to "vehicles for the individual ambitions of various Africans." For him, the ICU existed as the "private band" of Charles Mzingeli.[11] Much of the scholarship on these organisations has taken Ranger's approach of seeking the "African voice" in them which has tended to see the African voice as a manifestation of African nationalism. As a demonstration of the influence Terence Ranger's approach has had, Ian Phimister argues that Ranger's books and articles have "exercised a generally pernicious nationalist influence for over a generation".[12] The limited focus of such studies caused the majority of scholars to fail to appreciate the deeper nature and influence of these organisations. Only a few historians have argued that some of these organisations had mandates outside the framework of the nationalist movement[13] and have maintained that even those that had a political mission were neither nationalist nor precursors of nationalism.[14]

[9] T. O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898- 1930*, London: Heinemann, 1970, was path breaking in this regard.
[10] C. Sanger, *Central African Emergency*, London: Heinemann, 1960, p. 206.
[11] *ibid*
[12] Phimister "Narratives of progress: Zimbabwean historiography and the end of history", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* Vol. 30, No. 1, 2012, p. 28.
[13] Yoshikuni, for example, has identified some of these organisations more as Self- Help organisations than as proto- nationalist organisations. See Yoshikuni, "Strike Action and Self Help Associations: Zimbabwe Worker Protest and Culture After World War One."
[14] E. Msindo, "Social and Political Responses to Colonialism on the Margins: Chieftaincy and Ethnicity in Bulilima- Mangwe, Zimbabwe, 1890- 1930", in P. Limb, N. Etherington and P. Midgley, *Grappling with the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840- 1930*, Leiden: Brill , 2010, p. 117.

The majority of African associations and unions established in colonial Rhodesia were founded by urbanised "intellectual" Africans and most of these leaders set out to use the African township as a foundation to further their national political ambitions. However, most of these leaders were also compelled to represent African township affairs against the local municipality, central government and capital. In as much as there were signs of national concerns within some of the issues tackled by their organisations, by and large, their focus was driven towards addressing everyday township discomforts that they shared together as "Location" or "township citizens." A majority of the organisations, at different times, were bound to react against the irritations of a colonial township that was "designed to contain and control first workers and later entire African urban populations"[15] and, for some of them, the acquisition of nationalist characteristics was a necessity rather than an intention. Local leadership had to "redefine issues of local concern within the frame of a nationalist project."[16] The concerns of African local residents in the townships were thus central to the continued existence of the organisations as were the organisations as a key platform for African urbanites. Timothy Scarnecchia, in his book, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* does an exceptional job of "providing an account of the democratic tradition that was present in the African townships of what was Salisbury."[17] This thesis goes further and deeper to examine how such a tradition was used by different African organisations to confront the local municipality and central government with regards to township grievances.

The Pioneer Column which raised its flag in what became Salisbury in 1890 included a body of men with varied skills and qualities. Importantly, these early pioneers were supposedly filled, in principle at least, as to the moral decency of their mission; to extend British 'power and glory' and most importantly, to secure the yields of rich mineral resources. This imperialist group generally considered the indigenous Africans as backward, ignorant and undeserving of social interaction as an equal. Indeed, this group saw the African as fit only for

[15] T. Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe: Harare and Highfield, 1940- 1964*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008, p. 21.
[16] J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T. Ranger, *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000, p. 85.
[17] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe*, p. 3.

menial labour.[18] The Pioneers' early encounter with the indigenous people during the Ndebele and Shona uprisings also hardened their attitudes towards Africans and only served to reinforce their initial approach towards separation.[19] It was these pioneers that set up the colonial city, Salisbury and it logically followed, therefore, that the city was bound to be organised along these racial fault lines. The majority of the European settlers readily accepted the existence of a white dominant elite group and a subordinate African colonised group and relations between the groups were maintained predominantly to serve the economic and political interests of the dominant group. They included mechanisms to ensure a flow of labour from the subordinate group to the dominant and the imposition of control and administration over the subordinate population. By its very nature, this system of social relations was coercive, non- interactive and class- race based. Workers drawn from the white privileged group were routinely privileged in employment, occupations, income, and access to political authority. Munyaradzi Mushonga argues that those "who wore the uniform of the white skin wore it with inherent power, authority and privilege."[20]

Thus a division of the working class was the rule and most importantly, this division was given geographic prominence by physical separation and segregation. In essence, therefore, Salisbury was divided along racial lines and the apparent and obvious differences between the two groups gradually worsened intergroup relations, reinforced attitudes and justified planning policies of separate development. The power relations that emerged and were reinforced at the work place were the whites and the blacks had the most contact, were expressed geographically and physically in the way the city was organised. Since Salisbury was the "creation and almost exclusive property of the whites, the entry of Africans into the city and their behaviour in the urban setting" was to a large extent "legislated in accordance with the needs and customs of the white population."[21] Land use and African existence in Salisbury was, therefore, closely regulated by law so that Africans were permitted to live only in

[18] For more on the Pioneer Column see B. A. Kosmin, On the Imperial Frontier: The Pioneer Community of Salisbury in November 1899," *Rhodesian History*, vol. 2, 1971, pgs. 25- 37.
[19] See; P. L. Moorcraft and P. McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War; A Military History*, Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2008. The book has a chapter that chronicles the roots of conflict between white settlers and the Ndebele and Shona and explains the racial attitudes that were solidified as a result of the conflict.
[20]M. Mushonga, "White power, white desire: Miscegenation in Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe," *African Journal of History and Culture,* Vol. 5. No. 1, Jan 2013, p, 2.
[21] C. Kileff, "Black Surburbanites: An African Elite in Salisbury, Rhodesia", in C. Kileff and W. C. Pendleton (eds), *Urban Man in Southern Rhodesia*, Salisbury: Mambo Press, 1975, p. 83.

Townships with only a few like domestic servants living in servants quarters provided on their employers' property. It was such policies and the conditions that emerged as a result of the policy drive that became a breeding ground for protest by the African urban citizenry.

The movement of Africans looking for work into the urban areas was beginning to raise a host of problems. This was especially so because especially after the First World War, some Africans were beginning to make permanent homes for themselves and their families in the towns.[22] In Southern Rhodesia, migrant labour had been readily accepted as a working conduit of the policy of segregation and the African was, therefore, permitted to visit the towns only temporarily and under strict control and on condition of employment. In essence, the towns belonged to the whites and the African, it was thought, had his home elsewhere. The colonial state therefore was not willing to invest in the upkeep of the urbanised Africans as they had no business to be permanently based in the urban areas. In principle, as the Mayor of Umtali pointed out, "the councils did not wish to lose money on the Location, as it would not be fair on the white population."[23] Essentially because of this unwillingness to cater for the needs of the urbanised Africans, African Locations were overcrowded, with "hardships verging on semi-starvation," and "crowded and filthy hovels surrounding the brickfields… an area which constitutes a menace to the well-being of the city."[24] Of striking importance is the fact that the worry was not so much about the effect of these poor conditions on Africans, rather, it was on "the well-being of the city." It should, however, be noted that in as much as there was this marked lack of attention to the effects of the conditions of the Locations on Africans, Africans were worried about them and they were beginning to do something about it.

It followed that the African organisations, even those created to cater for African interests at the work place, would extend their tentacles to the township where the power relations of the dominated versus the subordinate had found physical expression in the manner the

[22] Gray, *The Two Nations, aspects of the development of race relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland,* London: Greenwood Press, 1974, p. 107.
[23] NAZ, 1/1/1-4, Report of the Morris Carter Land Commission, 1925.
[24] C. N. Burden, *Nyasaland Native Labour in Southern Rhodesia, Zomba,* 1938, quoted in Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 104.

African township was organised and constructed.[25] This was especially so because in Salisbury, control over the Africans was quickly accomplished by the creation of a plural society with whites in positions of power and capital. The state thus found it logical to effect cost minimisation strategies on the urban Africans because in their view, the urban space was a temporary place of work for the African to be occupied at little cost as possible to the central state and the city.[26] The result of this perception was often a haphazard approach to urban policy, with unclear categories of African urban settlement. What emerged, therefore, was a poorly equipped and cheaply drawn out setup which sought to accommodate the African in the urban arena.

The townships were established at low cost as possible to the colonial government and this meant poor facilities for the Africans. As such, as the structures of urban settlement were established and as more Africans "invaded" the urban space, the colonial guiding principles of "differentiation, domination and accumulation"[27] created the roots of urban protest on which most urban African social movements found fertile ground. This was because the "central problem for settler colonialism … was the need to reconcile the requirements for urban labour with the cost of producing such labour and the overall imperative of maintaining the idea of a white city."[28] Richard Gray's book, which forms an early discussion of colonial urbanism points at the dependency on African labour as the "element of colonial rule that most disturbingly challenged the policy of segregation."[29] Given such a scenario, the Africans in the "European" urban area were governed under the Native Affairs Department and were put under a strict regime of control of their movement, participation and association. Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni argue that this emphasis on control and domination led the colonial state in 1933 to place its first town planning department under the Ministry of

[25] Examples of such organisations include the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union and its successor, the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. Though these organisations were created mainly as labour organisations, their activities were broad and often encompassed Township issues. Indeed, the first meeting of the ICU "under the indaba tree" in Bulawayo on 30 November, 1929 positions the ICU more as an urban residents organisation than anything else. These organisations and others will be discussed at length in the following chapters.

[26] This was a dominant view at least up to the Second World War period, when the changes in Southern Rhodesia's political economy forced the state to reconsider this position.

[27] Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History,* Harare: Weaver Press, 1999, p.1.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] R. Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 33.

Internal Affairs, a Ministry designed "to oversee internal security."[30] For the two, therefore, when urban settlements were developed, there were developed as part of the "process of establishing an administrative and political structure for colonial rule."[31]

The industrialization of the colonial economy in the late 1930s and 1940s saw an increase in African urban dwellers and with it the increase in the development of formal African settlements especially in Salisbury (Harare) and Bulawayo.[32] These settlements were, however, overcrowded and had poor conditions and facilities and it was such conditions and other factors that fueled African confrontation of the system through their different urban organisations. However, way before the heightened industrialization of the 1940s, many African representative groups had emerged with the mandate to tackle and engage urban authorities with regards to African living conditions. Prominent amongst such groups was the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) which emerged in the immediate post World War period in 1919. Different scholars have highlighted the importance of this organisation to the fledgling African political project and Michael West describes it as a "political voice of a reconstituted black elite that included South African immigrants and Africans indigenous to the colony."[33] Alois Mlambo describes the SRNA as an "elitist organisation whose major concerns were namely the franchise for the elite Africans, exemption from pass laws and access to European liquor."[34] He, however, gives cursory attention to the SRNA's role as an urban residents' organisation but merely described it as an organisation that "condemned the neglect of the township by the white city fathers."[35]

[30] Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, (eds*), Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History,* p. 1.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] A. S. Mlambo, E. S. Pangeti and Phimister, *Zimbabwe: A history of Manufacturing 1890- 1995*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press, 2000, provides a comprehensive explanation of colonial Zimbabwe's industrialisation process which consequently increased African urbanisation as the demand for more labour increased and the need for a more permanent labour force became vital.
[33] M. West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002, p. 29.
[34] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p.131.
[35] *Ibid.*

Another important group was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) established in 1928.[36] Many scholars on Zimbabwe have done an excellent job at looking at the ICU as a trade union organisation but this research looks at the ICU and many other African representative unions and organisations as urban residents' representative groups with a key mandate of representing the urbanized Africans.[37] This is not saying that it is wrong to look at the ICU and other African organisations as trade unions. Rather this is an attempt to investigate the other key mandate of these organisations as African residents' representative organisations in urban Rhodesia. Indeed, the first meeting of the ICU "under the indaba tree" in Bulawayo on 30 November, 1929[38] positions the ICU more as an urban residents organisation than anything else. This meeting's agenda was to "protest against the Town Council of Bulawayo's action in the Bulawayo Native Location."[39] The stage had been set for the ICU's first confrontation with urban authorities and so was the tone by the ICU as a representative for African urbanites. The meeting was aimed to object to the "action of the Mayor and Councilors of Bulawayo for neglecting their duty by not looking after the conditions of natives in Locations."[40] Amongst some of their resolutions was to lobby council for the establishment of a hospital, government school for "native" children, a recreation hall for "native" people and better sanitation.[41] The list of resolutions where entirely township issues that did not seek to focus specifically on trade union or labour issues which, in itself, is a demonstration of awareness amongst the key stakeholders in the ICU of their organisation's place in residents' concerns.

Another prominent organisation which dominated African politics in the 1940s in Salisbury was the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union (RICU)[42] which also played a major role

[36] Phimister and van Onselen have a section of a chapter in Raftopoulos and Phimister's (eds), *Keep on Knocking,* which chronicles the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union and its links with a South African organisation of a similar name.
[37] Some of the scholars include Phimister, Raftopoulos, Yoshikuni.
[38] Quoted in Raftopoulos and Phimister (eds) *Keep on Knocking,* p. 21.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Raftopoulos and Phimister (eds), *Keep on Knocking* has a copy of the poster advertising the meeting.
[41] The poster of the ICU listed these resolutions and underneath the poster was this statement written in Zulu: Wozani! Wozani! Wozani! Ma Africa Lizozizwela Ngendhlebe Isisako sama Africa Adubekileyo Ziyatatwa izindlu zenu Ma Africa koze kubenini lituli vukani kusile. Literally translated, this means Africans Come! Come! Come! And hear for yourselves the plea of the suffering Africans. Your houses are under siege. Up until when Africans are you going to keep quite? Wake up its dawn time.
[42] Note that the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was later re-launched as the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union in March 1946. Suspicious of its activities, the government closely

as representatives of township residents.[43] The estimated RICU membership in the 1950s was nearly seven thousand and Mzingeli[44] argued that of these members, a majority of them were women; unemployed women.[45] These women were drawn to RICU because of its representation of African township residents and Scarnercchia cites the 1950s as the period with the biggest membership in RICU and for him, it was because of RICU's protection of women against raids in the 1950s that saw this increase in active membership.[46] Such composition demonstrates the RICU'S inclination more towards township issues than shop floor or industrial matters and indeed, Mzingeli spent most of his political life confronting urban council officials with an assortment of African grievances in the townships.

The post-World War Two period similarly saw the emergence of many residents' associations in Salisbury whose sole mandate, unlike ICU, RICU and others before, was township affairs. Residents' associations like New Highfield Ratepayers Association, Mabvuku Ratepayers Association, Harare Civic Association, Southern Rhodesia African Association and many others emerged. The sprouting up of these many residents' associations at this time was as a result of many factors. One such factor was the post war expansion of the Rhodesian economy and growth of the African population in the urban areas, especially Salisbury. The growth of the African population resulted in the expansion and overcrowding of African townships and this led to the need for more residents' associations to represent the African populace especially given the nature of these townships.

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monitored the ICU, intimidating its leaders and labelling them communists. This all limited the ICU's appeal until it collapsed in the mid-1930s. From the 1940s, however, the situation was changing as Africans were becoming more permanent urban residents and trade unionism had a resurgence. From the mid to the late 1940s, the ICU, under Mzingeli tried to revive itself into a single Reformed ICU, mainly based in Salisbury. Rubben Jamela, a prominent African Trade unionist, describes the new RICU as the ICU in a reformed way and as a better and a more efficient organisation benefiting from wider knowledge. This study thus takes the ICU and RICU in the same context hence the continued use of the term ICU.

[43] Scarnercchia's book, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* provides an interesting reading of not only the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union but also of Charles Mzingeli's uncelebrated political career. In fact, Scarnercchia refers to Mzingeli as the "mayor of Harare." Raftopoulos also has a chapter in *Sites of Struggle, Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, which also chronicles the history of (RICU).

[44] Charles Mzingeli was the organisation's General Secretary and a very influential member of Salisbury's African community.

[45] Charles Mzingeli, "Oral Evidence to the National Native Labour Board Commission of Inquiry into the Employment of Women", UZ Godlonton Collection: Salisbury, 1953.

[46] Scarnecchia's book, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* has a comprehensive section that analyses the involvement of the RICU in protecting Location women against raids. This, will, however, be looked at in more detail later on in the thesis.

Over time and space, the residents' movements became increasingly militant. One crucial factor that was central in causing the militancy was the failure by colonial authorities to include, effectively, the residents' movements on township matters. The major cause of this failure was mainly engrained on the dominant colonial approach towards Africans that regarded them as subjects whose chief role in the urban locale was provision of labour. In fact, Brian Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni argue that the colonial urban authority demonstrated an inability and incapacity to imagine a settled urban wage labourer and this was despite a clear attempt by many Africans to make the city home.[47] The link with labour and nationalist movements also heavily influenced the residents' movements to adopt a more confrontational disposition especially from the mid-1940s onwards. In fact, some of the labour unions, like Mzingeli's RICU where more visible in the township arena and as residents representatives more than anything else.

Important to note is the fact that the nature, scope and constituency of the residents' movements in colonial Harare has never been fixed. It has been subject to a lot of changes and these changes depended on the character of the different eras of Zimbabwe's history. A major point that explains the shifting characteristic of the residents' movements was the different colonial governments' approaches to African affairs. From the founding of the Rhodesian colony, the successive governments that governed the territory were never homogenous. Their dealings with Africans were not the same and it was influenced by many internal and external factors. In a large measure, the different Rhodesian governments' approaches to African concerns influenced the behavior of the residents' movements in different and variegated ways.

The settler state was not monolithic. There were many differences between the central government and the local authorities and these differences impacted the ways in which African urban social movements found expression. Throughout the colonial period, local government was a terrain for governance conflicts especially between the state and the local councils. However, at the same time, local government acted as an extension of central state

[47] Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, p. 6.

power and also as a means to organise and control Africans.[48] There were also what Ranger termed "colonial tensions between state and city"[49] which describe the disagreements between the central state and local governments especially over the manner in which African townships were to be administered and who was to bear the costs of administering them. Nonetheless, the key common denominator shared by the different governments and the local authorities was their desire to "keep Africans in their place" and this feature generally shaped colonial administration of the colonial urban space. Thus conceived, for the successive colonial governments and the local authority in its many different forms from the creation of the African township onwards, "native policy" revolved around the creation and maintenance of white landscapes of power by separating them from the Africans and creating a controlled and inexpensive environment for urban Africans.

Raftopolous and Yoshikuni show that the study of urban history in Zimbabwe brings into focus: the spaces which were created for Africans in the urbanisation process; the contradictory responses of the colonial state; the effects of rural- urban linkages on labour organisation; and the struggles over the mapping of the city along racial, class and gender lines. They argue that the problems faced by colonial administrators continue to face their post-colonial counterparts, but in exacerbated form.[50]

Richard Gray's book, *The Two Nations*[51] represents that class of work that analyses separate development as a policy in Southern Rhodesia, "when eyes were diverted from the other nation and its very existence seemed sometimes to be denied."[52] Gray however identifies, in the same Southern Rhodesia, a "growing awareness of the dilemma, a consciousness on either side that the other nation is there and a new recognition on the European side that the awakening African constitutes a challenge."[53] By and large, this thesis agrees with Gray's

[48] K. Chatiza, "Can local government steer socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe? Analysing historical trends and gazing into the future," Jaap de Visser, Nico Steytler and Naison Machingauta (eds), *Local government reform in Zimbabwe: A policy dialogue*, Bellevue: Community Law Centre (University of the Western Cape), 2010, p, 2.
[49] Ranger, "City versus State in Zimbabwe: Colonial Antecedents of the Current Crisis," *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* vol.1, no.2, 2007, p, 162.
[50] Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, p. 1.
[51] Gray, *The Two Nations.*
[52] *Ibid*, p. xv.
[53] *Ibid.*

description. Where it differs with him is the assertion of the "awakening African" which assumes that the African was in deep slumber. Contrary to this assertion this thesis argues that Africans in the urban area were never in deep sleep only to "awaken" in the later stages of colonialism. Indeed, Africans were "awake" from the moment they got into contact with the colonial urban scenario. Africans were still trying to ascertain their position in the city. They were not as yet, by and large, sure whether the city was to become home or was to remain a temporary labour outpost. Their ability and degree of negotiation or wakefulness was thus determined by this uncertainty. The colonial economy, to a large extent, aided Africans in making this decision. It increasingly demanded more from Africans, and helped in pushing Africans to look for alternative sources from the colonial economy to meet the obligation that the colonial state demanded from them. Africans were subjected to a long standing situation of land alienation which pushed them into reserves. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 only consolidated the land alienation by giving a final legal effect to a long process which had been going on since the turn of the century which rendered it most uneconomical for most Africans to continue depending on land to meet the growing demands of the colonial economy. However, before the 1940s, most Africans were pushed to work on mines, farms and as domestics in the urban areas. The situation only changes during and after the Second World War with secondary industrialization which caused a significant increase in urban workers.

Gray also identifies "trusteeship" as the nearest approach to "a coherent theory of British imperialism" and argues that the definitions of trusteeship in the early colonial period were occasioned by events elsewhere, namely the League of Nations' Mandate for Tanganyika which accepted a 'sacred trust' for "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."[54] For Gray, this view reaffirmed an "axiom of British policy."[55] However, in Southern Rhodesia, especially with the attainment of Responsible government, settler whites were only responsible to themselves and "trusteeship" did not apply in this self-governing settler state. The majority of the white settlers argued that Africans were not yet advanced and civilized enough to be responsible for their own affairs. The bulk of white Rhodesians giving evidence to the Morris Carter

[54] *Ibid,* p. 5.
[55] *Ibid.*

Commission summaries this view well. For example, a Rhodesian farmer was of the view that the "native was not yet equipped, mentally or morally, for the franchise or political authority according to our standards. Whether he will be is a very moot question; the essential qualities of honesty, truthfulness, industry and sobriety are absent from his character."[56] Another Salisbury based white argued that the "native" could not "possibly reach the stage of the white man's development before at least another 150 years and that it would be 100 years before native lawyers, doctors, or tradesmen would desire a house in the suburbs."[57]

As mentioned earlier, this white view of "the African" generally determined "native" policy in Southern Rhodesia and any aspect of the "native problem" was largely governed by the whites idea and understanding of the "native's character." Murray Steele's PhD thesis on the foundations of a "Native Policy" in Southern Rhodesia from 1923 to 1933 provides an important background that helps in understanding the key guiding principles that shaped colonial government policy with regards to Africans.[58] His analysis of government policy assists this study in packaging and accounting for African reactions to government policy and the forces that initiated such reactions. A view by Godfrey Huggins who was then a Member of the Legislative Assembly encapsulates colonial attitudes towards Africans. Huggins, giving evidence to the Morris Carter Commission, argued that a "curb should be put on the activities of the native" and "he" should have the same right of progress as a European, but only "as long as it is harmless."[59] Of importance is what constituted "harm" and the steps the colonial government were willing to take to protect the whites from this "harm.' Separate development was thus seen as one of the ways that could be instituted to protect the whites from "harm" but the colonial labour needs posed a huge obstacle to the success of the policy of segregation especially the desire to keep the city white.

[56] NAZ, 1/1/1-4, Report of the Morris Carter Land Commission, 1925.
[57] Ibid
[58] M. C. Steele, "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923- 1933", PhD Dissertation, Simon Fraser University, 1972.
[59]NAZ, 1/1/1-4, Report of the Morris Carter Land Commission, 1925.

Gray argues that explicit African reactions to European policy in Southern Rhodesia were subdued, divided, ignored and largely ineffective.[60] In as much as this view by Gray maybe true in describing the general African response to European policy countrywide, this is not true of the African reactions to their local township conditions. The African reaction to the poor living conditions in the townships was anything but subdued. The analysis by Gray is common among scholars who want to analyze any form of African responses in Southern Rhodesia in the context of the rise and development of nationalism and national consciousness. Such an analysis ignores African responses to their local conditions especially where those responses are not packaged in a nationalist context. In essence, not all African responses were nationalist in character and some and most of them were reactions to the nature of their local conditions. To try and analyze how Africans responded to local issues like road maintenance, housing, street lighting, rents and overcrowding only in the context of a wider nationalist agenda is missing the point as we run the risk of misjudging the intentions of the struggles and the gains and losses herein.

The same issue is tackled by Frederick Cooper as well but in a general African context in his book, *Decolonisation and African society: the Labour Question in French and British Africa.* Cooper identifies the colonial officials' concern with "work as a social process"[61] and how such a process was supposed to survive side by side with colonial government's imaginings of the city as a white city. He shows how African trade union and political leaders used the new language of social change to claim equality and a share of power and provides an explanation of how the British and French dealt with labour as a social issue and how the colonial mind set conceptualised African workers.

An important book on Zimbabwe's urban history is Yoshikuni's *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe* which is a social history of early Harare in which he argues that early African Salisbury consisted of an inner city; consisting of the municipal Location whose inhabitants were mainly workers, foreign men, and the outer suburb populated by locals who

[60] Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 108.
[61] F. Cooper, *Decolonisation and African Society: The labour question in French and British Africa,* Cambridge: *Cambridge* University Press, 1996, p. 23.

were mainly mission educated and better paid workers.[62] The book chronicles the establishment of the Location and examines the impact of the state's attempt to control the urbanised Africans. This book plays a key role to this study as it examines the development of the early social movements that emerged from the Location. However, Yoshikuni only limits his analysis to the early period of colonial rule up to 1925. As such, his work does not fully account for the emergence of organised social movements from the 1930s onwards, especially those that emerged as a result of the 1940s urbanisation. Equally, Raftopolous' article, which analyses the ambiguities of nationalism and labour in Salisbury, was essential in providing elements of workers' responses to urban movements and protests especially in the context of struggle for space in the city. He argues that the period between 1945 and 1965 saw different "layers of experience entering the politics of Salisbury, resulting from the changes on the land and the resultant demographic and social effects on the city."[63] More importantly, Raftopolous identifies the "diversity of interests and layers of consciousness within the urban classes, which do not necessarily follow a linear path into national consciousness."[64] Though Raftopolous makes an important contribution in analysing the rise of urban politics especially the formative years of the nationalists' movements, he, to a large extent, focusses and limits his analysis to "the terrain of disputes" in the nationalists' movements and labour. As such, the strictly Location issues that these organisations correspondingly involved themselves with is not given due attention.

Timothy Scarnecchia's book has also made a significant contribution to understanding of Zimbabwean urban history and nationalism and plays a major part in influencing the ideas in this thesis.[65] His work discusses the urban roots of democracy and political violence in Zimbabwe between 1940 and 1965 and uses Mbare and Highfield Townships as case studies. He accounts for the development of a democratic tradition in urban colonial Zimbabwe in the 1940s and 1950s and argues that this was absorbed by an exclusive, elitist and conflict-ridden political culture by the 1960s which caused the abandonment of urban democratic traditions. Scarnecchia's work is helpful in critiquing nationalism in Zimbabwe by moving from a

[62] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p. 34.
[63] Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965", Journal *of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 21, No. 1, 1995, p. 92.
[64] *Ibid*, p. 93.
[65] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe.*

narrative treatment of "an essentialised notion of national unity."[66] His book acknowledges the role of the nascent nationalist organisations and the labour unions in civic issues and he made an important attempt to link their activities either directly to Township politics through their role in the Advisory Boards or the emerging residents' associations in the 1940s. His major focus is, however, an analysis of the roots of urban democracy and violence and does not trace, more profoundly, the organisations' involvement in civic matters. His study ends in 1965 and thus does not account for the whole colonial period to independence.

Theresa Barnes' book is also another important contribution to Zimbabwe's urban history and it examines urban processes from a gendered perspective. She investigates how, in colonial Salisbury up to the mid- 1950s, African women experienced work, housing, relations with men, organisational life and nationalist struggles. Barnes' book explores the experience of African women in Harare, in the period 1930-1956 in a complex situation where the town was exclusively meant for the European settlers, the majority of the urban Africans were male labourers, and the rural patriarch remained hostile to the urban presence of women. For her, the early colonial period provided a "complex mix of opportunities for women in the cities generated by the contradictions between the state and African patriarchal imperatives over the control of women."[67] She offers important insights into the treatment of urban African women's organisations, whether explicitly political and nationalist; that facilitated social reproduction; or buttressed class-based social and domestic skills. She also discusses the relationships between women and nationalist politics, complex and sometimes contradictory attitudes of the state and the African males to women's presence in the city, the constraints which the women encountered as well as the opportunities which they took advantage of despite the generally unfriendly legal and social climate within which they operated. Barnes' contribution is, however, limited to a focus on women in colonial Harare and although it adds a key gender perspective to Zimbabwe's urban history, it barely gives attention to the social movements that this thesis discusses. Barnes's work is however limited to a period between 1930 and 1956.

[66] Britain Zimbabwe Society, "What History For Which Zimbabwe?", A Report on the Britain Zimbabwe Society Research Days, 12 and 13 June 2004, http://www.britain-zimbabwe.org.uk/RDreport04.htm (Accessed 10 August 2015).
[67] T. Barnes, "We Women Worked so Hard:" Gender, Labour and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930- 1956, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999, p. 101.

Many scholars have similarly looked at African struggles for survival in the urban space especially the manner in which Africans constantly strove to carve out and control their own space and lives and to blunt and mitigate the impact of colonial policies and practices as best as they could under the circumstances. In these studies, a multifaceted progression of the experiences of the African urbanites has been presented, further opening up an understanding of not only African nationalism but localized African urgency as well. Raftopolous and Yoshikuni's edited volume, *Sites of Struggle* contains a collection of articles from Stephen Thornton, Richard Parry, Scarnecchia, Barnes, Yoshikuni, Raftopolous and Patrick Bond which go a long way in opening up that understanding. The collection provides an historical understanding of the social and political developments that have shaped contemporary urban society in Zimbabwe's two cities, Harare and Bulawayo. The articles make clear that "the legacy of colonial rule confronts contemporary urban Zimbabweans' and that the 'problems faced by colonial administrators continue … in an exacerbated form" in present-day Zimbabwe.[68] The articles demonstrate how different groups of Africans in colonial Salisbury and Bulawayo acted to shape the new urban environment in the face of a colonial policy aimed at limiting and controlling, the presence of Africans outside the rural areas. Thornton's article[69] takes an economic perspective and analyses the struggles and experiences of the African petty-bourgeoisie in Bulawayo as they fought to compete with the more established colonial capitalist businesses in the first quarter century of colonial rule. He argues that, the urban environment "created new opportunities for a burgeoning African capitalist class" that became a "small but significant class of landowners" in and around that city.[70]

Timothy Scarnecchia[71] and Theresa Barnes'[72] works focus on the gender aspects of the colonial urban scene. Scarnecchia analyses the debates that surrounded the efforts to

[68] Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, p. 13.
[69] S. Thornton, "The Struggle for profit and participation by an emerging petty- bourgeoisie in Bulawayo, 1893-1933", in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History.*
[70] *Ibid*, p. 45.
[71] Scarnecchia, "The Mapping of Respectability and the Transformation of African Residential Space" in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History.*
[72] Barnes, "'We Are Afraid to Command Our Children': Responses to the Urbanisation of African Women in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1930-44," in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle,* pp. 95-112.

promote "respectability" among urban women in Harari African Township and highlights the tensions between middle class families, who considered themselves to be "stable", and single migrant workers whom they regarded as "unstable" and from whom they consistently tried to distance themselves. Parry[73] takes a cultural perspective and argues that Africans living in Salisbury before 1940 shared cultural activities that challenged and occasionally subverted colonial powers. Patrick Bond also adopts an economic perspective to the African struggle and investigates the history of urban financial flows in colonial Harare.[74] Yoshikuni's article in *Sites of Struggle* analysed "the changing effects of rural-urban relations on the urban process" and examined how changes in the rural areas impacted on developments in the city.[75]

Other historians like Phimister, Raftopolous and Michael West[76] have written extensively on the labour, gender and social history of colonial Harare's African townships and a very solid historiography of the township and labour exist. Phimister and Raftopolous article, ''Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe'' provides an important alternative explanation to the 1948 General Strike that questions the appropriation of the strike by the nationalist narrative.[77] In so doing, it brings to the fore important layers not only in labour but in the townships that reveal the complexities of African urban history. The two make an important suggestion that "greater attention should be paid by labour historians to the lived experiences of discrete classes or social strata in different towns and locales," because it is a "vantage point which invites a view of the multi-layered relationship between nationalism and labour extending beyond those blinkered perspectives where it has been seen either as one of whole-hearted support or of complete betrayal."[78] Phimister's book, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, is a key text that provides a coherent

[73] R. Parry, "Culture, organisation and class: the African experience in Salisbury, 1892- 1935", in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History.*
[74] P. Bond, "Capital in the city, a history of urban financial flows through colonial Zimbabwe" in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History.*
[75] Yoshikuni, "Notes on the Influence of town- country relations on African Urban history, Experiences of Salisbury and Bulawayo before 1957", in Raftopolous and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History.*
[76] West, *The Rise of An African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898- 1965*.
[77] Phimister and Raftopolous, '''Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe'': African Nationalists and Black Workers — The 1948 General Strike in Colonial Zimbabwe", Journal *of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 13 No. 3, 2000.
[78] *Ibid*, p. 316.

description of the economic and social changes experienced by Southern Rhodesia to 1948.[79] The book traces the manner in which the black majority were oppressed and exploited and more importantly, Phimister resists the temptation of presenting this black underclass as merely passive casualties who are at the messy of the governing group. Rather, he accounts for struggles of African men and women in the countryside, the mines and industrial areas and their attempt to ameliorate themselves. Key to this thesis, Phimister locates these struggles in a historical examination of the process of urbanisation and trade unionism.

A major contribution has also emerged from Zimbabwean novelists, journalists and scholars who have written extensively and passionately about the cultural and political life of African townships. William Saidi in his novel, *The Old Brick lives,* describes the flavor of Harare township life[80]. The Old Bricks was the first section of Harare Township built first for men only but later occupied by women and families. The novel chronicles the hardships of township life through many characters and the attempts by urban authorities to establish control over urbanized Africans. Yvonne Vera's *Butterfly Burning*[81] accounts for African survival in the township and most importantly, details attempts by the African to make the city home despite formidable opposition from colonial authorities. For the African in Vera's novel, regret for being in the city "lasts only a second before they are resigned to their situation. They curse and blame the city and then cling even more to the city."[82]

From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe by Lawrence Vambe explores the experiences of the educated Africans who lived in townships along with migrant workers and other Africans from different persuasions like beer brewing and prostitution.[83] This was because the urban setting in colonial Rhodesia did not give them enough options and choices of where to reside.[84] The book also chronicles the humiliating experiences like inspections, police harassment and economic discrimination.[85]

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[79]Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital Accumulation and Class Struggle*, London: Longman, 1988.
[80] W. Saidi, *The Old Bricks Lives*, Harare: Mambo Press, 1998.
[81] Y. Vera, *Butterfly Burning*, Harare : Baobab Books, 1998.
[82] *Ibid,* p. 44.
[83] L. Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1976.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*

A substantial body of literature from the region, especially from South Africa also exists that informs this study. Again, like colonial Zimbabwe, the theme centers mostly on segregation. There is thus a wide body of historical research that provides a clearer understanding of such themes as housing policy, urban "native administration" and influx control.[86] Other works on South African urban history, like Charles van Onselen's *New Babylon and New Nineveh*[87] have largely been Afrocentric and have done a good job of highlighting the black urban experience.

Mamdani's bifurcated state and Gray's concept of two nations go a long way to account for the growth, character and nature of the colonial city especially with regards to its African subjects. For Mamdani, the colonial bifurcated state ruled through race in the cities and tribe in the countryside.[88] It established indirect rule in the rural areas through local chiefs appointed by the Native Authority, but applied direct rule in urban areas.[89] Direct rule brought blacks and whites under a single rule of law, creating citizens, but with differential rights and privileges according to race. Mamdani, contends that the colonial law made a "fundamental distinction between two types of persons: those indigenous and those not indigenous; in a word, natives and nonnatives," and for him, "rights belonged to nonnatives,"[90] and in the colonial city of Salisbury nonnatives were the dominant whites.

It should, however, be noted that Gray and Mamdani's frameworks fall short as solid theoretical backgrounds in the case of Southern Rhodesia to account for the urban Africans' resistance to their exclusion and their marginal designation. They do a good job of packaging the colonial city as a racially divided city with the Africans at the margins of the urban

[86] Such scholarship includes D. Welsh, "The growth of Towns" in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds) *The Oxford History of South Africa,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975; T. R. H. Davenport, "African townsmen? South African (Natives) Urban Areas Legislation Through the years", *African Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 271, 1969; T. R. H. Davenport, *The Beginnings of Urban segregation in South Africa,* Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1971; P. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963, J. Rex, "The Compound, the Reserve and the Urban Location: the Essential Institutions of Southern African Labour Exploitation", *South African Labour Bulletin,* Vol. 1, No. 4, 1974.

[87] van Onselen, *New Babylon and New Nineveh: Studies on the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand,* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982.

[88] Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject,* p. 121.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Ibid*, p. 123.

economy but they do not provide an appropriate basis for analyzing African response to marginalization. Mamdani's assessment leapfrogs developments in the crucial 1940s and 1950s period and suggests that the forms of rule occurring in the 1920s, when the colonial state sees the urban space as purely not for Africans, accounts for developments in the 1960s onwards. It does not take into account the shifts in colonial governments' from the 1940s which starts to entertain the idea of accepting Africans permanently in the urban areas to accommodate the interests of industry.

Likewise, Ranger who accounts for the "African voice in Southern Rhodesia,"[91] limits his analysis to packaging the African voice in a national context. He focusses on tracing and connecting the African voices of the 1920s to the mass nationalist movement of the 1950s and those voices that are localized and reacting to the local township conditions are thus rendered insignificant. Other very important works include Eshmael Mlambo's *The Struggle for a Birthright*[92] which attempted to provide the historical background for the development of African Nationalism and Vambe's[93] works which provided a comprehension of the background of urban social history of nationalist politics in an important foregrounding of urban historiography in Zimbabwe.

Taken as a whole, what the historiography on Zimbabwe's urban history indicates is that previous studies have either been limited by period or circumscribed or narrowed down by the topics and themes they cover. They have either looked for emphasis on nationalism or they have emphasized labour. No study has thus attempted a wholesale analysis of colonial Harare's residents' movements. All these gaps, shortcomings and limitations will be taken up, challenged or critically examined in this thesis, which uses records from the various organisations, newspapers, police reports and other government proceedings to either repackage or bring to the fore the interactions and struggles for representation by urban Africans in the colonial period.

[91] Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898- 1930.*
[92] E. Mlambo, *Rhodesia, The Struggle for a Birth right*, London: C Hurst and Company, 1972.
[93] Vambe, *An Ill-fated People,* London: Heinemann, 1972 and Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1976.

Structure and Form of the Salisbury Local Authority

In order to appreciate the nature of the relationship between the Salisbury local authority and its African residents, the role of the authority with regards to Africans should be put in perspective. The local authority was significant and unique in a number of ways. Firstly, it conducted activities; secondly, it made decisions; and thirdly, it acted as an agent of control especially of Africans. The local authority was also significant in that it initiated change in the nature, scale and extent of the physical and operational system of the city. It derived such powers from its legal commitments to provide public goods and services, to undertake physical planning, to exercise particular legislative and financial controls and to administer particular functions. Another very important element of the Salisbury local authority was its token responsibility for the welfare of its residents. Principally, this responsibility was supposed to be met by the provision of a wide range of public goods and services.

The structure and form of Salisbury significantly reflected the central role it played in influencing Location decisions and the development of physical and social infrastructure. With regards to Africans in Salisbury, it is important to note that the decisions made by the Salisbury City Council as a governing authority at any time were informed by the particular ideologies of those who placed it in power, by extension, the voting white population. Of importance is to note the fact that, in colonial Rhodesia, successive attempts, consistent with prevailing social attitudes, were made to accommodate African demands for participation in local affairs. Whatever the forms of participation, however, Africans could never influence the fundamental self-interest of the European group because their bargaining resources were always limited.

Indeed, the historic organisation and arrangement of Salisbury was an important one especially with regards to its patterns of settlement and resource allocation between races. The outline of the political economy of settler colonialism comprised the following: strategies and prescriptions for racial separation and segregation and the suppression of participation of subordinate indigenous groups in order to maintain the economic, social and political interests of the dominant settler group. The effect of such policies was to adversely

discriminate between race and class groups by containing access to employment, income, housing, amenities, education and training, trade unions and political participation and other factors. These goals were reflected in the organisation of the urban arena and in order to be effective, the discrimination was reinforced by a physical entity that involved, among other things, strategies of segregation and separate development. In Salisbury, the local authority, acting as an agent of central government, was particularly significant in the creation and advancement of this urban form and functioning.

Theorising Urban Citizenship and Protest

This thesis looks at urban protest as social movements through which citizens attempt to achieve some control over their urban environment.[94] It uses James Holston's concept of insurgent citizenship which provides an interpretation of the emancipatory potential of the urban poor's attempts to control their homes and destinies.[95] Although this theory sketches the development of Brazilian citizenship over the last two centuries and how previously marginalized urban citizens mobilized and struggled for new forms of egalitarian citizenship, the concept fits perfectly as a theoretical framework to account for the Africans in Salisbury's struggles for the same. For Holston, Brazil established an inegalitarian citizenship with inclusive membership and he analyses this egalitarian citizenship principally through the politics of law and land. He shows how the majority of Brazilians have been historically excluded from legal use of land, forcing most Brazilians to live illegally and making "illegality the predominant condition of settlement." Using the concept of insurgent citizenship, Holston demonstrates how Brazil's "inclusively inegalitarian" citizenship was challenged by "insurgencies" over three decades by residents of the urban periphery who demanded legal rights as citizens rather than privileges under "clientilistic" relations of dependency.

[94] H. Pruijt "Urban Movements", in G. Ritzer (ed), *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, Malden: Blackwell, 2007, pp. 5115- 5119.
[95] J. Holston, *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Insurgent Citizens arise as a result of social, economic and political factors that push them to the margins of existence. This thesis makes the claim that the Africans in the Salisbury Locations were pushed to such limits by a combination of factors which assisted each other in rendering the lives of urbanised Africans extremely bad. This thesis, therefore, uses Holston's concept of Insurgent citizenship to trace and analyze the development of African urban citizenship from the point of construction of the colonial city and traces how through the process of demand for participation in their affairs and demand for better living conditions and amenities in a white city, many of the urbanised Africans demanded new forms of "egalitarian citizenship and respect." Like the marginalized Brazilians, the African urbanites lived in impoverished urban peripheries in various conditions of illegal and irregular residence around urban centres that benefitted from their services and their poverty. The thesis will argue that the search for economic opportunities, especially from the Second World War onwards, led to an influx of Africans from the rural areas to the urban areas which created or worsened overcrowding. It will posit that the urban development programs aimed for Africans compounded the economic rots of overcrowding, especially given the relative reluctance by the colonial state and local authorities to invest in urban planning for Africans. It was this kind of urbanism that generated a characteristic response where "residents organised movements of insurgent citizenship to confront the entrenched regimes of citizen inequality that urban centres used to segregate them." In short, the African township's peripheral, crowded and poor conditions created ripe conditions in which the marginalized Africans contested their exclusion thus the insurgence of an African urban group to destabilize established formulas of governance and privilege. Insurgent citizenships were, therefore, manifestations of conditions at the periphery of a divided colonial city in Salisbury caused by attempts by the centre to reduce them to a naked existence. It was these conditions that compelled the residents to demand a life worthy of citizens.

Researching Urban History in Zimbabwe: Sources, Methodology and Methodological Challenges

Sources on Zimbabwe's urban history do not tell the story of Africans in their entirety because the colonial urban area was not a place for Africans. The Rhodesian urban areas were

supposed to be for whites. The sources, therefore, have a general focus on white existence and the African story is mainly told as far as how it affected white existence and the white colonial economy. It is, therefore, a story of labour, competition for space with the whites, African behaviour vis a vis its impact on white existence. The sources generally tell a story of monitoring African behaviour and existence with regards to its impact on the whites in the urban areas. It is a story of influx control, the pass system and attempts at creating the good African who would peacefully coexist with their white counterparts. The African story or stories in the urban areas are, therefore, told by the Internal Affairs Department, the Rhodesia Chamber of Industry, the Department of African Affairs and the Magistrates Court. These stories are about the impact of Africans on white existence and not essentially stories about Africans. However, those stories give an important account of African existence in the urban areas and the sources do a good job of telling it. It illuminates the challenges that Africans in the urban areas faced which was a result of mainly the colonial attitude to African presence in the urban areas and, as mentioned before, the emergence of the residents' movement. The "real" stories of Africans in the urban area is told through minutes of meetings of African Boxing Associations, the Welfare societies, the African trade unions, the Burial societies, the African Residents and Ratepayers Associations.

Herein lies the challenge: To access the stories. Where they exist, minutes of meetings of these different organisations are scanty and have a lot of gaps. Save for the more prominent African organisations like the Southern Rhodesia Native Association, the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union and others, most of these organisations' hardly have a dependable, traceable and coherent record of their minutes of meetings. Interestingly, their story is again told on their behalf by a system which is not necessarily interested in the African story but in how the African story impacts the story of the white: Criminal Investigation Department reports. The National Archives of Zimbabwe have a huge deposit of CID Reports of the meetings of these different African organisations which are even more detailed than the minutes of meetings of the organisations where they exist. Remarkably, even the cataloguing system of the National Archives has tended to fall into this pit. In some instances, files in the archives catalogued under the Internal Affairs Department, CID Reports are instead minutes of meetings by the different African organisations but are kept in the archives as a record of CID Reports.

Another interesting source of urban history are the various commissions of enquiries into the conditions of the African in the urban areas. These are detailed reports with evidence from not only various groups representing urban African but individual Africans as well. They also have evidence from so called experts on African Affairs. Here I use the phrase so called experts because that is exactly how some of the Africans in the urban areas in the colonial period regarded them. In other words, the urbanised Africans did not believe that some of the individuals and groups who were regarded as experts on Africans were necessarily so. A very interesting example is Percy Ibbotson who was regarded as one of the foremost expert on African Affairs but was completely disregarded as such by African leaders like Charles Mzingeli. What is important however is that these experts provide a very extensive record from which historians of urban history can benefit from. Some of the experts came from the region like South Africa and they offered a very interesting regional perspective to the "African urban problem."

A very important source of African urban history is the newspaper, especially the African or "Native" newspapers. The *African Daily News* and the *African Weekly*, for example, are important sources of the story of African representation in the urban areas, especially Salisbury. There was actually a Salisbury edition of the *African Weekly*. In fact, the *African Daily News* is an important substitute for the scarce minutes of meetings of the different Residents and Ratepayers Associations in Salisbury. Indeed, reading these reports almost feels like reading the associations' minutes of meetings. It carried detailed reports of the many meetings held by these associations and what is important about these reports is their attention to detail. In many instances, the *African Daily News* would also have a comprehensive editorial based on these meetings and editions after the one carrying the report would have letters to the editor from various Africans commenting on either the contents of the meetings or on the general operations of these associations and the conditions of the townships.

Thus newspapers were useful in reflecting the contemporary thoughts of not only urban African representatives but also the government officials and the popular thinking and attitude of the urbanized Africans at different historical periods. However, the researcher is

aware of the shortcomings of some of these newspapers principally with regards to representing the African voice and African popular thinking is especially given their different editorial policies. It is in this context that J. Hervia and G. Spivak have noted that colonial records "report the elaborate attempt to record local space, local property and local ideas into imperial terms."[96] The researcher thus attempted to 'read against the grain' in order to attain some historical objectivity.

So the biggest methodological challenge for historians of Zimbabwe's urban history is to tell the "real story" of Africans in the urban areas in the colonial period especially given the fact that a huge percentage of the sources tell the story of the urban Africans' impact on white existence. The challenge is to look at these sources which represent the struggle for white survival in the midst of black and tell the story of urban Africans.

Notwithstanding the above mentioned methodological challenges, the study was based mainly on a qualitative research design depending mainly on primary sources. It also made extensive use of available secondary literature. The National Archives of Zimbabwe houses extensive literature on urban social movements and African representative groups from as early as the 1890s. There are a lot of memoranda and reports of commissions of enquiries into African Urban affairs, urban African Housing and correspondence between relevant urban boards and government departments and concerned individuals for example between the Superintendent of Native Affairs and representatives of the Rhodesian Native Association and other African representative groups. The study also made use of institutional and organisational records from the different African urban unions and associations available in the archives.

The researcher consulted reports and minutes of meetings of the African Boxing Associations, the Welfare societies, the African trade unions, the Burial societies, the African Residents and Ratepayers Associations in the National archives as well. As mentioned earlier, the biggest challenge was the gaps in some of the minutes of meetings. Fortunately, the National Archives of Zimbabwe have a huge deposit of CID Reports of the meetings of these different African

[96] J. Hervia and G. Spivak, cited in L. White*, Speaking with Vampires. Rumour and History in colonial Africa,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, p. 209.

organisations. Other sources consulted are the various commissions of enquiries into the conditions of the African in the urban areas. These are detailed reports with evidence from not only various groups representing the urban African but also individual Africans.

Oral sources were used for this thesis as well. Because this study is dealing with the experiences of African urbanites, it is important to understand their perceptions and experiences. The researcher thus made use of interviewees with potential to provide valuable information: surviving residents from the 1940s and earlier, persons who served in relevant government positions as well as officials from residents' associations. In-depth individual interviews, as opposed to focus group interviews were predominantly used in this case because they gave the researcher access to "people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own world."[97] These were particularly important for the latter period of colonial rule as well as for the post-colonial phase.

Secondary sources were used extensively during the course of the research. Published books, theses, dissertations and journals articles play a pivotal role in the formulation of a theoretical framework for this study. Works on urban movements, protest and urban representation from other countries were similarly useful for comparative purposes. Media sources were also consulted.

Thesis Structure

The thesis is divided into six chapters inclusive of this introduction and background, which forms Chapter one. Chapter two introduces Salisbury and its African Citizens from around 1908 to the 1920s. It introduces the "Rhodesian urban problem" and the early attempts at finding solutions to them. Despite attempts to keep the African away from the urban arena, Rhodesian urban areas find themselves inundated by these "undesirables" as early as the first

[97] S. N. Hesse-Biber and P. Leavy, *The practice of Qualitative Research*, Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2011.

decade of colonisation. This was against the backdrop of a colonial urban policy in which the African was seen as a temporary visitor in the urban space who was supposed to occupy the city at little cost as possible to the central government and the city. The chapter sets the tone for the examination of the emergency of African voices in protest against the nature of service delivery and the position of the African in the urban arena.

Chapter three looks at administration of African Townships and the development of African representation from the 1920s to the early 1940s. It works on the premise that the guiding principles of colonial administration of "differentiation and domination" created the roots of urban protest. It analyses how the effects of industrialisation which saw an increase in African urban dwellers and with it, the expansion of formal African settlements especially in Salisbury, affected the growth of urban representation. It argues that it was the conditions brought about by this urbanisation such as overcrowding and poor facilities that led to the emergence and increase of African urban representative unions and associations.

The chapter examines the development in Salisbury, of African urban representative unions and associations who had, among other things, the mandate to engage colonial administration on issues such as living conditions and equal employment opportunities with the whites. The chapter examines how the different unions and associations dealt with government and the local authority and how the local authority and the state viewed and dealt with them. Amongst such groups were the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (RICU), the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress (SRBC) and the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA). Many of these organisations have been examined as trade unions or nascent African National political parties but they went a long way in being urban representative organisations who engaged urban authorities with regards to African living conditions.

Chapter four examines the post-World War Two period in the context of the growth of the residents' movements. The post-World War Two period, saw the emergence of many residents' associations in Salisbury, which, unlike associations such as RICU, SRNA and others before which also doubled as trade unions and "nationalist" movements, had the sole mandate of township affairs. Residents' associations like the New Highfield Ratepayers

Association, Mabvuku Ratepayers Association, Harare Civic Association and the Mabvuku Helping Hand Association and many others emerged. This chapter develops from the tone set in the previous chapters. It sets out to examine the emergence of African associations specifically mandated to represent urbanised Africans in the urban arena. It surveys the nature of such representation, composition, organisation and participation of the associations in the urban set up, especially as they operated alongside RICU, SRNA and others. Focus will be given on four such organisations amongst the many to emerge in Highfield Township, Mabvuku and Harari (Mbare).[98] It carries this story up to 1958 when a commission to look into the conditions of urban Africans, the Urban African Affairs Commission, was commissioned in 1958.

Chapter five analyses the residents' associations, the nationalist movements and the African Advisory Boards from around 1958 to 1980. This Chapter looks at the residents' movement in the post Urban Affairs Commission period. It assesses the operations of these associations in an environment of heightened national struggle for independence by the Africans and how such an environment impacted on the nature of their operations. To note is the fact that most of these associations were largely affected by broader nationalist politics as most of its members were also very active in the nationalist struggle. The chapter examines the operations of the associations in an era of the African Advisory Boards and later the Township Boards and how Advisory and Township Board politics played out in the different associations. For example, in as much as the Township Boards had a measure of executive authority to operate minor services and to provide and maintain welfare, to prepare budget estimates and to raise finance from beer sales, some residents' associations remained very apathetic to the idea. This emanated from their distrust of government and their belief that the programme was nothing but a programme to entrench a policy of separate development and deprivation of the African of the real wealth of the city. Such an attitude was entrenched by nationalist

[98] Highfield was built around the 1930s as a second township to house predominantly Black Africans in Southern Rhodesia, the first being Salisbury Native Location (Harari) now Mbare which gave its name to the modern capital of Zimbabwe, Harare. Highfield was primarily set up by the white settler colonial government to provide labour to the nearby industrial zones of Southerton and Workington: in much a similar fashion to how Harari (Mbare) had been set up to provide labour to Workington, Graniteside and as domestic labour to European Households in the Northern and Western Suburbs of Zimbabwe. Likewise, Mabvuku, was created for the vast pool of labour as domestics for the nearby "white" suburbs of Highlands, Greendale, Msasa etc., with some working in the industrial area of Msasa.

politicians who at this stage felt that they could get more than just half measures. The chapter examines how labour and nationalist politics influenced and shaped the confrontational nature of these associations in this period. Chapter six concludes by reconciling the thesis findings against its intended objectives. It emphasises the position of the Location as an arena of struggles for the improvement of its conditions by African residents.

Chapter Two: Salisbury and the "Creation" of African Urban Protest. 1908-1930

Introduction

This chapter, on the basis of an examination of the approach that shaped colonial urban policies, maintains that the nature of the colonial city and the marginal placing of Africans in it provided a suitable amphitheatre for the occurrence of African "protest voices." In essence, the chapter introduces the "Rhodesian Urban problem" and how the problem necessitated the emergence of African protest movements in one form or the other. It argues that the colonial attempt to keep the city white and Africans at the fringes of the urban economy "created" African urban protest. The Rhodesian urban problem manifested itself in an unequal distribution of income, housing shortages, the development of slum conditions and the pressures on limited social services arising from the migration of Africans to the towns.[1] Central to these problems was the philosophy that informed the initial development and emergence of the "Location"[2] both in official circles and within the white citizens who made up the population of Salisbury and beyond, especially as they became an influential voice with a huge bearing on the nature of urban planning. The establishment and subsequent administration of African Locations became a site of struggle not only between the government and the municipalities but also involved the white citizens who had a stake in urban affairs. Most of the controversy centred on the distribution of the social costs and benefits that were concomitant to the migration of Africans into the towns. More important, the chapter argues that central to the Rhodesian urban problem was the fixation of the colonial state with the need to control its African "subjects"[3] and it was this obsession that made the state to compromise on quality of Africans' nature of urban life.

[1] T. D. Devittie, "Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies, 1929- 1939," MA Dissertation, University of Rhodesia, 1974, p. 23.

[2] Location is the name given to the places in the urban areas that are officially demarcated for the settlement of the Africans.

[3] The term, "subjects", is used in the context of Mahmood Mamdani's take of a colonial African state as a bifurcated power that mediated racial domination through tribally organised local authorities, reproducing racial identity in citizens and ethnic identity in subjects.

Of significance to note is the fact that European institutions, policies and practices were not immediately accepted by a majority of Africans. Resistance to them was thus a common factor in Rhodesia, like elsewhere, in Africa and the African township became one such focal point for such resistance. Individuals, groups and various organisations emerged in the townships to channel and give voice to this resistance. Some scholars have concluded that in so far as one could speak of African protest in the early days of colonial rule, it was characterised by a resigned acceptance of white rule.[4] However such an analysis can be misleading if it is taken to represent general African reaction to the conditions that European colonialism created for them especially in the urban areas. This chapter will demonstrate that African reaction to their situation in the township even in the early years of colonial rule was not "resigned acceptance". It will examine how they pushed, fought and presented their grievances to the local authority and the state with regards to the nature of the townships. By bringing out evidence of emerging, vibrant and representative African voices in the township, the chapter aims to challenge the conclusion made by Ranger and others that none of the African organisations of the early period made any lasting impact. Such a conclusion, the chapter will argue, is limiting in that it only measures the organisations' influence from a nationalist perspective. As mentioned before, a different conclusion can be made if these organisations' impact is examined in the context of township representation. Indeed, the chapter aims to bring evidence that, Africans in the urban areas were compelled to come to terms with the reality of white control but that does not mean that they left their situation to fate.

This discourse of power, control and African response is divided into three sections in the chapter. The first section chronicles the establishment of the official "Native Location." It looks at the mind-set and policy that informed and shaped its establishment and discusses the overall nature and character that the Location took as moulded by the policy and conviction that informed it. Belinda Bozzoli's description of a township [Location] is essential in making us appreciate the essence of the Location built environment. She describes the township as a "segregated area, designated for residential use by those who were not white"

[4] Scholars like Ranger and Gray have made similar conclusions with regards to the organisational abilities of the Africans and attempts, or lack of, at creating a formidable nationalist movement.

and as "capitalism's racial dormitories… that provided minimum necessities of a social and cultural life."[5]

The second section analyses the Location as an arena of control in which the colonial state used every means at its disposal to bind Africans in a yoke of subservience as subjects not capable of causing any threat to the European settlers. It also looks at the physical and social effect of the state and municipal authority's reluctance to invest in African advancement in the Location. The third section examines African responses to the Location environment as necessitated by the state and Municipal authority's collective paranoia of the "native" and hence the need to control him amidst poor investment in their upkeep.

Section One: The Establishment of a "Native Location" in Salisbury: An Assessment of the Built Environment

The Salisbury Town Council opened the first "Native Location"[6] outside the boundary of the town in October 1907. Shortly after the opening, the central government acting in concert, declared that beginning in May 1908, all Africans in Salisbury, except those already sleeping on employers' premises, must reside in the Location.[7] The opening of the Location resulted in the extensive removal of urban Africans from the Town Centre and solidified the racial segregation of the town of Salisbury. However, as early as 1892, an informal Location had existed prior to the formalisation of the African Location in 1907. This site was abandoned in 1907 as a piece of ground was finally adopted by the provisions of section 2 of the Native Urban Locations Ordinance (Number 4 of 1906) and that new site marked the beginning of the Salisbury Native Location.[8] The Native Urban Locations Ordinance prohibited African 'free' residence in Salisbury from 1 May 1908.[9] A report from the town Police in April 1908 stated that "all natives in the Township and on the Commonage, occupying premises, not used by their masters, have been warned that they will have to remove to the Location on the 1st

[5] B. Bozzoli, *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid,* Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004, p. 54.
[6] The new Location was established and regulated under the Native Urban Locations Ordinance of 1906,
[7] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 9.
[8] NAZ, S246/ 782, Government Notice Number 70 of 1908, Chief Secretary's Office, 19 March, 1908.
[9] ibid

May."[10] Further housing additions were made to the Location from time to time, in 1907, 1924 and in 1926.

Of paramount importance to this discussion is to establish the factors that shaped and informed the formal establishment of this Location at this time. The formalisation of the Location was necessitated by an emerging "urban problem" of having an influx of uncontrolled African residents in the town. Of all the problems encountered at the time, nothing prompted a more antagonistic reaction by Salisbury's white residents than a situation where Africans rented a room on their own, a condition which implied an African stake in the town. Indeed African tenancy was becoming commonplace in Salisbury where the Africans could rent a room in town for a monthly rent of 15 shillings or one pound.[11] It was this African presence in town which was becoming a bone of contention particularly with the white property owners especially in the Kopje[12] area. There was thus a rise in white residents' demands for the removal of the Africans from town and in calls for the creation of a formal African location. John Smith, the Location Inspector in 1905, highlighted the problem of Africans renting rooms in town when he pointed out to the huts in the "Town Native Location" [which was informal at this time] which were "gradually becoming unoccupied" a problem he identified as being caused by the fact that "natives are renting houses within the town."[13] To note, is John Smith's subsequent concern with such a development. For him, such a development caused "a loss of revenue to the Municipality" and was also "a source of danger to the town in many ways."[14]

The formal establishment of the Location was, therefore, primarily in light of the supposed urban decay and danger caused by the presence of uncontrolled Africans in the "white city" and growing white pressure for segregation. Such pressure is epitomised by the actions of a group of Kopje residents who lodged a petition with council in February 1906. The

[10] NAZ, LG38, Chief Inspector, Southern Rhodesia Constabulary to Town Clerk, 29 April, 1908.
[11] NAZ, LG38, Sergeant Delahay to Sub- Inspector. , Southern Rhodesia Constabulary, 19 February, 1908.
[12] Early Salisbury was divided into two quarters, the Kopje in the west and the Causeway in the East. The kopje was mostly inhabited by non- official residents and also dominated by principal business establishments while the Causeway had Government offices, official residences, the English and Roman Catholic Churches etc. See *The Rhodesia Herald*, 8 February 1895.
[13] NAZ, LG 52/6/1, John Smith, Inspector of Location to Town Clerk, 25 January 1905.
[14] Ibid.

campaigners complained of the "continual stream of boys going to and fro, making the neighbourhood more like a native reserve."[15] As such, Africans were pushed to the Location grudgingly created by authorities who had reluctantly acknowledged the necessity of African presence, albeit temporarily, in an urban setting because the conventional view of white settlers in Rhodesia was that the urban arena was the preserve of the whites. The consequence of such an attitude from the onset of Location formalisation was that employers, the state and local authorities took little interest in providing services for the Africans in the urban area. This attitude was not limited to Southern Rhodesia alone. In South Africa, the planned townships that emerged in and around the major urban centres were products of that lack of enthusiasm from the colonial government and local authorities caused by the unwillingness to embrace and pay for African presence in the urban areas.[16]

To find justification for the creation of the segregated Location, the Town Authorities had used the argument that poor sanitation caused by Africans was central in the need to create the Location and move the unsanitary Africans into it. Interestingly, the same sanitation argument, occasioned by an epidemic outbreak of Spanish flu in informal settlements along the outskirts of Durban in South Africa in 1918 was used by authorities to create segregated Township in the area.[17] In Salisbury, this argument sailed through because of the collective paranoia white settlers had of Africans. There is no evidence during this time that supports this sanitation theory. However, despite lack of such, Gann and Duignan also tow the colonial official line of poor sanitation and make a claim that the "fear of the African's unsanitary habits and the danger of diseases led to the segregation in Rhodesian towns."[18] In fact, Yoshikuni argues that there is no indication that a serious epidemic panic necessitated the opening up of the new Location.[19] Rather, the concrete and substantial evidence for the real reason for the segregation was contained in the editorial of the *Rhodesia Herald* of March 1908, which explained "the advantages" of having a separate Location for Africans. It

[15] NAZ, LG 38, Petition to Town Council, 2 February, 1906.
[16] For a comprehensive analysis of this see, J. Hickel, "Engineering the Township Home: Domestic Transformation and Urban Revolutionary Consciousness", in M. Healy- Clancy and J. Hickel (eds), *Ekhaya: The Politics of Home in Kwa Zulu- Natal*, Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwa Zulu Natal Press, 2014, pp. 131- 161.
[17] Hickel, "Engineering the Township Home: Domestic Transformation and Urban Revolutionary Consciousness", p. 143.
[18] L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, *White Settlers in Tropical Africa*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962, p. 83-84.
[19] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 16.

reasoned that having a Location for Africans had tremendous; "benefits which will accrue to the town by the stopping of the system of letting houses to the natives in town."[20] At the core of these "benefits," the paper argued, was that the move would enable more "adequate control over the natives" who "frequent the town and whose methods of obtaining a livelihood are doubtful in the extreme."[21] The major determinant for creating the segregated Location, therefore, was the white settlers' preoccupation with controlling its African subjects and the whites' desire to do so whilst Africans were in their own place far away from their "respectable neighbourhood." This fixation was caused by a fear that the colonial government and the majority of the white citizens of Rhodesia had of "the African" and this obsessive paranoia had a huge bearing on the nature of the colonial government's dealings with Africans. Julie Bonello argues that the construction of the African as a dangerous antagonist helped to "validate whites' opinion of themselves as bringers of order and morality."[22] The policies that emerged from such obsessive paranoia became the source of African misgivings.

Yoshikuni points out that the "locationisation" policies were generally very unpopular with Africans and they gave rise to a series of protests movements.[23] The unpopularity of the Location was mainly due to the fact that the initial municipal involvement in African housing was not necessarily due to a genuine need to provide the urban Africans with better housing facilities. It was, rather, a product of pressure from the white citizens for African exclusion from the town, together with the need to maintain control of these African urbanites. Municipal Location policy was, therefore, characterised by "utter disregard for the quality of tenants' lives."[24] To begin with, in 1907, a Kaytor hut in the Location cost 10 shillings in rentals per month and not many of the African workers at the time earned more than 15 shillings per month. The "new" Location was made up of a collection of these Kaytor huts which were built on a "plot 50 by 50 feet and standing in lines running from east to west." [25] Indeed, by the eve of World War One, municipal housing in the Location comprised a total of 156 Kaytor

[20] *The Rhodesia Herald*, March 1908.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] J. Bonello, "The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2010, p. 348
[23] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p. 38.
[24] *Ibid,* p. 41
[25] *Ibid,* p. 39.

huts.[26] In mid-1920 the Location had a total of 247 huts, with a principal population of around 760.[27] A total of 45 huts were used as bunkhouses by private companies and the municipality and five were used by the "police and labourers."[28] The 197 huts which remained were rented by African workers in their personal capacity and these comprised a mix of family people and tenants sharing rents with others.[29]

The Location was also devoid of other basics that would have made it a better place for its inhabitants. For example, there were no amenities like shops, clinics, churches and schools inside the Location.[30] The only facility worth noting was the municipal beer canteen which, unfortunately, was viewed with scorn by the Location residents because of the price of beer which was beyond the reach of many. The beer canteen was also seen as the source of the loss in extra income by those Africans who had benefitted from the now banned home beer brewing and selling. The 250 Kaytor huts in the Location also shared one borehole, and three communal latrines.[31] This was an unhealthy and cumbersome scenario for the hundreds of African residents who used these facilities. The Kaytor huts also did not have proper kitchens that could be used for cooking. As a result, most of the Location inhabitants constructed their own makeshift kitchens which, unfortunately, were demolished by the council in 1914. To note is the fact that these makeshift kitchens had served another purpose besides cooking as they were also used for accommodating people.[32]

In 1912, a barbed wire fence was erected around the Location.[33] The Assistant Native Commissioner of Salisbury argued that this was a necessary measure, "If proper control of the Location is to be expected," and he also emphasised on the need for "one entrance, and one only."[34] To borrow Bozzoli's description of Alexandria Township in South Africa, the Salisbury Location "was enclosed by law, memory, culture and physical boundaries of racial

[26] NAZ, LG52/6/1, G, Reilly to Town Clerk, 3 March 1914.
[27] NAZ, LG52/6/2, Location Superintendent to Town Clerk, 30 June 1920.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] NAZ, LG52, /6/2, H.E Hicks, M.O.H, to Town Clerk, 20 June, 1920.
[31] Ibid.
[32]NAZ, LG52/6/1, Reilly to Town Clerk, 3 March, 1914.
[33] NAZ, LG52/6/1, J Smith to Town Clerk, 14 November, 1912.
[34] NAZ, S138/41 Assistant Native Commissioner to Superintendent of Natives, Salisbury, 13 March, 1924.

identification."[35] Such a built environment akin to a 'concentration camp' worsened the already dreadful appearance of the Location.

Under Ordinance 4 of 1908, a Superintendent of Natives was appointed to run municipal Locations.[36] A full time Location Superintendent was employed by the town council in 1913.[37] This Location supervisor took residence in a cottage on the edge of the Location.[38] In 1914, new Location regulations were introduced and they included a stipulation that every visitor to the Location must "obtain a permit from the superintendent," and that, "the superintendent should have power to arrest drunk and disorderly natives." More significantly it was to be "an offence to resist the Superintendent or the headman in the execution of his duties," and banning of the "brewing of Native beer in the Location."[39] Thus added to the physical barriers to control African movement, were these regulations which made Location life all the more unbearable.

Location developments like infrastructure upgrades on housing, sanitation, lighting and many others were, in many instances, only given utmost consideration if they threatened to compromise law and order. That attitude, combined with the general lack of desire by both local government and the central state to invest in the upkeep of urban Africans, meant that Location standards were always poor and unacceptable to Africans who lived in it. In a rather disconcerting description, Boris Gussman summarises the colonial mind-set towards African urban life. For Gussman the colonial government's conception of African urban life was expressed in the architecture of the Location and legislation that controlled it which was geared towards providing "boxes for machines or stables for draught beasts."[40]

The white discomfort with African presence in town and their need to control them even when they were in their own space also expressed itself in the allocation of space for any

[35] Bozzoli, *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid,* p. 57.
[36] NAZ S246/ 782, Government Notice no. 70 of 1908.The Ordinance is quoted extensively in communication between government officials and Municipal authorities.
[37] NAZ, LG93/11, Commonage and Markets Committee minutes, 7 November, 1913.
[38] Ibid
[39] NAZ, LG38, Memorandum by H. L.Lezard, 13 March 1994.
[40] B. Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African. A Study of Conditions in Southern Rhodesia,' in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 23, No 2, 1953, p. 138.

institution or facility to be used by Africans. For example, African Christians initially attended church in town and this situation did not augur well with the white community. It became policy, therefore, after the establishment of the Location to concentrate all mission churches within the Location. In 1908, different churches like the Salvation Army and the Presbyterians had accepted the offer of building churches in the Location.[41] Interestingly, even this idea to build the churches in the Location was abandoned after the council received advice from Bulawayo Town Treasurer who highlighted the disadvantages of such a plan. He cited the example of Bulawayo where most of the Africans congregate in the Location under the guise of attending church when they "have no intention of doing so" and thus making it "very difficult to control them." "Our population at the Location is about 700" contended the Town Clerk, "and as on Sundays we get as many as 2000 present, you can imagine the position is a thorny one and requires careful handling."[42] Thus in October 1909, because of the warning from Bulawayo which emphasised on the danger of increasing an uncontrolled and undocumented African population purportedly attending church in the Location, a church reserve was set aside, situated outside but adjoining the Location.[43] Thus, the setting aside of a church reserve outside the Location further exacerbated the desolate nature of the Location which was absent of any useful amenities for its African inhabitants.

By the end of company rule in 1923, "the 'maturing' of the Location system was apparent. African free residents had been ejected from the town centre; African churches and schools had been shifted to the fringes of the Location and most importantly, the miserable machinery of control headed by a full time European Superintendent was built. Indeed, by 1923, there was *de- facto* residential segregation in Salisbury like the rest of Rhodesia's urban centres and the Europeans implemented laws and ordinances for the purposes of regulating the African population in order to serve white interests.

[41]NAZ, LG38 C Clark to Town Clerk, 9 June 1908.
[42] Quoted in, Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 45.
[43] NAZ, LG93/10, Council Minutes, 22 September, 1909.

Section Two: "Law and Order must take precedence in everything that has to do with the Native." The Location as a theatre of Control.

It is important to note that no clear process of African administration was established during the first years of Company rule. Overall African administration was nominally vested in a Native Department attached to the Administrator's office and officers were appointed to different districts, but there was no statutory basis for their actions before 1898. The British government showed little interest in Company actions and it was only in the aftermath of the African rebellions, namely the Ndebele uprising of 1893 and the 1896 First Chimurenga, that Britain concerned itself with internal Rhodesian problems.[44] From the onset, therefore, the Location became a theatre of control and domination by the white ruling class over their black subjects and the fixation with law and order was central to the colonial government's approach to their relations with urban Africans. From the onset, "housing controls in the Location were emphasised as a means, along with a pass and night curfew system,"[45] to control the African urban dweller. The responsibility for the municipal Location was delegated to the local authority with the government retaining certain powers such as police control. This Government police had access to the Location at all times.

Many aspects of Location daily life became "battlefields" giving rise to the extraordinarily varied institutions to control dealings between the coloniser and the colonised.[46] Yoshikuni cites a litany of sources of conflict and tension in the Location and the city ranging from checking of passes by the police, night curfews, banning of Africans using the sidewalks, removing the hat before any Europeans and taking off shoes at government offices as a few examples of arenas of conflict.[47] Even worse grievances of overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, and recreational facilities and stifling control of the movements of the African urban citizens were soon to emerge. Living under such conditions, it became inevitable that

[44] L. W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia, White Power in an African State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973, p. 6.
[45] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 11.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*

a spirit of hopelessness, hostility and desperation would creep into the Location citizens and it developed into mass disaffection.

Inadequate and poor housing in the Location helped collectivise African grievances over daily Location discomforts. This was further compounded by the fact that Africans living in Salisbury were subject to strict rules and restraints that had no applicability to the white population. For example, the Location Regulations outlined in 1895 banned the possession of beer in the Location and these restrictions were further consolidated by the Native Location Regulations number 181 of 1898 which authorised the Inspector of Locations to check African access to alcohol.[48] It was, however, not until 1900 that "township wide" regulations were first effected in Salisbury.[49] Of importance to note is the fact that in Salisbury, especially in the Location and its immediate environs, African weekend beer parties which involved "drinking, singing, dancing, gossiping and many other social activities," [50] were becoming conventional and these regulations touched and disrupted the social nerve centre of the otherwise drab African life in the township. The many attempts by the African Location residents to defy these regulations and indeed, in many instances, to protest against them should thus be understood in such context.[51] The beer parties can be seen as endeavours by the African Location residents to make sense of a dull, tedious and agonizing township life and municipal attempts to ban them touched at the core of African attempts to reclaim their very existence. For example, in 1914, the Location Superintendent with the help of the Detective Department rounded up and arrested those who possessed beer in large quantities and the Native Commissioner also collected taxes and arrested tax defaulters.[52] These arrests were happening at a time when beer brewing and selling was an integral part of the Location as it supplemented the heavily depleted incomes which had been affected by wartime inflation.

Besides the lack of commitment by the colonial state and the local authority to invest in the African township, the need to control urban Africans also provides a part explanation of the

[48] Quoted in Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 46.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *The Rhodesia Herald*, 2 November 1910.
[51] Yoshikuni has a very interesting discussion of these beer protest and the series of attempts the Location dwellers make to protest again them forms an important part of his discussion of Location life. He also discusses how the municipal authorities take over beer brewing and distribution in the Location.
[52] NAZ, LG52/6/1, Reilly to Town Clerk, 3 March, 1914.

colonial state's discomfort with allowing "natives" to construct and own houses in the Location or outside. The refusal by council to have Africans build their own houses was despite the evident failure by the Council and government to construct adequate housing for the Africans and the willingness by some of the able Africans to relieve the authorities of the burden of housing construction and construct their own dwellings. The fear was that "natives" would become too free and would in turn let their properties to other "undesirable natives." Robert Lloyd Pollet who was a member of the Town Council for 30 years from 1900 and its Town Clerk from 1920 argued that it was not a "safe policy to allow a native to put up a building himself" since this would give the "native" the right to say; "I am going to put someone else in there."[53] For Pollet, that African "might let it to someone undesirable."[54]

Pollet's expressed desire to control urban Africans is also articulated in even more outlandish fashion when he proposed the construction of a detention camp by the government instead of a "rest house or compound" for casual visitors to the Location seeking "either friends or work."[55] Of importance is the fact that the idea of such a detention camp was not new to Salisbury because "in the early days, there was such a detention camp on the side of the Makabusi (Mukuvisi) river and boys coming to town were placed out there."[56] The presence of such a camp before and Pollet's position regarding its re-establishment, demonstrates the extent to which the colonial state was willing to go to compromise the living conditions of the Africans in the urban areas at the expense of law and order. In everything that had to do with the urban Africans, law and order took precedence.

The Location was hit hard by accommodation *woes* and poor accommodation especially by 1930. In that year, a Mrs. N W Wilson, who stated that she wished to give evidence at the request of a number of "native" women in the Location, reviewed that they had raised complains with regards to the nature of the houses especially the kitchens whose roofs were too low and consequently became very hot. She also raised the question of overcrowding in the Location which, in her opinion, was becoming a very serious issue and gave an example

[53] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location), 4 December, 1930.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

of one instance where as many as 14 Africans were found crowded in one hut.[57] Albert Edward Horney, who was a Location Superintendent for three years also highlighted the serious housing shortage in the Location and indicated the non-existence of accommodation for casual visitors to the Location. He also pointed to the need for more housing for the permanent dwellers.[58] Mr. C Olley, Editor of *The Weekly Review* and also a member of the Town Council also reiterated the issue of housing and pointed out that there was "insufficient accommodation for permanent natives working in town."[59] He thus highlighted the need for more accommodation to be provided, but what is striking is the reason he gives for such a consideration. For him, "natives without accommodation are apt to wondering about, probably accept the hospitality of their friends in towns and are tempted to pilfer."[60] The need to provide more housing was, therefore, not necessitated by the discomfort such shortage would cause to Africans but became imminent because of the threat the lack of such posed to the whites in the town. The consideration was not made because of a genuine concern to improve the situation of the urbanised Africans but because shortage of houses for Africans posed a threat to white survival in the town. Even worse, the need was not acted on because of the reluctance by both the colonial state and the municipal authorities to invest in this area of urban development.

The Location sanitary conditions were also a source of grievance for the Location residents. It was the duty of the council to provide suitable latrines for males and females and the duty of the Superintendent under the directions of the Council to identify, from time to time, a place or places that could be used for the disposal of rubbish or, filth or litter of any kind.[61] By 1930, there was no washroom in the Location and it had only one bathroom for females and one for males and water pipes were there but not in use. Location residents used water from boreholes and wells.[62] The improvements of these sanitary conditions were hinged upon the inclination of either the state or the local authority and neither of the two were willing to part "with unnecessary expenditure" in the Location. One of the sources of conflict between the

[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] NAZ S85; Government Notice Number 248, 18 April 1924.
[62] NAZ, S85, Robert Lloyd Pollet (Town Clerk) - Laws and Regulations.

colonial state, the local authority and private capital was with regards to the question of who was to be responsible for the upkeep of the Location citizens and this inevitably took its tow on Location infrastructure and development.

Even considerations for building infrastructure in the Location were framed in the context of the intended benefits with regards to law and order. Nowhere is this clearer than in considerations for lighting and provision of a market for Location dwellers in the Location. Until 1930, complains were still being raised that there was no lighting in the latrines at night and that the Location only had 2 lamps altogether. The Location Superintendent, Mr. Horne admitted that lighting was a weak point in the Location and they were only "2 lamps of the incandescent type." [63] An important point that demonstrates the council's obsession with controlling Africans was made by Lawrence Phillips, Salisbury Deputy Mayor who emphasised the importance of lighting the Location so that "natives will not be able to run around without being seen."[64] For him lighting the Location was another way of enabling effective control of Africans and it only became paramount because of that need. The consideration was not because of the added comfort it would bring to the Location but the added advantage it would provide the authorities in their endeavour to control and monitor the "meandering native".

In December, 1930, Dr. A P Martin, Senior Government Medical Officer and Chairman of the Native Welfare Association, argued strongly in favour of a Village Settlement scheme. He maintained that a "number of married men with families would move over from the Location and make room for more single boys" because it was his view that the "Location should be for a limited number and when that number is reached, a new Location should be built."[65] In the eyes of the Location residents, this was a welcome proposal but what is interesting is what had motivated Martin to make the proposal. For him, when the Location became too big it would become "unwieldy and makes supervision and control difficult" and thus "in times of native unrest, it would be an advantage to the government to have the natives divided into separate Locations." Again, this concern was not made out of regard for "native" comfort but for law and order.

[63] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location), 4 December, 1930.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

In another example, The Town Clerk, Mr. Pollet, advocated for the establishment of a market for the benefit of Location dwellers. He, however, preferred to see the market "attached to the Location as a special section of it," and not to have "it actually inside the Location."[66] For him, the reason for such was that a market inside the Location would be problematic "on account of the difficulty of controlling natives who do not belong to the Location to buy and would make this an excuse for running around." For that purpose, therefore, Pollet even saw the necessity to extend the Location for that market. No consideration for the comfort and convenience of Location dwellers was taken into account with regards to the site of this "native market" even irrespective of a concern raised about the absence of a Trade stores in the Location and the fact that Location dwellers go to a little store outside the Location.[67] Rather, considerations for law and order were made paramount.

In the construction of a beer hall and the provision of sporting facilities in the Location, control and domination were again the key factors. The argument was that "organised sports would help to check vice and fill the time of the young bloods more profitably."[68] The same was also maintained for a Location beer hall which was described as a good institution because it "is a stop gap for many natives from worse evils." A proposed hall for concerts and "suitable cinema entertainments" was also seen as necessary because it kept the "native occupied and diverts their attention from other things."[69] Interestingly, these colonial officials were also equally convinced that the Africans "cannot organise themselves" and hence a suggested scheme to be "controlled by a European."[70]

At the heart of the network of control was the pass system which regulated the movement of the Africans in and out of the Location. Bonello argues that the connection settlers made between labour and improving or curing ostensibly inherent deficiencies in the "native" character reveals a significant desire to control the social and economic presence of blacks

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] NAZ, S86, Report, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location).
[69] Ibid
[70] Ibid.

generally.[71] She argues that white treatment of blacks was about far more than ensuring a steady supply of cheap labour; it reflected the need to create distance and difference between the races.[72] The Native Affairs Department kept track of the movements of the African population with rigorous pass laws. Yoshikuni states that congregants of Africans aroused anxiety among European residents, "especially when the former were out in the streets as anonymous consumers and pedestrians coming to and from 'kaffir truck shops', 'native eating houses', the pass system office and the Location."[73] It was this anxiety and the need to control labour that necessitated the urban pass regardless of the amount of disquiet it caused amongst the Africans. The BSAC's native rules and regulations, published in 1892, was the first document establishing urban passes for Africans.[74] All Africans were required to register and obtain a pass when they came into town and a curfew was imposed from 9pm to 5am, during which time Africans were prohibited from European areas. Each employed African was required to register his contract of service with the BSAC authorities.[75] Pass legislation was gradually expanded and refined. For example, there were later calls for passes to include a note by white employers describing the labourer's character.[76] In 1895, the Registration of Natives Regulation was introduced and they provided criminal penalties for Africans found in towns without passes to seek work, or registered work contracts, and for breaking curfew.[77] The Pass laws thus controlled entry into and movement within the urban areas. This was done in the back drop of a genuine European need to obtain African labour and at the same time ensuring separate development of races.

These early pass ordinances were buttressed by the Town Location Regulations of 1898 which gave Location administrators powers to grant resident permits to Africans and wide authority to deal with loitering and disorderly activities within the African urban Locations.[78] This type of legislation' which reinforced overall African regulations with specific urban requirements, became an integral part of the European control apparatus. Further urban Location

[71] Bonello, "The Development of Early Settler Identity in Southern Rhodesia: 1890-1914, p. 348
[72] Ibid.
[73] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 19.
[74] "British South Africa Company: Native Rules and Regulations," *Rhodesia Herald,* 29 October, 1892.
[75] *Ibid*
[76] 'Employer,' Black Domestics" [Letter to the Editor], *Rhodesia Herald*, 20 October, 1900.
[77] J. Muzondidya, *Walking a Tightrope. Towards a Social History of the Coloured Community in Zimbabwe*, Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005, p. 23.
[78] *Ibid.*

ordinances promulgated in 1905 gave the Administrator broad authority to control Location life; the strict regulations against admitting wives and other women to the Locations.[79] The following description, though made much later, demonstrates the cumbersome nature of the Pass system for Africans and the level of harassment they endured all in the name of control:

> the African required a pass to have his wife in town and another for his children; his visitors must obtain a certificate if they spend the night with him and he requires a permit to seek work or to walk in the European part of the city. Many Africans find it convenient to carry the receipt for the watch they wear or the parcel they carry as police are liable to stop and question them. Unlike Europeans, Indians or coloureds, they are obliged to carry at all times an identity document in which is set out their full personal particulars and details of their employment. The need for these various documents is greatly resented by all and the physical difficulty of coping with them is considerable for the many who cannot read what is recorded in the documents or whose trousers or shirt pockets are, as is often the case, in holes.[80]

The Location Police was at the centre of Location law and order and in most cases and much to the irritation of Location dwellers it exercised its power without limit and with impunity. B William Saidi's novel, *The Old Brick Lives,* recounts the attempts by urban authorities to establish control over urbanised Africans through the Location police.[81] Albert Edward Horney, the Location Superintendent from 1926, had 5 police boys, a barman and an assistant barman for the beer hall, and 2 native assistants who worked under him. Because of the presence of his "efficient police boys" Horney maintained that he had no trouble in controlling the Location as they were always ready to "see that the law was kept and there was no disturbance."[82] Indeed Horney had nothing but praise for "his boys" who were "constables sworn before a magistrate" and who were ready to react "if anything untoward happened, such as a riot."[83] Yvonne Vera's *Butterfly Burning* makes reference to this notorious police and details the severity of suffering that Location dwellers endured under them and how the police made residents regret being in the city "before resigning to their situation."*[84]*

[79] *Rhodesia Herald*, 30 March, 1905.
[80] Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African. A Study of Conditions in Southern Rhodesia", p. 139.
[81] W. Saidi, *The Old Bricks Lives.*
[82] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location), 4 December, 1930.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Vera, *Butterfly Burning*, p. 44.

There was, therefore, no real motivation on the part of the council and government to provide any level of decency for their African urban subjects. The little that was done was either done grudgingly and at little cost as possible to central government and the municipality or to ensure the maintenance of law and order. The fact that most of the developments or considerations for developments that took place in the Location were necessitated by other concerns outside the basic comforts and needs of the people who lived in it meant that the quality of most of those developments were compromised. The social geography and administrative culture that was shaped by Native policy in the urban areas had a profound effect on the way Africans responded in the early period of urbanization. Early urban planning and urban culture highlighted the creation of barriers, a penchant for domination and control and a marked hesitancy to invest more than was necessary to ensure African survival in the Location. It was this concoction of attitudes and ideas that determined the physical and social structure of the Location.

Section Three: African Responses, Consciousness and nascent collectivization of African Location grievances.

As mentioned before, a majority of urban Africans did not take their marginal positioning in the Location passively. They responded to them in a very intense way and movements of urbanised Africans reacting to their conditions emerged in this early period of Rhodesia's urban history. Such movements reached a peak in the years immediately after World War One, and among them, Yoshikuni cites a storm of protest by women against the local authority's usurping of the production and sale of African beer.[85] Initially before the war, people's protests frequently took the form of staying away from the Location to settle outside the town. In the post war years, however, the protest was much more Location based, with mobilization occurring among the people living in the Location and over issues directly relevant to life of the Location.[86] Indeed, Lewis Gann remarks that at the end of the 1920s, Howard Moffat, "the Rhodesian Prime Minister, for the first time found himself facing a small emergent 'Africanist movement'." [87] Though this remark was in response to the Shamva mine

[85] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 53.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] L. H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1934*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1965, p. 269.

strike in 1927, it is a suitable description of what Moffat faced in the Location during this time as well. Ranger argues that many of these emerging Africanists lived in the Bulawayo Location and complained bitterly about conditions there. They demanded, among other things, a hospital, a government school, a recreation hall and better sanitation.[88] Likewise, the same was also happening in Salisbury, especially in the face of a demonstrated reluctant attitude towards investing in the African township.

It was thus inevitable for serious discord to emerge amongst the Location inhabitants. Some of the popular ways through which African Location citizens channelled their discontent was either through the organised African organisations that emerged among the Africans, or the formations of delegations that would be mandated to confront authority. To note is the fact that this confrontation was not physical but was verbally communicated first from the Location citizens to the organisations via numerous meetings held in the Location or its environs and then to the state and municipal authorities via meetings and correspondence between the African leadership and government officials.

In 1913, the Native Department officially recognised the Chief Native Commissioner, Carbutt as a channel through which the opinions of people who resided in the Location could be heard. In a letter to the Administrator in September of 1913, the Chief Native Commissioner explained the reason such a step had been taken and why it was necessary. He wrote;

> I have reason to believe natives residing in the Location have in the past wished to lay certain grievances before the Town Council, but have been prevented from doing so by the Superintendent… I would suggest that, with the occurrence with the Town Council, natives be informed that they may in such matters approach Mr. Carbutt, who will in turn lay the fact before the Council for final decision.[89]

It is important to unpack this important Council decision. This pronouncement was a realisation, by the Council, of Africans collective efforts, from the early period of Location formation, to strive to defend or improve their immediate living conditions. The decision was

[88] T. O. Ranger, "City versus State in Zimbabwe: Colonial Antecedents of the Current Crisis", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2007, p. 163.
[89] NAZ, N3/20/2, CNC to Secretary, Department of Administration, 25 September 1913.

thus an endeavour to create a vent through which people's opinions and frustrations could be emitted and, more importantly, managed before they went out of control.

One of the very prominent issues in which residents demonstrated collective efforts was with regards to the planned kitchens that were to be constructed by council after demolishing the makeshift kitchens which residents had constructed. In 1913, residents of the Location came together and voiced their concerns with regards to the kitchen plan which they considered to be "a hardship, instead of a benefit." More importantly, the residents threatened to "leave the Location if compelled to use them."[90] This incident marks an important turning point in council- residents' relations as it demonstrates awareness by the Location residents of their ability to bargain especially if they used the strength of numbers and the threat to vacate the Location.

In as much as the Location Superintendent claimed that at the centre of the protest was the Location Headman, W B Makabulo who he accused of "inciting the people not to use the canteen,"[91] what is significant is the collective effort made by the Location residents to achieve their goals. Apparently the threat to withdraw from the Location was taken seriously by Council and the plans to construct the kitchenettes were withdrawn.[92] Small the victory may have been, it was an important one nonetheless, in so far as it galvanised residents' consciousness as to the possible strength they had as Location "citizens."

In April 1914, the Town House received a protest letter signed by "We, People in Location". It said:

> We are trying to write this letter. Sir we have just got words to let you know that this new superintendent of Native Location does not treat us well same as before…. Some of us have been here nearly seven to eight years. But now they are leaving the Location for the sake of this new master. They are leaving for farm to stay there. They are afraid of this new superintendent of Native Location. This master whenever he finds little bit of ndawa he goes very quick to the Police Station and tell them to have the boys run in…. Plenty people have gone the farms for the sake of him. Our women all have run away. Sir this month you will find that plenty boys have gone away from

[90] NAZ, LG52/6/1, Reilly to Town Clerk, 3 March, 1914.
[91] ibid
[92] ibid

> location. The late John Smith and Mr. Winter [the former superintendent was not doing like this, they been looking in Native Location very well… this new Superintendent does not understand to look after this place. We shall be very much pleased if you will kindly send Mr. Winter back in Native Location again… Sir if you keep on this new mater here you will see that in Native Location shall be no people. All have gone in the farms. If we see that Mr. Winter is coming again, plenty of us will go back again in Native Location. We got no more to complain. Only this. We are the people living in the Location.[93]

As if to authenticate the threat to vacate the Location in protest, the number of unoccupied huts increased and reached 16 in March 1915, 25 in August, 29 in October and 39 in November of the same year.[94]

The demonstrated awareness by the Location residents of the viability of threats to move away from the Location is also shown by the weakened position of the Superintendent of Natives at this time. With regards to beer brewing, the Superintendent was of the contention that; "if I am too strict with the natives, they will move out of the Location and so deprive the council of revenue."[95] In essence, the position of the Superintendent as far as exerting control on the Location residents was concerned, was dealt a huge blow by the Location residents' threats to withdraw from it. Yoshikuni contends that one factor that greatly influenced the post- war protest especially with regards to beer brewing and selling was the ravages of inflation occasioned by war and he cites the period from 1914 to 1920 in which the prices of goods soared by 165 percent while the nominal wages had dropped to less than half of their pre-war level.[96] For him, the inflation, "dramatically sharpened the problems and social contradictions inherent in the colonial towns and industrial centres," and with "cash in short supply, men and women in the Salisbury Location tightened the purse strings and turned to informal jobs.[97] It was, however, precisely at that moment that the local state tried to stop the consumption of low cost home brewed beer and to take over African beer trade. This made the Location inhabitants quite sensitive to pressures stemming from state control of African housing.

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[93] NAZ, LG38, People in Location to Town Clerk, 3 April, 3 April, 1914.
[94] NAZ, LG52/6/1, Superintendent's Reports, 31 March, 31 August, 1 November, 1915.
[95] NAZ, LG52/6/1, Reilly to Town Clerk, 13 March 1915.
[96] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 51.
[97] *Ibid*

At a meeting held between Location residents and officials, including the Superintendent of Natives and the Town Clerk the residents objected to the beer regulations arguing that people with families couldn't afford to buy beer from the municipality. They thus asked for permission to brew a small quantity for their own consumption on Sundays.[98] At the same meeting, residents also asked if they could be supplied wood for their requirements by the municipality. And they also requested for pieces of land to cultivate crops. The residents also complained of high rents charged by the municipality and they asked for a reduction from 10 shillings to 5 shillings. Again, the residents threatened the officials with leaving the Location "in consequence of these new Regulations."[99]

Another important turning point in Location residents consciousness and dealings with the local authority emerged at that same meeting as the residents campaigned to be part of the decision making process of the Location and demanded to be; "notified beforehand, of any contemplated by-laws affecting their welfare, to enable them to hold meetings and discuss such regulations, and submit to the Government their formal protest if they considered it necessary to do so."[100] In principle, residents were now demanding to be part of the decision making process and to be given an opportunity to consult amongst themselves. This sets the platform for the emergence of the idea of Advisory Boards which became functional in the 1940s.

In November, 1920, the Location residents organised a deputation of "about 150 native women of all tribes" to go and see the Superintendent of Natives after a woman named Ruisa had been fined 2 pounds "for possessing Kaffir Beer."[101] The issues the deputation raised included their desire for residents to be "allowed to brew a small quantity of Kaffir beer, the reduction of the monthly rental from 10 shillings to 5 shillings and the allocation of garden

[98] NAZ, N/3/33/2, W S Taberer, Superintendent of Natives, Salisbury to CNC, 3 Jan, 1919.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] NAZ, LG42/14/14, Chief Native Commissioner to Town Clerk, 30 November, 1920

plots to women.[102] By the end of 1920, therefore, the municipality allocated garden plots to "married women and several women who lost their husbands during the Flu."[103]

In 1921, the Location inhabitants sent a petition to the Legislative Council in which they described themselves as "Natives living in the Location" and they demanded an amendment to the Kaffir Beer Ordinance and threatened "the government to abolish the Beer Hall as it is a money making place" which money was "made not for our benefit."[104] In the Petition, the Location residents wrote;

> We ask the Elected Members to consider our position in the Location regarding the Hut-fees which is ten shillings a month. We ask the Government to realise that we live by buying foodstuffs every day. We ask the Elected Members to see how we are affected by the high cost of living. We ask the Elected Members to… make some places where we could be able to buy a lower price.[105]

As mentioned before, besides individual Location inhabitants who were selected from time to time to form groups of representatives to confront either the state or Council, there were also formally organised African organisations that spearheaded the campaign for improved standards of living and for better treatment of the urbanised Africans. Two of the most visible and most active amongst such groups were the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) which emerged later on in the 1920s.[106] The following address by the Southern Rhodesia Native Association President at the Association's Third Annual Conference is very important in assessing the general opinion the Association had with regards to the Location and the council's attitude towards their condition:

> we all know and admit sometimes that the Location was built for workers, people who are in employment who need a place of rest with or without their families. If one takes this question today, the Location is no longer a place for workers but a place of drunkenness and immorality, a place and a home to house Wanderers, in many cases a good number of descent natives have refrained from hiring any huts in the Location with the fear of spoiling their families. Why cannot the City

[102] Ibid.
[103] NAZ, LG52/6/2, Location Superintendent to Town Clerk, 21 December, 1920.
[104] Quoted in Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p. 59.
[105] *ibid.*
[106] A more detailed discussion of these two organisations will be carried out in chapter three. Here the discussion will be limited to a few examples of protest and representation in the period under review.

> fathers open their eyes and see what is going on there? Do they care to pay frequent visits at all to see what this Location is worth? Do they ever gather the inhabitants together and inquire into their position and grievance? It looks as if they are only depending on the information they receive from the person in charge.[107]

A number of issues emerge from this address, but what is paramount is the bad state the Location was in, a factor that riled most of its inhabitants especially "the better class of native" of which the Association mostly spoke for. The second important issue that does not escape the attention of the Association was the indifference displayed by the council towards the condition of the Location. In most cases, the Council and the central government continued to ignore the pleas coming from the Association and other Location citizens for improvements in the Location.

For example, amongst the many Location issues the SRNA dealt with was housing. Walter Chipwayo, General Secretary of the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) voiced the opinion of the Association which was concerned with inadequate accommodation. The same concerns were also raised by Amos Jakati an evangelist at Epworth Mission and a member of the SRNA, who cited considerable amount of overcrowding in the 4 roomed married quarters and argued that this was made worse by the poor wages the Africans received which were out of proportion to the wages earned thus causing "overcrowding as natives club together so as to share the rent."[108] Faced with this serious problem, the Association proposed that those who could afford it be allowed to buy stands and erect their own houses. It was also the SRNA'S considered opinion that this would give them security of tenure which they desired.[109] Despite these offers from the African associations that their members were prepared to build their own houses to alleviate the crisis, the colonial state was not willing to budge because it meant loss of control of the "native." The state was, therefore, not prepared to alleviate the housing shortage if it meant compromising its ability to control the urbanised Africans.

[107] NAZ, S/ HA 591, Minutes of Meetings, SRNA Third Annual Conference, 4 June, 1929.
[108] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location), 4 December, 1930.
[109] ibid.

J T Baminingo, the General Secretary of the Association, also raised the issue of the urgent "necessity for the provision of housing accommodation for the better class of native." [110] He argued that there was no housing that was "solely for properly married men with their wives and families" in the Location and such a scenario made a lot of the Africans hesitant to "take their children to the Location."[111]

Sipwayo also raised Africans' concerns with regards to the regulations on rents. He maintained that these regulations were "in the opinion of my Association, far too strictly enforced by the Location Superintendent."[112] He gave an example of "several instances where a native has been in arrear for one month with his rent…. and has been forcibly ejected, his property confiscated and sold to meet his obligations." It was the opinion of the Association that three months' notice should be given for a tenant before he or she could be ejected. Baminingo also concurred with the remarks made by Chipwayo on rentals and cited an example where "a tenant was ejected and his clothes confiscated." What made the situation worse in Chipwayo's opinion was that this tenant was a married man and was "only 2 months in arrears."[113]

In view of the continued struggle the Location citizens had in settling their rent obligations, it was the opinion of the Association "that the rents for the Kaytor huts and 4 roomed married quarters are excessive," and that accommodation was inadequate.[114] Amos Jakati, an evangelist at Epworth Mission and a member of the Association reviewed that there was "considerable amount of overcrowding in the 4 roomed married quarters," and that the Association recommended "that 2 families only should be allowed to occupy these quarters."[115] The Association also contended that the Kaytor huts were also overcrowded and that an "employer rents one of the huts for his employees and does not realise how small the huts are." Jakati claimed that he had seen "as many as 6 or 7 in one hut" when "they are only suitable for 2." An important issue raised by Jakati in connection with accommodation was

[110]Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] ibid
[115] Ibid.

the issue of rent which he contented was too high and "out of proportion to wages earned." He thus reasoned that it was the high rents that encouraged overcrowding as "natives club together so as to share the rent." Given the continued accommodation crisis it was the considered opinion of the Association that "where the native can afford it, he should be allowed to buy his stand and erect his own house as this would give them security of tenure which the native desires."[116]

Another major grievance raised by the Location residents was with regards to the "Police boys" who the SRNA accused of lacking a "sense of responsibility" and wielding too much authority which they misused. [117] Chipwayo, the SRNA General Secretary, argued that most of the "police boys" were not married and were, therefore, attracted by "the bad women of the Location and consequently take their part." He gave an example of an instance were "a decently married woman was indecently approached by one of the police boys whilst her husband was at work." This woman refused to comply with the police boy's wishes and her husband who was in rent arrears, was immediately reported to the Location Superintendent and was immediately requested to pay off the arrears or risk being ejected from the house. Chipwayo pointed out that ever since that incident, "the police have made it as difficult as possible for the native," and argued that this kind of persecution was very frequent but the "natives like the ones referred above" were "too afraid to complain."[118]

The acting Chairman of the SRNA, Bothwell Zata, also complained about the police's "lack of respect" for their privacy. He pointed out that the "police boys simply force their way into wherever they wish."[119] The SRNA also complained about "the roughness of the Police boys." Baminingo, of the SRNA contended that "none of the police boys have proper wives" and they "live with the bad women in the Location." He also argued that they were from "one tribe" and thus "naturally show favouritism."[120] Given the list of complaints against the police, the SRNA recommended that "the police boys should be intelligent natives, not necessarily representatives of each tribe, but natives who can be relied on." The Association also

[116] Ibid.
[117] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

suggested that the police should "be properly married men" because the current team were "a bad example." It also recommended that "Location Police boys should not be permitted to force their way into occupied huts at all hours of the night."[121]

The SRNA also highlighted to council a number of grievances that included, lighting which they argued "should be provided in streets and quarters."[122] The SRNA also reasoned that the streets should be made up and "avenues of trees planted." It also expressed its disapproval of the sanitary arrangements and the toilets which were "too open." The Association demanded that "they should be partitioned and there should be doors to each one." They also wanted "to see a library started" because "at present, the more advanced native has no place for literary recreation." Other issues raised by the SRNA included better roads and improvements to the houses which "should have a kitchen attached." It was also generally felt "that the homes of Natives could be built by Native Labour under European supervision and by so doing the cost of houses could be reduced and also the rent reduced." The Association also raised the issue of the women's bath which, they argued, needed "some means of privacy" as "men can walk in and simply plead ignorance that it is the women's section." They proposed "a door for each bath."[123]

Other issues included the floors and walls of married quarters which were not "plastered thus adding work for wives of the occupants," rents which were "excessive in proportion to wages," the sweepers who "neglect their work," and the supply of water which was "inadequate" because of "no proper supply between 7 am and 5pm." The SRNA also raised the issue of the Location Superintendent who they claimed could not "speak the language" and hence their preference of a Mr. McDougall who was "the only one Location Superintendent who could." It was the SRNA's opinion that "the Location Superintendent should be a linguist. The SRNA also recommended the appointment of a Native Council with "the Superintendent of Location as Chairman to manage the affairs of the Location." In terms of leisure, the SRNA recommended that "a hall should be provided for concerts and suitable

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

cinema entertainments because the only form of amusement at present is dancing of an undesirable type and beer drinking."[124]

The other matter that was also brought forward by the SRNA spokesman to the attention of the CNC was the issue of "natives" who had "been subjected to rough treatment by native messengers and Native Police at Native Commissioner's offices."[125] In another matter, a delegation of the SRNA to the CNC "regarded it as an outrage on the modesty of female Native patients that Native male attendants should enter the wards occupied by women." The delegation urged the government to employ women "as nurses or even for the performance of necessary, unskilled duties in such wards."[126] In one rare moment of triumph for the SRNA, a letter from the CNC to the Secretary, of the SRNA on 1 July, 1927 informed them that their resolution to employ "Native females in Native hospitals has received the consideration of the Acting Medical Director who informs me that his department is fully in sympathy with the proposal to employ Native females and that this matter is at present under consideration."[127]

The SRNA was also in the habit of speaking the language the colonial state wanted to hear in order to further their needs. The Association was well aware of the state's obsession with controlling Africans and its desire to create a "model subject". In many instances, therefore, they would appeal to such preoccupations to get their way with the government. For example, in an appeal to have sports facilities in the Location, the Association argued that "sport would detract natives from forms of vice."[128] This language of law and order was the language of the colonial state and the SRNA also appealed to that language in their attempts to have the urban area cleared of unattached women and girls. The Association argued that the presence of such girls and women in the township was responsible for the disturbances and made supervision and control difficult. The SRNA was traditionally against the presence of unattached girls and women in the Location and it always maintained that they would be better of back in the "Reserves" were they would be monitored and mentored by their elders.

[124] Ibid.
[125] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Acting Superintendent of Natives to CNC, 17 April, 1929.
[126] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the Chief Native Commissioner to the Secretary, Department of Administration, 20 June, 1927.
[127] NAZ, S246/782 Letter from the CNC to the Secretary, of the SRNA on 1 July, 1927.
[128] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission.

The Association maintained that "women without their husbands should not be permitted to occupy houses"[129] and to ensure that this position gained favour with government and the local authority, it argued that this would make the control of the Location better. The SRNA thus proposed that the government should have all prostitutes returned to their homes and every woman living with a man to be properly registered under the Marriage Ordinance.

Education was also a subject of concern amongst the SRNA members. The Association thus requested the government to introduce "facilities for improved native education." It again argued that "the labour problem would be solved by education" because the native was bound to seek work in order to support his increased needs arising from improved education.[130] This was another example of the Association speaking the language that the state wanted to hear so they could push their agenda. For them, what was important was provision of education and they dangled the labour issue as an incentive for government to react.

The Association also attacked the beer hall and the Missionaries, the Native Department and the Town Council all received their share of blame for its existence and for the fact that it was just a money- making concern in European interests and a source of moral decay in the Location. It reasoned that "it would help a great deal if the government could approach the municipal authorities, asking them to have their beer under control in the Beer Hall and have male Natives to drink by themselves and women by themselves." To try and draw a favourable response from the authorities, the SRNA argued that such a move "would help the government and the Magistrates from trying assault cases which are now leading the lives of young Natives and women in the courts of law." [131]

The other reason why the Association was not in favour of the Beer hall was that it competed with most of the Africans' lucrative beer brewing enterprise in the Location. However, despite this attack, the Beer Hall was defended by the Town Clerk who argued that the "facts as set

[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the CNC to the Town Clerk, Salisbury, 30 September, 1927- extract from a letter received from the SRNA.

forth by this Association have not been borne out by investigation and that in the opinion of the Council the beer hall at the Location is conducted in an exemplary manner and has the good opinion of both Europeans and Natives."[132]

Another issue that the SRNA considered seriously was the issue of representation. The Association maintained that "the interests of the natives in the Location would be better served if a representative committee nominated by the different tribes with a headman could be formed." Again for their proposal to gain sympathy with the government, they proposed that this committee was prepared to be placed under the responsibility of the Location Superintendent. The Association argued that affairs of the Location would be easier to manage and the "natives" in it easier to control if a Native Council with the Location Superintendent as Chairman ran it.

There were instances, the Location citizens, especially the educated, confronted the council in their individual capacity. An interesting case was that of three African artisans who applied for permission to be allowed to rent in town. The amount of exchange and interdepartmental correspondence that this request ignited was remarkable and very telling. In a letter to the Town Clerk, the Acting Secretary of the Department of the Colonial Secretary informed the local authority that an application had been made by "three natives, who are stated to be skilled artisans (journeyman carpenters and cabinet makers),… for permission to enable them to sleep in apartments they have taken on stand no. 276, Salisbury Street, the property of Ali (Balu) whose consent they have obtained.[133] The reasons these three gave for their application was that they did not wish to live in the Location because of the "noisy disturbances which occur there at night."[134]

Initially, their request was accepted by the Administrator. He wrote a notice in which he expressed his pleasure "to appoint the Magistrate of Salisbury to grant permission to natives to reside outside the native Location constituted under Government notice No. 68 of

[132] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the Town Clerk to the CNC, 27 October, 1927.
[133]NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Acting Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary to the Town Clerk. 27 October, 1923.
[134]NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the Superintendent of Natives to Chief Native Commissioner, 22 November, 1923.

1908."[135] The Administrator was initially supported in his offer by the Chief Native Commissioner who in a letter to the Department of the Colonial Secretary registered his disagreement with the Superintendent of the Town Police, who had argued against the offer stating that "if permission is granted in one instance it must be necessarily granted in all cases."[136] The Chief Native Commissioner maintained that the three natives who had applied were the very type of respectable native for whom special provisions appear to have been made by Section 4 of Ordinance 4 of 1906."[137] The Salisbury Magistrate also agreed with the Administrator and the Chief Native Commissioner and he wrote a letter to the Department of the Colonial Secretary stating that; "In view of the definite statements of the Chief Native Commissioner that these natives are well educated, respectable, skilled workmen and employed in the township, I think these permits should be granted."[138]

However, in spite of the show of support initially demonstrated in favour of the three artisans' application, it was eventually turned down. A number of officials from government and council officials registered strong objections to the offer. The Salisbury Town Clerk was amongst the officials who objected to the application and categorically stated that the council was not "in favour of allowing natives to reside in town, other than those required for domestic or essential services."[139] The Town Clerk also indicated a commonly shared view among the settler community when he expressed the alarm council had of "the number of natives residing in town at the present time." [140] The opinion of the Superintendent of Natives expressed in a letter to the CNC seemed to be the one that turned the tables against the Artisans' application. In it, he explained that he had "inspected the quarters provided both for married and single natives at the Town Location" and was "satisfied that the accommodation is very suitable for the requirements of such natives as the three who form the subject of this correspondence."[141] He further expounded that "the reason these natives do not wish to live in the Location is that of the noisy disturbances which occur there at night"

[135] NAZ, S246/782, Government notice No. 68 of 1908.
[136] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Chief Native Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary.
[137] ibid
[138] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the Magistrate to the Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary, 2 November, 1923.
[139] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Town Clerk to the Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary, 9 November, 1923.
[140] Ibid.
[141]NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Superintendent of Natives to CNC, 22 November, 1923.

but "I am assured by the Location Superintendent that this is not so, he lives quite close to the Location with his wife and family and informs me that it is very rarely that he has to get up and stop any noise or disturbances that maybe going on." He was, therefore, "of the opinion that these natives should not be granted the permission they ask for," because he had been "shown plans for further and better quarters that are being erected for this class of natives."[142] Because of this statement by the Superintendent of Natives, the Acting Secretary from the office of the Department of the Premier retracted his earlier support for the African Artisans and also supported the rejection of their application. He wrote:

> In view of the objection raised by Municipality and especially in view of the statement that the Town Council is embarking on heavy expenditure to erect sufficient brick quarters in the Native Location to meet present requirements, it is suggested by the acting Colonial Secretary that permission be refused. It is understood that the Location is now well conducted and it is unlikely that if proper quarters are provided native artisans will really be subjected to the annoyances suggested in the Chief Native Commissioner's minute[143]

The CNC also changed his earlier support of the artisans' application after taking into consideration the above mentioned report by the Superintendent of Natives. He argued that in view of the Superintendent's report on "the quarters provided by the Municipal Authorities to meet the requirements of the more advanced type of native," he was of the opinion that "no good reason exists for the three natives referred to in the attached correspondence living elsewhere than in the Native Location area."[144] The three African artisan applicants were, therefore, denied their request to rent in town and the Salisbury Magistrate was informed of that decision by the Acting Colonial Secretary.

The establishment of a Commission headed by, Major S N G Jackson who was the Acting CNC of Salisbury to investigate the economic and social conditions of urban Africans in 1930 speaks volumes about the colonial government's struggle with Africans in urban areas.[145] Its terms of reference were to visit and investigate the general position of the affairs in the Salisbury

[142] Ibid.
[143]NAZ, S/ HA 591, Letter from the Acting Secretary, Department of the Colonial Secretary to the Secretary, Department of the Premier, 14 November, 1923. RE: Segregation of Natives.
[144] NAZ, S/ HA 591, Letter from the Chief Native Commissioner to the Secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs, 23 November, 1923.
[145] This commission will be dealt with in much detail in chapter 3.

Native Location particularly with regard to the adequacy of existing laws and regulations designed for administration of the Location and the general control exercised by the Town Council through their officials. It was also tasked to look into the provision for the welfare and the general advancement of the Native inhabitants of the Locations, Housing conditions, provision for sanitation, water and lighting services and others.[146]

The Commission examined 21 European witnesses and 32 Africans and it saw the substantial contribution of the SRNA in its capacity as a representative of urban Africans. The commission also provided the SRNA in particular and other Urban Africans in general with a platform to air their grievances with regards to the conditions of the Location. This was outside the other forms of communication like periodic meetings between the Association members, government and council officials. Indeed the importance the SRNA placed in the Commission as a means to alleviate the dire situation in the Location is captured by a letter written by Chipwayo, who conveyed his appreciation to the Prime Minister for "having suggested the formation of a Native Affairs Commission which would move towards getting in touch with the native mind, the native views and ideas particularly on legislation." It was Chipwayo's view that "should this commission be appointed it must have some sane and educated indigenous natives with clear minds of both white and black to enquire from who would give all the necessary information which may be required."[147] Chipwayo argued that "when enquiries are being made among the natives these old and uneducated natives will never tell anybody the truth behind and bring forth lies" and he contended that if the government was hoping to succeed in its Native Policy the Commission had to tape "Native views, ideas and native minds" from educated "natives."[148]

Conclusion

[146] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission.
[147] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from W Chipwayo to the Secretary to the Premier, 14 June 1928.
[148] Ibid.

This chapter has established how the Location became an important arena of African urban protest from the initial stages of its formation. It demonstrated how Location inhabitants organised themselves to present their grievances to Council or government. It also revealed the central role played by the newly formed African organisations like the SRNA and ICU in representing the voice of the disillusioned Africans. The roots of urban discontent were propagated in African Location inhabitants by the very nature of the Location's formulation. The Location was a product of compromise and was formed to calm down European City inhabitants who were becoming uncomfortable with the uncontrolled and unmonitored presence of African in the City. It was also formed by a government and Council who were not willing to invest enough at least to ensure the comfort of Africans who were to live in it. As such, the infrastructure and services were, from the onset, very poor and were bound to attract the ire of African inhabitants. Such indignation, anger and grievances were communicated to the authorities using varying methods but the Location inhabitants had realised the effectiveness of collective efforts in expressing their objections and protests. It was that realisation that gave birth to effective residents' movements from the early years of Location formation.

As such, organisations like the SRNA had grown into becoming a major voice for the concerns of the urbanised Africans by 1930 and it had managed to carve out a niche for itself especially amongst the educated urban Africans or those deemed as "the better class of native." It had also managed to gain acceptance as a tolerable representative organisation of urban Africans by the government and council with the only source of conflict being its attempt to extend its tentacles into the Reserves. The Association managed, through various means, to confront urban authorities and government without raising their ire by going out of its way to present itself as an Association that was not geared for fighting the state or council but to work with them for the ultimate goal of creating a contended African urban citizen. This went down well with both the colonial state and the municipal authorities whose main agenda, especially at this time, was to maintain effective control through the exercise of their own brand of law and order. As long as the SRNA was not going to turn into "agitators," the colonial state was willing to indulge them. This was a lesson that had been learnt well by the SRNA who realised earlier that they could benefit more by presenting themselves as a likable Association

especially at the expense of the ICU who had unfortunately won the unenviable brand of dissenters.

The situation was thus acceptable to both the authorities and the Association because for the authorities it served as "a vent for ill- formulated but sincere expression of Native grievance and Native opinion,"[149] which would otherwise have emerged in more unpleasant ways. For the Association, it served them well because "the government can only provide conditions of progress, but it is we ourselves who have got to make the government see that it is worth their while to help us."[150] It was from this seeming comfort zone that ICU also found fertile ground especially amongst the uneducated, unmarried women and single man who had borne the brunt of Location struggles and the SRNA'S elitist tendencies. Mzingeli and his ICU achieved immediate notoriety when an ICU branch was officially formed in Salisbury in 1929.

[149] NAZ, S246/782, Notes of Meeting at CNC's office with Delegation from SRNA, 1 June, 1927.
[150] NAZ, S246/782, Speech by the Rhodesia Native Association President, 9 September, 1924.

Chapter Three: "The African has no sense of Civic Responsibility." Administration of African Townships and the development of African urban representation, 1920s to the early 1940s.

Introduction

"What is wrong with the mayor and the Town Council? We are citizens of this Location but we have no privileges… We will not let the council or the government rest. We must have rights in this Location … our own councillors, inspectors, and guards. There are 7000 in this Location with no voice…. We are a suffering class." Masotcha Ndlovu, 1930, Quoted in M Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe*

This chapter works on the proposition that the controlling ideologies of colonial administration of "differentiation and domination" were the root cause of the rise of urban protest. It goes further to make the assertion that the emerging labour union movements that were coming out of Rhodesia were obligated by the conditions prevailing in the African Location, reluctantly established by the colonial government, to become agents of urban Africans township grievances and concerns. The factory, from which these labour unions mainly operated from, by its nature, became an important and fundamental place, logistically, to rally African urban dwellers who shared common urban problem. So the twin duties of being labour unions as well as residents' representatives adopted by the "labour movements" from the onset of their founding were not unintended. Rather, it was a demonstration of the associations' flexibility and ability to tackle issues that were a creation of a colonial structure that had imposed upon the African urban dwellers conditions that were ripe or ready-made to be a source of an urban outcry. The chapter thus argues that these early unions were conditioned by the state of affairs in the townships to become representatives for African urban residents.

The colonial system, therefore, created and permitted conditions in the townships that were too dire for any union or organisation that claimed to represent African interests and that was worth its salt, to ignore. Therefore, even urban dwellers who were not in formal employment saw these unions as a platform to represent them with regards to township affairs. These organisations thus became *de facto* township residents' associations and they carried out this

function with equal vigour and tenacity. Industrialisation caused an increase in African urban dwellers and with it, the expansion of formal African settlements especially in Salisbury. These settlements continued to be overcrowded and had poor conditions and facilities and it was such conditions that led to the expansion of African urban representative unions and associations. Central to the discussion in this chapter is the impact of the Depression and the Second World War on the development of the urban environment and how such developments also shaped the direction and pace of African urban representation and protest.

The chapter thus, first examines the direction taken by the colonial government in "Native Administration", specifically "Location Administration" in the context of the Depression years and the Second World War. It also surveys the development in Salisbury, of African urban representative unions and associations who had, among other things, the mandate to engage colonial administration on issues such as living conditions and equal employment opportunities with the whites and how these unions and associations operated during the depression years and the second World War. An analysis of the operations of the different unions and associations[1] operating side by side with European settler run Native Welfare Societies will be carried out. In essence, the chapter also agrees with Johnson's contention that the expansion of the war and post war years greatly increased the social basis for Africans to challenge their economic and political subordination[2] and nowhere is this expressed more vividly than in Salisbury.

[1] Amongst such groups were the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (RICU), the Southern Rhodesia Native Association (SRNA) and the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party African Headquarters Branch.

[2] D. Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939- 1948*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2000, p. 67.

1. The Great Depression, the Second World War and Administration of African Urban Space

1.1 The Great Depression

Of importance to note is the fact that British colonial authorities were unified in their view of Africans as "backward" and "uncivilised" and they were convinced that the task of "uplifting" and civilising Africans fell squarely on the colonisers' shoulders. Such thinking also heavily influenced the white settlers who administered Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing colony from 1923 onwards. Under subsequent self- government regimes, segregation became embedded in the country. Various measures were put to ensure African subservience especially under Godfrey Huggins, Prime Minister from 1933 to 1953. Underpinning this adoption of racial segregation as a policy was the perceived rising threat of African economic competition, especially in the face of the economic hardships ushered in by the Great Depression.[3] The Depression had wreaked havoc especially amongst the country's farmers whose tobacco and cotton could no longer be absorbed by the shrinking British market.[4] This caused many of the farmers to drift into the urban areas in search of scarce jobs. Given such circumstances, the government put up measures to protect whites from further hardships through African competition for economic opportunities existing at the time. This, therefore, was a central philosophy that guided colonial administration of the African urban space in Southern Rhodesia at this time because Moffat[5] and Huggins' governments were patently aware of the "importance of segregated space as an instrument of domination."[6]

The Depression in the 1930s had a huge impact on the direction and nature that administration of African urban space was to take and the form of "Native administration" was firmly anchored in managing the social problems stemming from it. However, Southern Rhodesia's economy was already in recession when the Great Depression broke across the

[3] Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, p. 106.
[4] *ibid*
[5] H U Moffat was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia from 1927 to 1933.
[6] A. J. Njoh, "Colonial Philosophies, Urban Space and Racial Segregation in British and French Colonial Africa", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 38, No.4, 2008, p. 580.

world economy at the start of the 1930s.[7] So the Depression only accelerated an already declining economy. The underlying question was one of overall social control: how to organise society to provide for the mutual access of black labourers and white employers in the coming industrial age without having to pay the heavy social costs of urbanisation or losing the dominance of white over black.[8] Municipalities and government did not want to be responsible for urban Africans. Town Council wanted government to establish and operate Locations. The Native Affairs Department resisted, arguing that town councils and capital should do so since they were the beneficiaries of the labour thus acquired.

The African "urban influx" especially from the 1920s and increasingly into the 1930s, also raised settler fears that the "natives" were going to overwhelm them in the urban areas and this occasioned both "influx control" and the tightening of urban residential segregation.[9] Rhodesia's policy on Africans in the cities was reductively framed through the Native Social Welfare policy, which consisted largely of controlling and superintending African presence and leisure time. Huggins, in 1934, told the Legislative Assembly that; "I shall do all I can to develop the native, if I am allowed to protect my own race in our own areas, if I am not, I will not do anything."[10] Huggins argued that, in the white areas, the "African has to conform to white requirements…. He is not obliged to go to the white town; he can earn outside the town what for him is a good living, if he does not like the restriction in the towns,"[11]

Such was the attitude that generally shaped colonial administration of the colonial urban space and thus conceived, the colonial government in the 1930s and onwards' "native policy" revolved around the creation and maintenance of white landscapes of power by minimising the risk of labour unrest and by restricting political activities of Africans. Managing African urbanity was thus critical for the colonial project. As such, the municipalities recruited white officers from overseas and South Africa to discharge this mandate charging them "to cheer up the African townships—to prevent or arrest the disintegrative forces of town life… to

[7] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 171.
[8] M. W. Swanson*, "The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900- 1909",* in *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 394.
[9] M. Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe*, Forthcoming with Indiana University Press**.** Author sent me chapters from this book and give me permission to use them for this study.
[10] Legislative Assembly Debates, 13 May 1934, Col. 2343, Godfrey Huggins.
[11] Devittie, "Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies. 1929- 1939", p. 6.

provide decent, gay, attractive and constructive recreation as an alternative to beer- swilling and fornication."[12]

Central to the colonial government's administration of the African urban space in this period was the fact that it operated, in most cases, on very tight budgets, which rendered the task of supplying basic public infrastructure to what were already growing urban populations exceedingly difficult. Thus African Townships were destined to be poorly developed. The adoption of racial spatial segregation policies meant that the colonial authorities were able to limit supply of services, including electricity, tarred roads, piped water and police patrol, mostly to the European areas. Thus the Rhodesian policies concentrated the scarce resources towards the white areas with calamitous results on the development of infrastructure in the African areas.[13]

David Johnson is of the view that the image of the African urban worker as a male migrant, temporarily residing in a Location or compound, having left his wife and family in the reserves, began to be severely challenged from the 1930s as an increasing number of women and children moved to the cities.[14] Unfortunately, employers and the state were extremely slow in adjusting to these changing conditions. T D Devittie argues, correctly, that it was economic interests and not the fact of belonging or not belonging to an ethnic minority, which produced conflict between the government and the municipalities over African policies.[15] The economic conditions in the period 1929 to the late 1940s, therefore, form an essential background in explaining government relations with local authorities as well as the social and economic position of urban Africans. An important aspect of the Location was that the vast majority of Africans inhabiting them were unskilled, illiterate labourers. Virtually all the functionally significant roles and occupations were reserved for the white segment of the population. The economic activities of Africans in Rhodesian towns were decided by the industrial structure

[12] Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe.*
[13]The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, institutionalised this separation of races. The system of migrant labour was an integral part of the practise of segregation, as the Land Apportionment Act, on paper deprived Africans of the chances of obtaining permanent rights in the European areas where they were employed.
[14] Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939- 1948*, p, 45.
[15] Devittie, "Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies. 1929- 1939", p. 6.

of the towns and by institutional mechanisms in the form of the Industrial Conciliation Act,[16] which protected white skilled labour against African competition. It therefore followed that a majority of Africans resident in the urban areas would be employed as domestic workers. In Salisbury in 1936, domestic workers formed 32% of the total number of Africans in employment.[17] The Director of the Census attributed this to the Depression which had forced the Railways to cut down on its labour supplies. Only about 15 percent of the total, in Salisbury, were employed in manufacturing industries.[18]

Even after the enactment of the Industrial Conciliation Act, another white settler organisation, the Rhodesia Agriculture Union (RAU), continued to demand cuts in wages and longer working hours for the urban African worker. The 1935 RAU Congress passed a resolution that:

> Owing to the present unfair practice of government departments paying unskilled native labour higher wages for shorter working hours than the farmer is able to do and thereby putting a premium on native labour to detriment of the farmer, the government be requested to discontinue this practice and increase the working hours of native labourers including Saturday afternoons and decreasing the rate of pay to the level of that paid by the farmer.[19]

The increase in the urban population of both white and black was a matter of much concern to Europeans. There were fears of an impending "black peril"[20] and fears of political and social unrest especially because of the hardships brought about by the Depression. But according to the police, these fears of a "black peril" were exaggerated: in 1929 the class of crime termed "black peril" showed a distinct decrease; in 1931, sexual assaults on white women were the lowest on record since 1925.[21] The Native Department was at this time even more concerned with the large number of unemployed Africans in the towns. And the police

[16] The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 was a Labour relations law that covered all industries, sectors and workers. It, however, did not recognise African trade unions or African workers as employees.
[17] Quoted in Devittie, "Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies. 1929- 1939", p. 6.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] The black peril refers to the fear of colonial settlers that black men are attracted to white women and are having sexual relations with them. This goes back to class and race prejudices. See also J. McCulloch, *Black Peril, White Virtue. Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.
[21] BSAP, Report of the Commissioner 1929 and 1931.

seemed to have exhausted all the laws that dealt with controlling Africans in urban areas, as the Secretary to the Law Department wrote in 1932: "The question of dealing with unemployed natives in towns is of considerable difficulty and as stated by the Commissioner, all the laws under which natives can be dealt with have been enforced."[22] The police attributed the "general movement from rural to urban areas" beginning in 1931 to the curtailment of farming operations and reduced wages.[23] Amongst suggestions made for securing a decrease by the Native Department in 1935 were tightening up of the pass laws, the provision of labour camps in Salisbury and Bulawayo where Africans convicted of petty crimes could work off their fines instead of going to jail.[24]

When, Huggins came into office in 1933 he had promised the electorate a fresh approach in dealing with the "urbanised native." In 1934, for example, he did not see the rise in petty crimes by Africans in urban areas stemming from the hardships they were suffering as a result of the Depression, but rather in terms of innate characteristics peculiar to "the African and his culture."[25] As he told the Legislative Assembly:

> We ourselves are white people, British people, are essentially law abiding… But when you come to the native you are up against a different problem. He is a person who has been removed from the circumstances he understands. He is placed in a European civilisation which he does not understand. He is, therefore, essentially a law breaker, not from desire but because of his circumstances.[26]

There were also fears of political unrest that were anticipated in the interwar period. Carbutt, the CNC in 1931, in his opening speech to the Native Advisory Committee, explained why it was necessary to tighten control of Africans in urban areas and the country as a whole:

> The causes of this Depression and its effects upon our market are difficult if not impossible to explain to the natives. These conditions as you know have given rise to unrest in civilised communities in Europe where one supposes the causes of the depression are better understood than they are

[22] NAZ, S1542.V4 1934- 1939, Secretary Law Department to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 6 December, 1932.
[23] NAZ, S1542.V4 1934- 1939, Superintendent CID Police to Staff Officer BSAP, 3 December, 1932.
[24] NAZ, S235/488, Minutes of the Conference of Senior Native Commissioners held at Salisbury on 27th, 28th and 29th March. 1935, p. 79.
[25] Legislative Assembly Debates, 13 May 1934, Col. 2347, Godfrey Huggins.
[26] Ibid

> amongst the natives and uncivilised people for whose administration we are responsible.[27]

Huggins aimed "to bring back some sort of responsibility to native life" and he blamed previous governments for letting the position become as it had in the 1930s as he felt that: "It is already past the time when we should have taken in hand the regulation of the urbanised natives."[28] Moreover, in 1934, Bullock, the CNC was well aware of the fact that the mere control of the residence and movements of Africans by restrictive legislation in order to keep the towns "white" would not take away the social problems created by an increased urban African population. In August 1934, Bullock was considering legislation on the lines of the South African Urban Areas Act of 1923.[29] He, however, criticised that piece of legislation for failing to recognise the existence of a permanent urban African population whose homes were in the towns and had to be supported there.[30] The police department also warned that keeping the towns white was not as simple as it looked on paper. The Commissioner of Police in 1934, referring to suggestions that had appeared in the press that Africans other than those required for essential services should be excluded from the townships between 9pm and 5am, wrote:

> This would be ideal if it were practicable. I am afraid there would be much opposition on the part of Europeans, it would mean that wages would have to be raised in order that the employee could rent premises in a Location and pay for the extra cost of living which would result.[31]

As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of Africans inhabiting town Locations in the 1930s were unskilled, illiterate labourers or domestics, receiving wages which were barely sufficient to maintain them in town.[32] The highest paid class were the police detectives, who received about 72 pounds per annum and ministers of religion about 40 pounds per annum.[33]

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[27] NAZ, S235/486, Native Affairs Advisory Committee, August 10, 1931.
[28] Legislative Assembly Debates, 13 May 1934, Col. 2350, Godfrey Huggins.
[29] NAZ, S235/363, CNC Bullock to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 25 August 1934. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 deemed urban areas in South Africa as "white" and required all black African men in cities and towns to carry around permits called "passes" at all times. Anyone found without a pass would be arrested immediately and sent to a rural area.
[30] Ibid.
[31] NAZ, S1542/V4, 1934- 1939, The Commissioner of Police to the CNC, 27 February 1934.
[32] Devittie, "Africans in Urban Areas: Government and Municipal Policies. 1929- 1939", p.6.
[33] Ibid.

Phimister quotes the Native Commissioner of Victoria Falls describing the situation for Africans in 1931:

> The financial position of the Natives has been one of great difficulty. Hirtherto they were able to procure whatever cash they required through the medium of (a) sale of maize (b) stock sales and (c) wages. The past year has seen these markets disappear almost entirely. Maize has been unsaleable for cash; cattle are likewise unsaleable owing to the appearance of Foot and Mouth disease; and when work could be procured it was only at greatly reduced rates of pay.[34]

Government in the 1930s was thus concerned about the possibility of African unrest stemming from economic grievances and excessive measures, like those suggested by the RAU. In light of this, it is difficult to accept Gray's generalisation that: "… before 1940 the urban Africans cost of living attracted relatively little attention from either European or Africans."[35] Among the terms of reference for the Native Affairs Commission was the investigation of rents in relation to wages. Reverend Howman attributed much of the petty crime around Salisbury to the low wages they received in comparison to the high rents that were charged.

The Native Registrations Act of 1936,[36] thus sought, *inter alia*, to facilitate the control of Africans in urban areas. The restrictions imposed on Africans' movement were a curb on their spending power. The Native Registration Act thus consolidated the pass system and it compelled every male African in the towns to have "in addition to his situpa, one of the following: a pass to seek work in the town; a certificate signed by a Native Commissioner to the effect that he was earning a living in the town by lawful means; if employed outside the town, a written permit from his employer; a visiting pass."[37] It was through these means, that the state not only strengthened its degrading surveillance of urban blacks but also considerably improved its capacity to direct the flow of black labour.[38]

Phimister provides a very useful explanation of how the Rhodesian government attempted to deal with effects of the Depression which accounts for the dire conditions of urban Africans

[34] Quoted in Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 171.
[35] Gray, *The Two Nations*, p. 309.
[36] This Act provided for the tightening up of control over the movements of Africans.
[37] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, Capital Accumulation and class struggle*, p. 199.
[38] *Ibid.*

during this period. According to him, the "balance and relationship between domestic and international capital was achieved primarily at the expense of the black peasantry and working class" and work for a wage became "scarce and wages dropped, their cattle became almost unsaleable, taxation both direct and indirect, continued and to be brief, the Natives took the 'shock' so effectively that our Colonial Treasurer was able to balance the Colony's revenue and expenditure" [39] Indeed, Phimister quotes the Chief Native Commissioner who observed that "the Native… has always been the shock absorber- the "snubber" – in the State motor car."[40] The 1930s were thus a time of extreme hardship for the urban African and the peasants alike, and this was made "worse by the settler state's success in deflecting the Depression's main impact onto blacks away from whites."[41]

1.2. The 1930s and The Second World War: Impact on the Location

World War Two more than any other event, finally provided the opening for the realisation of settler prosperity in Southern Rhodesia.[42] This prosperity, however, only managed to worsen the conditions for urban Africans. Wartime industrial expansion contributed to a new influx of Africans into Bulawayo, Salisbury and other major towns of Southern Rhodesia. Wages in the urban sector, which varied across industries and occupations, tended to be higher than those in the rural areas but still lower than the basic minimum thought necessary for the production of a worker and his family. 1n 1943, 4 pounds 15 shillings was the average minimum monthly requirement of a man and his wife and two children.[43] In 1944, it was argued that if these figures were accepted, "then very large numbers of families must be perilously near starvation point."[44] In June 1943 of 26,494 Africans surveyed, 18,777 were in receipt of rations and many Africans were forced to purchase extra food to supplement their

[39] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 196.
[40] Chief Native Commissioner quoted in, *ibid,* p. 183.
[41] *Ibid*, p. 196.
[42] For a detailed analysis of the Impact of World War Two on Southern Rhodesia' s economy see, Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe,* Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, Capital Accumulation and Class struggle* and Mlambo and E. S. Pangeti, *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing 1890-1995.*
[43] NAZ,ZB1 3/1/1 Report on Committee to Investigate the Economic, Social and Health Conditions of Africans Employed in Urban Areas (Howman Committee Report), Salisbury, 1944 .
[44]Ibid

rations.[45] They were also reports of "malnutrition, scurvy, pellagra, bilharzia, hookworm, malaria, tuberculosis" as a result of "deficient diets and unhygienic surroundings" amongst the urban underpaid labour force of Southern Rhodesia.[46]

In the 1930s and during the war, the pressure on African urban resources was felt more in accommodation. Accommodation had worsened as a result of the inflow of new migrants who now brought with them their families. Opinions differed amongst the ruling group on whether African Labour in the towns should be stabilised. The Native Department was aware of the need to provide adequate housing but as a consequence of the Depression there was little money available to finance any housing projects. The Municipalities were, for their part, not prepared to bear the financial cost of any such project. There were now three types of areas within which Africans other than those in domestic services legally resided in the towns. In the first category were the private Locations or compounds set up under the 1908 Private Locations Ordinance; all the tenants in these Locations paid rent to the landowners. But the Land Apportionment Act stipulated that these rent agreements were to be phased out so that in the late 1930s with most of the rent agreements expiring, there was the problem of providing housing for Africans resident in these Locations. In the second category were the municipal Locations under the joint control of the municipalities and the Native Department with the former retaining the responsibility in housing matters. The Native Village Settlements which constituted the third category had been set up under the Land Apportionment Act of 1930; they owed their origin to the Moffat government's "sympathy" with the desire of "respectable" Africans to live apart from what they contemptuously called the "unruly element."[47]

Indeed, the shortage of accommodation for African urban dwellers had reached crisis proportions before the war, during and by the end of it. This worrying housing situation had been created by years of deliberate neglect on the part of municipal authorities to construct more houses because of the disagreement between government and local authorities on the

[45] P. Ibbottson, Report on a survey of urban African conditions in Southern Rhodesia: August 1942-June 1943, Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia, 1943.
[46] Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939- 1948*, p. 143.
[47] M. C. Steele, "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923- 1933", p. 474.

financing of housing projects. Thus the major attempts that were made to provide African housing had failed. The urban areas had limited facilities to house the excess labour that had moved into the urban areas in the 1930s and 40s and merely keeping Africans out of the towns would have been a self- defeating exercise for the government. There had been an increase in the European urban population in the 1930s and during the war which required more African labour. A demonstration of that necessity for labour is reflected in a circular sent by the CNC to Town Clerks in 1934:

> Native labour is a necessity in every town. Therefore, it is considered that the reasonable accommodation should be provided for labourers while seeking employment."[48] But the municipalities throughout the inter- war period felt that it was not their responsibility to house Africans seeking work in the towns. The Town Clerk of Salisbury, in 1930, T Pollett suggested in evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into Salisbury Municipal Location that the government should set up detention camps to house what he called "casual Natives." Moreover he did not think that it was the duty of the Salisbury City Council to do the farmers' dirty work for them as he told the commissioners: "… I do not consider it is the business of the Municipality to house these boys looking for work, as a very large percentage of them do not remain in town, but go out to Avondale and the farms."[49] In 1934, the CNC sent out circulars to the Municipalities requesting their cooperation in providing accommodation for work seekers. The municipalities of Salisbury and Bulawayo said they saw no need for such accommodation while the Gwelo council would only consider providing the required facilities if they received a subsidy from the government.[50]

The need for more housing had been noticed earlier and the Urban affairs Commission had noted had noted that though money spent on Native Affairs and the Location was shown separately there was an anomaly in the accounts.[51] The trading account on native finances showed a loss, in spite of the fact that the rents Africans were charged were excessively high. This was because of the high costs of building the municipality incurred by its use of white labour.[52]The Urban Affairs Commission, had thus made many suggestions for the financial administration of the Locations, which it hoped would make possible the provision of sub-

[48] NAZ S1542/V4, 1934- 1939, CNC to Town Clerks, 10th January 1934.
[49] NAZ S65, Evidence of the Town Clerk.
[50] NAZ S1542/ V4, 1934- 1939. CNC to Clerk, 10 January 1934.
[51] NAZ S86, Report, Urban Affairs Commission, 1930
[52] Ibid.

economic housing for Africans. The Commissioners condemned the financing of developments in the Location from profits as being uneconomic for the inhabitants. They went on to recommend that as soon as it was convenient, the municipalities were to raise consolidating loans for a fixed period of from 20 to 30 years, which would greatly reduce redemption charges and, consequently, rents.[53]

However, there was little done to implement the findings of the Commission, as the municipalities accepted no interference from the government. Moffatt's government proposed in 1933 that the Municipalities' beer hall funds were to be used for the benefit of Africans. At the Fourth Municipal Conference held on the 29th of January 1933, Councillor Beard, representing the Bulawayo Council moved a motion concerning the Municipal Amendment Bill.[54] He argued that the Government be advised that in the "opinion of this Conference, the application of this Bill is absolutely unnecessary and that the control and conduct of these institutions in municipal and town management board areas must be left as at present.[55] In 1936, a Kaffir Beer Act,[56] while leaving the beer- brewing monopoly in the hands of the local authorities, carried out some of the recommendations of the Urban Affairs Commission, especially with regards to the financial administration of the Locations. Its Section 6, stipulated that all profits derived from the brewing of and sale of African beer were to be applied to projects for the betterment of living conditions of Africans in urban areas; the municipalities were to show a separate account to show capital expenditure on the Locations and a government auditor was to inspect the accounts.[57]

The 1930s also witnessed a change in the colonial government's attitude towards the presence of Africans in the European urban areas. The government's concern for housing had widened to include the provision of facilities for work seekers also. The Land Apportionment Act recognised the need for having a stable African labour force by providing for the setting up of Village Settlements near the towns. In 1930, the Urban Affairs Commission had also

[53] Ibid.
[54] NAZ S246/293, Report on the proceedings of the Fourth Municipal Conference of Delegates, 29 January 1933.
[55] Ibid
[56] Southern Rhodesia, Kaffir Beer Act of 1936; Report of Committee of Inquiry into Act. Conference to discuss report; Proclamation no. 16 of 1938.
[57] Ibid.

criticised the view that Locations were mere "labour camps."[58] Even in government circles, men like E G Howman and Bullock, sought to encourage the provision of housing for married Africans. In an address to the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants of South Africa, Howman, a former superintendent of Natives in the Salisbury Location, had criticised the way in which, the Salisbury Location was still being regarded as a compound for bachelors, though it housed a quarter of the population of Salisbury.[59] He blamed this on government's attempts to shrug off its responsibilities: "… all that is done is to see that the native pay their taxes as they fall due and prohibit him from entering without a pass."[60] Bullock even argued that legislation along the lines of the Urban Areas Act of 1923 in South Africa[61] was inadequate in solving the housing problem as it failed to recognise the existence of a permanent urban population.[62] He preferred much more comprehensive legislation providing for the "improved conditions of residence for natives in or near urban areas."[63]

The provision of hostels to provide alternative accommodation to Africans in the towns under section 4 of the Native Registration Act, was in Bullock's view, a welcome development.[64] He had reached agreement with the municipalities on their construction in Salisbury and Bulawayo, where the need for them was most urgent. However, Bullock saw the provision of hostels only as a temporary measure and he emphasised at great length in his letters to Huggins that these hostels were not to be similar to those provided under the South African Urban Areas Act, for they "provided accommodation only of a temporary nature."[65] In as much as, a hostel had been built in Salisbury in 1930, the Native Department still saw the provision of housing for married Africans as the ideal. Bullock wrote to Town Clerks in 1936 to that effect. He argued: "…The ideal is that natives who have occupations of a permanent nature should marry and it may be possible to give greater inducement to this end."[66]

[58] NAZ S86, Report, Urban Affairs Commission, 1930.
[59] Steele, "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923- 1933", p. 6.
[60] Ibid
[61] For more on this, see; T. R. H. Davenport, *The Beginnings of Urban segregation in South Africa*. Its central effect, however, was effect a uniform policy of African land tenure and influx control. This meant that the numbers of Africans entering the urban areas would be limited to the numbers required by employers.
[62] NAZ S235/563, CNC to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 25 August, 1934.
[63] Ibid.
[64] NAZ S1542/A1/20/35, Secretary for Native Affairs to Prime Minister, 20th April, 1936.
[65] ibid
[66] NAZ S1542/A1/20/35, Secretary for Native Affairs to Prime Minister, 20 September, 1936.

The Municipalities had, in 1930 only just assented to the insertion of section 8 into the Land Apportionment Act which provided for Village Settlements. They, however, began a campaign against government control of the proposed townships, using white public sentiment as a weapon.[67] The Village Settlement Scheme under the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act, was primarily intended to cater for the housing needs of married Africans. The failure of the Village Settlement Scheme to get off the ground in the 1930s can be attributed to the following factors: the opposition of the municipalities, the Depression which reduced any funds that would have been available and the sub economic wages received by Africans. In 1931, the Bulawayo Council had flatly told the government that it was not prepared to provide the money for the laying out of such a scheme and other initial expenses.[68] The Municipalities started their own scheme for four roomed units in 1931 but the Native Land Board turned it down in consideration of the difficulty involved in obtaining finance during the Depression.

Thus, as a result of the failure by both government and local government to provide adequate housing facilities for urban Africans, the condition of African residential areas worsened in the 1930s and during the war. Slum conditions developed in some of the private Locations and poor quality of housing and overcrowding in the municipal Locations persisted. At this time, the Secretary for Native Affairs felt that the responsibility for providing accommodation for Africans working in town rested on the Municipalities and that they had to be pressed by the government to provide more and better accommodation.[69] It was because of these disagreements between government and municipalities and other related factors that the municipal Locations were on their way to becoming slums in the 1930s. Interestingly, during the same period, Location officials in Salisbury still applied section 6 (1) of the 1908 regulations which had prescribed a minimum of 150 cubic feet per person. In the opinion of the Urban Affairs Commission, applying these regulations in 1930, "legalised gross overcrowding," and the erection of back to back dwellings without any ventilation contravened Section 109 of the Public Health Act of 1924.[70]The underdevelopment of African Locations in the 1930s and during the Second World War can, therefore, be rightfully

[67] Steele, "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia, 1923- 1933," p. 476.
[68] NAZ S924/G.15/1, Memorandum on Native Village Settlements, 4 August 1931.
[69] NAZ S1542/A1/20/35, Secretary for Native Affairs to Secretary to the Prime Minister, 23 July, 1937.
[70] NAZ S138/60, 1926- 1933, CNC to Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, 9 December, 1938.

attributed to the reluctance of both government and local authorities to bear the social and financial costs of having an African population in the urban areas. This, plus the economic challenges that accompanied the Depression only served to make things worse.

By 1939, Huggins' government was conscious of the need to provide better housing facilities for Africans but in the face of the deadlock between the government and the municipalities and the effects of the depression, it adopted a laissez faire attitude. Little was, therefore, done to provide adequate housing for urban Africans in this period. In as much as there were growing sentiments in government circles on the necessity of providing adequate housing for Africans in urban areas, the government rudimentary system of financing housing projects caused it to fail to provide credit facilities for the municipalities for African housing. The local authorities thus persistently refused to bear the financial and social costs that came with such projects. Many Africans in urban areas were, therefore, forced to live under very unsanitary conditions which further perpetuated their anger towards local government and the state. A very loaded description of the Location is given by Phimister when he describes the Bulawayo and Salisbury Location as groaning and heaving from the "sheer weight of…. [their] human load."[71] He gives an example of Harari township, in which rooms meant for four people were "occupied by as many as six or more… some slept in the tiny kitchens, others on the verandas, which were covered by hessian sacks, tins or planks."[72]

The provisions for medical facilities for urban Africans were also grossly inadequate, but the municipalities were not prepared to improve these conditions for fear of the expenses involved. These facilities had progressively deteriorated and worsened by the late 1930s. For example, as early as 1929, Miss M Waters who was employed by the Native Development Department had carried out an enquiry into health conditions in the Salisbury Municipal Location. She found that there was an abnormally low birth rate which she attributed to the methods of contraception and the prevalence of venereal disease. The Salisbury Municipality had rejected a proposition for the building of a hospital on the recommendations of their Medical Officer for Health. The Council argued that building a hospital would cost too much. And as for the expulsion of prostitutes from the towns, as a means of arresting the spread of

[71] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 260.
[72] *Ibid.*

venereal disease, the Council had argued that prostitutes at the Location were a necessity, "as a safeguard for the white women."[73] Pollet, the Town Clerk of Salisbury in 1930, in his evidence to the Native Affairs Commission had admitted that there was a very high rate of infant mortality in the Location but went on to reiterate that Public Health requirements in the Location did not call for a clinic and that "there was an extremely healthy population of natives."[74] Throughout the 1930s, the municipalities were adamant that their responsibility for the health of urban Africans went only as far as the provision of infectious diseases hospitals.

Dr. A P Martin described the medical facilities in the Location as rudimentary.[75] The bulk of the male adults in the Location were provided for by their employers, but the women and children had to be attended to by the Native Welfare Society. The Salisbury Municipality concerned itself only with preventive medicine and took no steps to provide clinical medicine.[76] Thus in the 1930s, there was not much done to provide adequate public health facilities for urban Africans, because of the tug of war between the government and the municipalities over the distribution of financial costs. The government ran two hospitals, one in Bulawayo and another in Salisbury, but from the contemporary description of the one in Salisbury, they fell far short of the requirements. Howman commented on the Salisbury Native Hospital in 1938: "A Native hospital is provided by the government, in which the sick and dying are packed like sardines."[77]

The government, while encouraging the activities of the Native Welfare Societies, saw the provision of welfare services and recreational services completely on utilitarian lines: as a means of imposing "social control" on Africans in urban areas and as an outlet for their sexual energies. Bullock exemplified this view as he wrote to the Town Clerk in 1934: "… It is not thought that sexual intercourse is a necessity for young bachelors who mostly work in the towns for comparatively short periods if facilities are provided for games and recreation."[78]

[73] NAZ S246/532, Conditions in Salisbury Native Location. M M Waters 11 May, 1929.
[74] NAZ S85, Evidence of T Pollet.
[75] NAZ S85, Evidence of R A P Martin.
[76] Ibid
[77] Gargett, *The Administration of Transition: African Urban Settlement in Rhodesia*, Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1977, p. 4.
[78] NAZ S1542/A1/20/35, Sec for Native Affairs to P M, 10 Sept, 1936.

In 1939, Howman prepared a report for the Secretary for Native Affairs concerning recreation for Africans in which he stressed his belief that: "By specifically catering for emotional needs recreation can become a powerful mechanism of social control."[79] Mhoze Chikowero thus describes the Native Department and the Native Welfare Societies' job as consisting of capturing and confining a people whom officialdom saw "to be in the city … but not of it,"[80] allowing them to vent their "excess energies" in the authorised spaces to prevent "disorder" or political intrigue.

The private employers' Locations surrounding Salisbury Native Location and other cities in Southern Rhodesia were also in a bad state. Phimister describes the "black slums [which] sprang up all over, constructed of the cheapest materials: poles and dagga, grass and tins, tied and nailed together to form some sort of shelter,"[81] south of the Mukuvisi river which bordered the Native Location. Because of the non-existence of sanitation in the Locations hookworm and other intestinal diseases were widespread and so was malnutrition. Tuberculosis and pneumonia all became increasingly common during the 1940s and medical examinations conducted in Salisbury discovered that "about 3 natives in every 4" admitted to hospital with pneumonia, tuberculosis and other complaints' were also suffering "either from malnutrition or a disease such as bilharzia or hookworm."[82]

The Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 was another piece of legislation which affected permanent workers and members of the emerging middle class. The Act "obliged people to live in designated urban areas where the allocation of married accommodation and single quarters could be easily supervised"[83] and it was strictly applied in Salisbury. This witnessed the raiding of married couples "by police squads intent on discovering whether the wife was approved in terms of the law" and artisans and other workers squatting on white owned land around the city were "ordered to quit their premises by October 1946."[84] Phimister describes the Act as having reduced the Africans "… to mere

[79] NAZ S1542/A12, Social and Moral Development. Study of Recreation for Urban Natives with specific reference to Boxing among natives in Salisbury 29 June 1939
[80] Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe.*
[81] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 260.
[82] I*bid*, p. 260.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid,* p. 266.

hewers of wood and drawers of water." Testifying to the Jackson Commission in 1930, the Bulawayo Town Engineer had laid bare the immorality of Location urbanism when he reported: "There is not a single decent building in the Location, except the Superintendent's office and the brewery."[85]

2. Unpacking Location Associational Politics: The Operational Environment of African Organisations

The environment within which the different African organisations operated in is very important in showing the factors that influenced their operations. Important was the different ways with which local authorities and the state viewed and dealt with the different organisations. Their approach to the different organisations were different and was determined largely by the measure of "appropriateness" and "tolerability" the government and municipalities apportioned to the organisations. These factors were largely determined by the perceived threat levels that the organisations posed to white settlers and authority.

Government and municipal policies in the Location were lacklustre and non-committal and the resulting economic misery and social disorder partly found expression in open antagonism towards the state and municipal government. The expansion of the war and post war years had greatly increased the social basis for Africans to challenge their economic and political subordination.[86] In the Location, there was a struggle for better working and living conditions that would ultimately translate itself into demands for self-rule. Strikes, riots, boycotts, revolts and other forms of self-expression on the part of the working people and Location dwellers punctuate the 1940s in Southern Rhodesia. Concentrated mainly in the urban centres, this emergent class had grown considerably during the period of expanded production generated by the war.[87]

[85] NAZ, S86, Report, Native Affairs Commission, 1930.
[86] Johnson, *World War Two and the Scramble for Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1939- 1948*, p. 3.
[87] *Ibid,* p. 141.

Phimister identifies "black peasants and preachers" who began to "identify the colonial state as the main source of their problems" and he also accounts for most people's reaction which took the form of "religious hysteria."[88] Likewise, in Salisbury, like in many other urban areas across Southern Rhodesia, dissenting voices emerged and intensified, packaged in many different forms clamouring for the improvement of the Location. Masotcha Ndlovu, one of the African leaders of the time, defined the root of African urban politics at another rally in January 1930:

> What is wrong with the mayor and the Town Council? We are citizens of this Location but we have no privileges… We will not let the council or the government rest. We must have rights in this Location … our own councillors, inspectors, and guards. There are 7000 in this Location with no voice…. We are a suffering class.[89]

As mentioned earlier, the politics of representation in urban administration had many participants in it and these included the expanding Trade Union movement and other African organisations. The SRNA continued with the task of African urban representation during the 1930s and the war years. In order to understand how the SRNA engaged on civic matters, it is necessary to understand how it packaged itself as an institution and to analyse how it was viewed and understood by colonial authorities. Indeed, the activities and operations of the SRNA attracted the attention of the Government and it mandated the Police to attend almost all its meetings at which they recorded, in detail, the events there. From the initial report of the CID section, Detective Sandes, who was the author of the report was not very certain as to the objectives of the SRNA. He, however, was convinced that amongst its objectives were the following:

1. To assist the government in matters relative to native affairs.
2. To cause the uplift of natives from a moral and social point of view.
3. To discuss matters regarding native women who come to Salisbury as rural girls and contract disease.
4. Education, it is considered should be in some instances be of higher standard.[90]

[88] Phimister's book, An *Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* has an interesting discussion of these voices and the state's response to such developments.
[89] Quoted in M, Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe.*
[90] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Detective Sandes, CID, BSAP to The Superintendent, CID Salisbury.

At a Gwelo (Gweru) conference on November 11 1936, the Objectives of the Association were laid out more clearly. The Association agreed among other things to the following:

> to cooperate in social, economical, moral, industrial, political matters touching natives and their interests and to promote native welfare and development. Secondly, to assist government in every possible way, especially in keeping it informed of Native Public Opinion and to help the natives in directly representing them to the Government in all matters affecting native life and welfare in towns and elsewhere in Southern Rhodesia. Thirdly, to organise public meetings in every town and other places and cooperate with local NCs and government officials, if possible and others in explaining new legislation measures and those in force. Fourthly, to discuss in meetings subject of general or special interest concerning natives their life, welfare and interests. [91]

The CNC described the Association as "law abiding and harmless" and his only problem with it was its repeated attempts to "open branches in Native Reserves" when they had been warned against doing so.[92] He also was of the view that operations of the Association in the reserves would be "resented by the chiefs" because the Association would interfere with the chiefs' duties. [93]The Location Superintendent also gave the Association his seal of approval although in his opinion, the Association could not be said to "be representative of the Natives of Southern Rhodesia." The Superintendent was however mainly satisfied by the Association because "the majority of the members [were] law abiding citizens."[94]

Of importance is the fact that the Southern Rhodesia Native Association was recognised by the government as a tolerable representative organisation of urbanised Africans but was not allowed to venture into the rural areas. In fact, the Association was informed that it was "not to form branches or canvas in Native areas." The government officials argued that the Association's work "should be limited to towns and labour centres where large numbers of detribalised natives live, without any recognised channel of voicing their feelings or aspirations."[95] The same official was very sceptical about allowing the SRNA to operate in the Reserves because he anticipated "trouble" because the government would "have scant

[91] NAZ, S246/782, Copy 3, Rules and Regulations, The Rhodesian Native Association. 1 December, 1924.
[92] NAZ, S246/782, Report from the CNC to the Secretary to the Premier (Native Affairs), 10 June, 1929.
[93] NAZ, S246/782, Report from the Chief Native Commissioner to the Secretary to the Premier (Native Affairs) on the Deputation from SRNA to CNC, 15 May 1930.
[94]NAZ, S246/782, Letter from the Location Superintendent to the Staff Officer BSAP, 7 March 1927.
[95] NAZ, S246/782 Letter from Native Commissioner, Marandellas to CNC, 17 May, 1926.

means of supervising the work of the association which may employ irresponsible individuals who might foster unfounded grievances and at the same time undermine the already scanty authority of the Chiefs and Headmen."[96] In 1926 the Acting Chief Native Commissioner in reply to a request from the Association for permission to extend their activities to the reserves argued that though the government has always been sympathetic in the past this was because "they provided a channel for voicing the feelings and aspirations of detribalised Natives in Towns and other labour centres." For the Acting CNC, it was not acceptable for the Association to extend their scope of activities into the Reserves where Native organisations represented by Chiefs and Headmen already existed "because undesirable conflict might easily arise."[97] The Acting CNC categorically stated the government's position which preferred that the Association's functions "be directed as hitherto towards conditions in towns and industrial centres." The Acting CNC therefore requested the Association to alter their programme and shy away from the reserves and not make it part of their proposed new constitution. [98]

The CNC in 1929 also emphasised the government policy which was that the Association's activities should be "restricted to urban and industrial areas to afford means for representation of grievances of Natives living in the towns."[99] In a letter to the SRNA, the Acting CNC was categorical in putting across the government's position. He maintained that the SRNA'S representation "on behalf of Natives living in urban and industrial areas will receive sympathetic considerations by the government" but that they had "no mandate to speak for the Reserves and other Native areas and cannot expect the Government to attach weight to what you say with regards to such areas."[100] He argued that it was "unnecessary for Associations of urban natives to carry their propaganda into native reserves and other rural areas."[101]

[96] Ibid.
[97] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Acting CNC to SRNA, 29 June, 1926.
[98] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Acting Chief Native Commissioner to the SRNA, 20th September, 1926.
[99] NAZ, S246/782 Letter from CNC to the NC Charter district.
[100] NAZ, S246/782Letter from the Acting CNC to the Secretary SRNA, 7 October, 1930.
[101] Ibid.

Faced with the government opposition against their desire to extend operations in the rural areas, the Association continued to lobby and push the government to allow them to move there. It sent a delegation to see the Minister of Native Affairs, H U Moffat on the 6th of June 1930. The task of the delegation was to plead their case with the Minister so they could be allowed to operate in the rural areas. They presented the Minister with a strongly worded petition pleading their case. They argued:

> today we have the presence of the ICU agitators in this town who are watching with keen eyes on our dealings with the government and accusing our Association as 'supporting the white man to supress the black man.' When they hear that the Government is setting a ban to our movements what will be their platform plank when addressing their gatherings. The government should do something in this connection by not putting a ban to an organisation operating on purely Rhodesian lines and under the guidance of the Government officials.

In essence, the SRNA was using the presence of the more militant Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) as leverage for them to be given permission to operate in the rural areas. The Association was taking advantage of the colonial state's fear of "agitators" to gain ground in their dealings with the government. This was not without its benefits because the government tolerated the SRNA more than it did the ICU. The SRNA officials knew that and always tried to use that to their advantage when bargaining with the state. The Minister's response and considerations for the delegation's request was thus shaped by the fact that they would rather deal with the pliable SRNA than with the belligerent ICU. The Minister's response, therefore, itemised a very interesting list of points to consider in favour of agreeing to the Association's request and those against. In listing the points in favour of allowing the Association to expand into the rural areas, the Minister considered the following:

1. that any section of the people of Rhodesia had the right to form themselves into an Association for "self-protection, for mutual help and advancement or with a view to making representations on matters affecting them to government."
2. refusal to grant permission may be interpreted by the Africans as fear by the government and the white settlers of the African "which connotes that there is something to be afraid of, that the government know things are not as they should be and are afraid of this information coming out and possibly being made public."

3. a refusal to the SRNA might open the door to the ICU stepping in and carrying on a secret organisation and propaganda which judging from their public utterances, carries with it a certain amount of hostility to the whites. A refusal to allow the SRNA access to these reserves will probably be regarded as a slur on it which will be used by the ICU.[102]

In short, it was the Minister's opinion that refusing would alienate "the better stamp of leader and better type of organisation and driving them into the arms of the agitator class," whereas by granting their requests "we maybe enlisting on the side of Law and Order those who have proved themselves entirely friendly to the government."[103]

Regardless of the many points in favour of allowing the Association to expand into the rural areas, the Minister also considered an equally formidable list of considerations against allowing the Association to expand into the rural areas. For him, these arguments against granting the requesting were serious, namely:

1. That these activities in the reserves "would be resented by chiefs and Headman and might interfere with the powers of control of both Chiefs and the Native commissioners."
2. The Association might be diverted into wrong channels and "end up becoming a body of agitators looking for grievances and stirring up opposition to the government and against Europeans."

It was the Minister's considered opinion that by allowing the organisation to function in the Reserves, the government "may be creating a weapon which may be turned to evil uses, that it may under bad leadership, follow the lines of the ICU leaders who are working on wrong lines, looking for grievances and distorting the actions of Native Commissioners and Government."[104]

The government was, therefore, caught in a dilemma of making a choice between allowing the Association to expand into the Reserves and risk losing control of it or denying the

[102] NAZ, S246/782, Report from H U Moffat, Minister of Native Affairs to the Premier's Office, 6 June, 1930.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.

Association their desire to expand and give an opportunity of alienating it and thus give the more militant ICU an opportunity to rise. This dilemma is captured very vividly by Minister Moffat when he pointed out the dangers "in permitting organisation on the other hand' and the dangers "in refusing it."[105] This was especially made all the more difficult considering that the SRNA, was in the government's view, "being conducted on sound lines and has shown itself at all times most anxious to keep away from agitation and to support the Government." Given that scenario, for the government, there was thus no better organisation than the SRNA that could be allowed into the Reserves if the government policy against participation into the rural areas was to be lifted. In other words, the government considered it far much better to deal with SRNA than with the ICU. Even members of the ICU were not allowed to address people in the Location and they had "to go outside to propagate their doctrines."[106] In fact, even though an individual could not be turned away from the Location on account of his being a member of the ICU, there were occasions when "Mr. Horne has told a man he cannot live in the Location if he has given trouble." Belonging to the ICU could be interpreted as such trouble and the discretion was solely in the hands of the local authority to eject a person from the Location. This explains the arrest of the General Secretary of the ICU, Charles Mzingeli, in 1930, for what was considered as subversive speech.[107]

The government's intolerance of the ICU is also demonstrated by its directive in 1929 when it informed the SRNA that government representatives would not attend a meeting they had been invited to by the SRNA unless members of the ICU were excluded. Indeed the officials only attended after being given assurance that ICU members had been barred from the meeting. However, several such members including Bowden and Masotcha Ndlovu, did make their appearance in defiance of the directive.[108] A number of conclusions can be drawn from the nature of the relationship between the colonial state and the two organisations as it played itself out in the 1920s. Firstly, the fear that the government had of the Africans and its fixation on controlling them was demonstrated in its relationship with SRNA and its preference of the SRNA over the ICU. Secondly, members of the SRNA were aware of the

[105] Ibid.
[106] NAZ, S85, Evidence, Native Affairs Commission (Salisbury Municipal Location).
[107] Scarnercchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 17.
[108] NAZ, Report from the CNC to the Secretary to the Premier (Native Affairs), 10 June, 1929.

government's paranoia and they used it effectively in bargaining with the state. Thirdly, the refusal by the state for the SRNA to expand into the Native Reserves was borne out of the fear of loss of control that expansion would entail.

From the onset, therefore, the activities of the more "militant" Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) caused serious problems for the colonial government and the Salisbury Municipality. The ICU was not exclusively an urban labour movement speaking against poor housing, low wages and poor working conditions; it also delved into many non- labour related and rural matters such as land shortage, racial discrimination, the violence of native commissioners and other issues.[109] The South African influence on the operations of the ICU should not be underestimated. Scarnecchia alludes to the South African ICU's combination of race pride and populism with an attention to local grievances as one of the cornerstones of its success there.[110] Likewise, Mzingeli brought this organisational strategy with him to Salisbury and Scarnercchia points out that he achieved immediate notoriety in Salisbury as a brave and eloquent speaker where he drew large crowds to ICU gatherings in the townships on Sunday afternoons.[111] His success in standing up for African interests increased his popularity in rural and urban areas as news spread of his bravery. This confrontational but non-violent approach was in contrast to the conciliatory language of the elite Southern Rhodesian Native Association leaders trained at the mission schools.[112]

The activities of the ICU thus caused serious concern especially for the security of the Europeans, mainly given the fact that their complaints were directed at the adverse economic conditions of Africans.[113] The CNC wrote concerning ICU activities: "….I cannot suppose that if this campaign is allowed to go on it can end in any other way than bitter hostility against the government, which sooner or later will find expression in open resistance to taxation... if not open rebellion."[114] The ICU managed to cause enough agitation in the townships to get the government and municipal authorities worried. The collective effects of increasing African

[109] Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p.53.
[110] Scarnercchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe*, p. 17.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Vambe*, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,* p. 94.
[113] NAZ, S138/55 1922- 1933, NC Umzingwane to Superintendent of Natives Bulawayo, 2 March 1931.
[114] NAZ, S138/55 1922- 1933, CNC to Secretary to Prime Minister, 14 February, 1931.

dependency on waged labour, the steady reduction in real income since the early 1920s and the tightening job colour bar had deepened African poverty and riled their anger. This radicalised the ICU and explains its adoption of township issues as part of its package on top of worker representation. This duality may have responded to the needs of contemporary urban Africans, who were on the receiving end of worsening conditions in their urban space.[115] In an interview conducted by Dawson Mujeri in January 1980, Rubben Jamela, one of Mzingeli's contemporaries and fellow trade unionist also describes the duality of the ICU. For him the ICU was not a "trade union in the proper sense" it was "abstract" because a "modern Trade Union is one which is a workers organisation' but "in those early days, Trade Unionism embraced politics, living conditions of people in their homes and other issues. ICU meant Industrial and Commercial Workers Union; it covered all aspects but put it this way: it opened the eyes of many."[116]

One of the most appropriate description of Mzingeli and his approach is given by Scarnecchia. For him, Mzingeli "consistently did his best to counter any attempts by European authorities to deny African politicians a space to govern themselves."[117] His strategies was to look for opportunities to take over "rubber stamp" organisations such as the township advisory board[118] and the African Welfare Society, making sure that he and members of his organisation, dominated these groups until the late 1950s.[119] For Scarnecchia, Mzingeli's notion of working class citizenship was significantly different than that of the mission educated elite- the group of men who lived outside of the township and saw themselves as the most qualified to represent African interests.[120] Mzingeli sought to provide protection for a wider range of individuals living in the township through his rhetoric around the dignity of labour. Scarnercchia also maintains that, for Mzingeli, formal education was not the only thing that gave a person value, and he identified his distrust of the more educated elite which was shared by others in the township. The style of anti- elite rhetoric was, therefore, a cornerstone

[115] E. Msindo, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo, 1950 to 1963, Journal of African History,* Vol. 48, No. 2, 2007, p. 271.
[116] NAZ AOH/63, interview held with Rubben Jamela , Interviewer, Dawson Munjeri, 11 January 1980, 28 February 1980.
[117] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe*, p. 12.
[118] This will be discussed later on in the chapter.
[119] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 12.
[120] *Ibid.*

of Mzingeli's successes over the years and he defended the rights of access of township residents to the city, while also urging them to gain more education in order to obtain greater respect so that they could in turn make greater "claims to an imperial working class citizenship."[121] Yoshikuni argues that when an issue developed in the interests of workers in the township, Mzingeli took on the challenge "without the moralistic overtones of the elites" who tended to blame township residents for bringing on hardships because of their "lower" status and lack of civility.[122] Mzingeli thus fought petty segregation laws from the beginning, including laws that fined Africans for walking on the pavement reserved for whites in Salisbury's CBD.[123] The motivation factor of the ICU, according to Mzingeli was to build the character and dignity of urban Africans, "to form up opinion and slogan which will assist the African to have the feeling of belonging."[124]

Many people in the Location and beyond attended the very first meeting of Mzingeli's reformed ICU and "Mai Musodzi Hall with a capacity of two hundred was filled to half."[125] Rubben Jamela summarises the mandate of the ICU in the following excerpt from his interview:

> We dealt with issues involving working conditions, living conditions, rent, politics and so forth. Remember also that at the time in Harare Township there were many deficiencies. We did not have electricity and it was then introduced but by 10 o'clock pm all light were switched off. They were switched off at a central point where they also switched on at 6.00 pm. Prior to that the township was all in darkness. This was all spelled out at the meeting which was addressed by Mr. Mzingeli. Other things were later remedied as time went on. At that time there was no African Administration Department which today deals with African townships. The townships superintendent was the "department" himself.[126]

Another of Mzingeli's contemporaries, Aaron Jacha, who was a founder member of another organisation, the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress also summarises the obligation of the ICU and other African organisations. Jacha describes the politics of the 1930s and 1940s as

[121] *Ibid,* p. 12.
[122] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 18.
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Quoted in, *ibid.*
[125]NAZ AOH/63, interview held with Rubben Jamela, Interviewer, Dawson Munjeri, 11 January 1980, 28 February 1980.
[126] Ibid.

very different and dealing with "… improvement of conditions for blacks. Improvement in such fields as pay, treatment in town, you see Africans were not allowed to walk on the pavements."[127]

One of Mzingeli's abilities was to take over redundant organisations and make them a strong conduit to channel township grievances. He did so with another organisation; the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party, African Headquarters Branch.[128] In 1938 the Headquarters of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party was asked by Mzingeli if Africans might join the Party. After consultation with senior Party officials Col Walker of the Salisbury South Electoral Area replied that Africans were welcome to join the Salisbury South Branch. There was no colour bar in the Constitution of the Party, but the African members were not allowed to attend Salisbury South Branch meetings, but functioned as a group with a chairman and secretary.[129] This group frequently "met the organiser and the General Secretary and the Parliamentary Members for the purpose of placing before them, matters of concern to Africans."[130] In 1941 the group had 17 members and these members applied to be registered as a Branch of the Party. The application was considered by a Subcommittee of the National Executive Committee, who recommended that the African Group be registered as an African Headquarters Branch, to which Africans would be eligible for membership throughout the country.[131]

The African Headquarters Branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party, with Mzingeli as the branch Chairman, became another important mouthpiece for township grievances. In a hard hitting letter in response to an editorial in the *African Weekly* titled *Africans and Politics*, Mzingeli, in his capacity as Chairman of the African Branch, dismissed the editorial as a "clever admixture of half-truths and inferential mis- statement."[132] The editorial was dealing with the prohibition by the Salisbury City Council of meetings in the Native Location which related to

[127] NAZAOH/, Interview with Aaron Jacha in Marirangwe Purchase Area, 14 July 1977, Interview Conducted by Mr Dawson Mujeri.
[128] NAZ SR9/1/1/6, Southern Rhodesia Labour Party, Letter to Messrs Scanlen and Holderness from Acting General Secretary, 2 May, 1944.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] NAZ SR9/1/1/6, Southern Rhodesia Labour Party. African Headquarters Branch, An Open Letter to the Manager, *African Weekly*, by L C Mzingeli, Branch Chairman, 7 December, 1944.

politics. The editorial had offered three reasons as the motivation for the ban. Firstly it argued that because of the "high percentage of illiteracy among the African people and the susceptibility of illiterates to emotional appeal, politicians may, consciously or unconsciously, lead the Africans astray." Secondly, it stated;

> it is feared that the few- so called educated Africans who generally air their superficial knowledge at these political meetings would influence the backward African people who are, at present, extraordinarily gullible and can hardly act wisely for themselves. Not only that! It is also believed that even where the speakers' intentions are honest and constitutional, his utterances may afterwards, drive the backward members of his audience to adopt a policy which militates against the stability of the state.

Thirdly, the editorial concluded; "therefore, it is felt that political meetings held in the Location by either European or African leaders of the Labour Party, or by anyone else, will deliberately antagonise the Africans and create an atmosphere, which if unchecked, will lead to serious trouble."[133]

In response, Mzingeli had argued that without definition of what is meant by "astray" the first argument was "meaningless." Secondly, he asked for a definition of what is "so called "education and what is "superficial knowledge." More importantly, Mzingeli asked if the implication was that only such "political meetings as are held in the Location will have the dire consequences feared."[134] Again Mzingeli warned that if this was a Departmental method of "slowing down the natural pace of African progress, it is well that all African workers should recognise it in disguise." He threatened that it was going to be one of the "tasks of the African branch of the Southern Rhodesia Labour Party to ensure that economic and social facts are presented to our people truthfully and frankly, so that they may bring to bear on problems vital to their progress and welfare."[135] The African Branch committee thus agreed that they were going to take steps to "make a strong protest against the action of the City Council's banning of any genuine meetings in the native Location of Salisbury."[136]

[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] NAZ SR9/1/1/6, Minutes of Committee meeting Held at Highfield Village Settlement, Southern Rhodesia Labour Party African Headquarters Branch, 2 June 1944.

In October 1945, a delegation of 4 members of the branch waited on the Minister for Native Affairs at which they discussed proposals made by the branch with regard to the Land Apportionment Act of 1945.[137] At the meeting, Mzingeli complained about the behaviour of the Secretary for Native Affairs with regards to how he conducted business with African organisations. In reply, the Minister said: "there was a Native Welfare Society looking after the interests of the Native people of the colony. "But who are you?" asked the Minister. The Minister stated that all natives had access to the CNC but a political organisation such as theirs could not approach the permanent staff.[138] Mzingeli argued against this stating that the Branch was a constitutional organisation formed for the purpose of voicing public opinion and that the African branch intended to maintain its organisation in spite of everything.[139]

The African Branch also complained about the Native Urban Areas Bill which it considered to be a Bill of such great importance to the African people that would have "been better dealt with by Parliament after a commission had been appointed to enquire into the social and economic conditions of African people in urban areas."[140] The African Branch feared that "the multiplicity of passes required under this Bill and other legislation will not achieve good results, neither the suggested control of Africans in European areas" because "the African people are too far advanced at the present stage to be subjected to the provisions of the Bill."[141] A key element is the resolution that the African Branch made at the meeting. It resolved to "use every means in its power to protest against any conditions intended for African people which does not apply to other sections or non- natives." This demonstrates the confrontational attitude that the Branch took which was typical of Mzingeli and which also manifested in the ICU.

The three organisations, like any other African organisation that emerged in Southern Rhodesia, had to contend with serious competition from white controlled Native Welfare Societies. To account for the emergence of these Native Welfare Societies and European

[137] NAZ SR9/1/1/6, Southern Rhodesia Labour Party- African Headquarters Branch, Memorandum, 11 October, 1945.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] NAZ SR9/1/1/6, Letter from the General Secretary Southern Rhodesia Labour Party to the Minister of Native Affairs, 15 Jan, 1945.
[141] Ibid.

participation in them, P Ibbotson, Organising secretary of the Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia argued in 1944:

> It is unsound, as well as unjust to ignore the claims of the African people- they are an essential part of the economic, industrial and commercial life of the Colony. The presence of substantial African populations in the urban and semi- urban areas, involving the breaking down of many tribal customs and restraints, has placed upon Europeans grave responsibilities from which there can be no reasonable escape. The progress of Southern Rhodesia depends on a progressive, contended and well cared for African population; the welfare of Africans means ultimately the Welfare of Europeans.[142]

At the first meeting of one of the important Native Welfare Societies, a European participant during his address said; "I am convinced that the welfare of Natives can no longer be left to chance. The white people have upset the social and economic conditions of the country, especially by bringing Native men into town and the unnatural conditions of life consequent upon this. It is our duty to assist in a solution of the difficulties which have arisen."[143] For Ibbotson, this indicated, in broad outline, the general background found in the origin of the Native Welfare movement in Southern Rhodesia. He also argued that this demonstrated an "unquestioned desire" on the part of sympathetic Europeans "to assist in the solution of the problems which had arisen, particularly in urban and industrial areas, and to initiate ways and means for the uplift of African people."[144] From the perspective of white governing officials, African interests were delegated through two main legal bodies, the Native Affairs Department and the Federation of Native Welfare Societies. European men led both of these groups and although the welfare societies had African representatives, their leader, the Reverend Percy Ibbotson, jealously guarded his role as the voice of African interests.[145]

It was the intention of the Native Welfare movement, Ibbotson argued, to train Africans in "leadership and guided to accept responsibility" and to maintain direct contact "between Societies and problems of African life."[146] The Native Welfare Societies in the earlier stages of

[142] P. Ibbotson, "Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia", *Rhodes- Livingstone Journal,* Vol. 2, 1944, p. 35.
[143] Quoted in *ibid,* p. 35.
[144] *Ibid.*
[145] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 14.
[146] Ibbotson, "Federation of Native Welfare Societies in Southern Rhodesia", p. 35.

their activity devoted considerable attention to medical services, sport, recreation and entertainment and they aimed to become the prime movers in the inauguration of sport and recreation for Africans in urban areas.

The following is an extract from the Constitution of one Society:
The objects of the Society are

a. To cooperate with the government of this colony with a view to the continuance of the good government of Natives living therein.
b. To undertake any work either alone or in cooperation with any person, Society or corporate body with a view to the development, on good lines, of the Natives of this Colony, with a view to their mental, moral and physical improvement; and generally to do any work calculated to improve the general welfare of Natives and promote their contentment.
c. To afford information concerning Native questions by letters, books and pamphlets, or by lectures and discussions, and generally to do everything possible to develop an enlightened public opinion on Native Affairs.
d. To promote and support any work which is calculated to ensure good feeling between European and Native races, and to prevent or remove the possibility of friction.[147]

In the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs for the year ending 1942 one of the Native Commissioners pays tribute to local Native Welfare Societies when he writes.: "there is not the slightest doubt whatever that the influence of the Native Welfare Society has in many directions improved conditions under which Natives live in the towns." Amongst a host of issues that the Native Welfare Societies dealt with, Ibbotson list the following:

> Wages, Housing and Living Conditions of Africans in urban areas; Kaffir Beer Halls; Broadcast for Africans; Medical Services for Africans; Location Advisory Boards; Hire Purchase Bill; Venereal Diseases; Training of African Nurses; Legal Aid for Poor Persons; Dissemination of Laws concerning Africans; Hostels for African women and girls; Native Tax Defaulters; Capital Punishment; Public Health Regulations; Land Apportionment, African Diet; Railway Accommodation for Africans; African Education; African Representation in Parliament; Trading Sites in Locations; Pensions for Blind Africans; Native Councils; Openings for Africans; Cooperative

[147] *Ibid.*

Movement among Africans; Native Marketing Boards; Post Office Savings Banks and Thrift.[148]

3. State Response to Rising African Militancy.

The state responded heavily in attempting to deal with the rise of African militancy in the urban areas. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, for example, was infiltrated by spies, its meetings monitored and its organisers harassed.[149] Phimister cites an informer "from within the ranks of the national executive committee" who passed copies of union correspondence to the police.[150] Enocent Msindo also alludes to the monitoring of the ICU by the government, who intimidated its leaders and formed a "parallel structure to express 'African' opinion: the Native Welfare Societies.[151] ICU meetings were also attended by detectives. Unfortunately for the colonial government, the attempts to squash militancy amongst the Africans only helped in laying foundations for an even broader coalition which Phimister describes as "an alliance between the petty bourgeoisie and permanent workers on the one hand, and the mass of unskilled migrant labourers on the other," who were "determined to defend and expand their interests."[152]

Yoshikuni also describes the main organising barrier in the 1930s to be the division between "long – term residents," who took an interest and a civic role in the township and migrant workers, who saw the township as their temporary home away from their rural homesteads.[153] These strong divisions made political mobilisation difficult, as the interests of the long- term residents rarely coincided with those of the migrants.

Another way through which the state attempted to channel and manage African urban protest voices was through the creation of Native Advisory Boards. This idea was muted from as early as the 1930s but it was not until 1947 that any concession was made to black

[148] *Ibid,* p. 39
[149] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 199.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] Msindo, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo,* p. 271
[152] Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe,* p. 268.
[153] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*, p. 124.

participation in the government of their residential area. At that date the first Native Advisory Board was established in Harari. While it being in essence a placatory concession designed to appease growing African disaffection, the boards were considered to be sufficient, successful and useful by the local authority.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the direction taken by colonial administration in "Native Administration." It analysed the approach used by government to administer the Location especially in the context of the Depression and the Second World War. It surveyed how Africans in the urban areas fared during the hardships of the 1930s given the fact that they were taken as "the shock absorber" of economic challenges by the colonial state and capital. The state had successfully deflected the Depression main impact onto Africans away from whites and this had serious ramifications on urban Africans. It considered the operations of the different unions and associations and their nature in the context of the Location in the 1930s and early 1940s. It assessed the attitudes of the government and Councils towards the different African organisations and evaluated how the attitudes impacted the different organisations.

World War Two had its own set of challenges for urban Africans, especially shortage of accommodation given the increased numbers of Africans that entered the urban area. These challenges were also felt in sanitation which was inadequate. Given the government and municipal policies which were noncommittal, the resulting economic gloom suffered by Africans in urban areas only increased their antipathy towards the state. On the one hand, the chapter also accounted for how the state's responded to the rising African militancy. One way was the promotion of European run Native Welfare Societies as a way to channel and manage African frustration. The chapter made the significant task of positioning the Depression and World War Two as central in not only worsening the marginal position of Africans in the colonial economy but in highlighting how the Depression and World War Two became breeding ground for urban African discontent. This led, directly, to the increase in numbers, activities and militancy of the urban social movements.

Chapter Four: The post-World War Two period and growth of the Residents' Movement. 1945 to 1957

Introduction

This chapter contends that the increased urbanisation caused by post World War Two industrialisation and other factors, increased the presence and activities of African urban social movements in colonial Harare. It argues that the emergence of residents' associations whose sole and major mandate was township affairs and civic matters was a result of not only the growth of the African population in the Townships but also a results of the advance in awareness by urbanised Africans of their importance as both an economic and political constituency in Southern Rhodesia. This growth found fertile refinement in the face of the colonial administration's continued refusal to consider the Africans as equal human beings and its failure together with industry, to improve African urban conditions. Combined with the colonial system's failure to respond positively to African requests was the impact of the Second World War on African political consciousness, which radicalised the African leadership and their urban followers.[1] This chapter, thus, develops from the tone set in the previous chapters. It sets out to examine the emergence of African associations specifically mandated to represent the urbanised Africans in the urban arena. It surveys the nature of such representation, composition, organisation and participation of the associations in the urban set up, especially as they operated alongside Reformed Industrial Conciliation (RICU), Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress (SRBC), the City Youth League[2] and others. The overall thrust of this chapter is to trace the emergence of residence associations that where tightly or narrowly focussed on residence issues.

[1] Mlambo's book *A History of Zimbabwe* has a chapter that traces the development of African political consciousness from conquest to the nationalist struggles of the post- Second World War and it analyses the factors that influenced growing African political awareness and the various forms African organisations took.
[2] The Southern Rhodesia Youth League also known as the City Youth League and later known as the African Youth League, was founded in August 1955.It later merged with the old SRANC on September 12, 1957, becoming the new Southern Rhodesia African National Congress. The CYL was founded by James Chikerema, Dunduzu Chisiza, George Nyandoro and Edson Sithole. Chikerema served as President and Nyandoro as Vice President.

Indeed, such associations thrived especially from 1945 to the mid-1950s partly because of the accelerated industrialisation of the post war period which worsened the conditions in the urban areas. Other wider policies in this period also caused housing provision and other essential services in the African urban areas to become more and more inadequate. The key processes laid down in the post war period and hence remained in play right up to the mid-1950s served well the needs of such residents' associations. It should, however, be noted, as the chapter shall demonstrate, that these narrowly focussed residents' associations were soon to be either absorbed, swept away and incorporated into broader nationalist projects were they operated side by side or as part of the nascent nationalist movements especially from the mid-1950s. An explanation of such changes is to be found in the forces that emerge in this period and before to make the nascent nationalist organisations seem to overshadow or control the direction and character that the residents' associations were to take. An important point to note is the fact that the dynamics which first of all encouraged or allowed or brought about the emergency of these narrowly focused residents' associations were not that entrenched and these associations could be overarched, taken over or lead themselves to be fronts for a changing national situation from the mid-1950s onwards.

The interactions and connections of the associations with labour and nascent nationalist organisations was also made easy because of their historic links. Some, if not all, of these residents' associations were offshoots, or shared embryonic links with either labour or nationalist organisations. A majority of the members of the associations were also members of the labour unions or nationalist organisations. Thus the narrow focus of these residents' associations was only limited to their defined mandate of being residents' representatives but they always had links with trade unions and nationalist parties.

Phimister argues that "the 'long' 1950s mark a key period in the history of colonial Zimbabwe" because "they were a time of dramatic economic, social and political change."[3] The impact of the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 was also felt strongly by the African townships which witnessed burgeoning populations coming in from the "reserve" economy. So were the pull

[3] I. Phimister, "Rethinking the Reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act", *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 2, 1993, p. 225.

factors of a rapidly expanding Secondary industry. However, the 1956 fall in the price of copper on the International market changed the situation dramatically for Southern Rhodesia's economy. Unemployment rose rapidly and because of the Land Husbandry Act, the young men who had populated the urban areas were stuck in them and out of employment. This was the groundswell that transformed, previously, somewhat elitist, narrowly focussed organisations into mass African nationalism from the mid-1950s onwards. In essence, the narrowly focussed residents' associations were vulnerable to change in the political economy of Southern Rhodesia in particular and central Africa in general.

The City Youth League, RICU and the SRBC thrived on the ambiguous nature characteristic of the African organisations that emerged during this time. They could use their broad, undefined description and mandate as organisations representing African interests to exert their influence on different matters that varied from labour, civic to national interests. Secondly, the importance of Advisory Boards to the different African organisations is also demonstrated by the amount of effort, resources and planning they put into gaining control of the Boards. The boards, thus became an important platform through which the competing organisations could not only gain a foothold into African Township affairs but also outperform each other as legitimate African interests' organisations, especially in the eyes of the generality of African followers.

Focus will be given to three organisations amongst the many to emerge in Highfield Township, Mabvuku and Harari (Mbare), namely, the Harare Residents Party (HRP), Harare Civic Association (HCA) and the New Highfield Ratepayers Association (NHRA). The chapter carries this story up to 1957 when a commission to look into the conditions of urban Africans, the Urban African Affairs Commission, was commissioned.

The post-World War Two period, saw the emergence of many residents' associations in Salisbury, which, were linked to such organisations such as RICU, SRBC and others, but unlike the aforementioned which also doubled as trade unions and "nationalist" movements, they had the sole mandate of township affairs. Residents' associations like the New Highfield Ratepayers Association, Harare Residents Party and the Harare Civic Association and many others emerged mainly as a result of increased industrialisation in the 1930s and 1940s which

had led to a corresponding increase in the number of Africans in the urban areas. For the colonial state, however, up until the 1940s, "the urban space was considered European space in which blacks were to be allowed for short periods of time."[4] As argued in previous chapters, the view that the Africans were in the urban areas on a temporary base largely contributed to the lack of investment in African facilities by the Municipality and colonial government. In as much as Huggins and others came to slowly accept the permanently settled Africans in urban areas, very little was done to ensure their comfort. This thus contributed, in a large measure, to the proliferation and prominence of organisation residents' associations that would engage authorities in trying to improve the living conditions of urban residents.

Rapid urbanisation of the post Second World War period, therefore, had a knock on effect on the formation of new groups like township resident associations which emerged initially with the aim of fighting for the rights of urban residents but later worked in league with the emerging liberation movement for political emancipation of the African people not only in urban areas, but even in rural areas.[5] These residents' associations were thus a reaction to the increase in the number of Africans in urban areas, which increased the interest around their conditions of living. The associations came to be associated with urban dwellings and with poor living conditions such as over crowdedness, establishment of squatter camps and living conditions in the African townships as well as shortage of safe drinking water and other proper sanitary conditions befitting human habitation. This was, however, not a new phenomenon only found in the post war years. Such representation had existed before but what was new was the emergence of "proper", narrowly focussed residents' associations with a specific mandate to represent residents in their localities. These were mostly linked to or off shoots of long existing organisations like RICU, SRBC and SRNA who operated as both residents' groupings, trade unions and nascent nationalist political organisations.

[4]J. Moyo, J. Makumbe and B. Raftopoulos, *NGOs, The State and Politics in Zimbabwe*, Harare: Baobab Books, 2001, p. 32.

[5] J. Mapuva, "Enhancing local governance through local Initiatives: Residents' Associations in Zimbabwe," *African Journal of History and Culture,* vol. 3, February 2011, p. 4. With the passage of time, these resident associations began to diversify their engagement with the colonial administration by challenging the white economic and political order. They began to demand for the observance of human rights, universal suffrage and enfranchisement, political representation and improved living and working conditions for Africans. However this is going to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The emergence of residents' associations in tandem with trade unionism increased militancy as the colonial administration refused to consider Africans as equal human beings. The militant spirit manifested itself through more demands for citizens' rights in all aspects of life.[6] The proliferation of these associations at a time when they did also had a lot to do with the character and nature of Southern Rhodesia's urban development. The clear cut separation between the richer, socially separate and politically dominant whites and the impoverished and politically emasculated African was too blatant in the post war years. Thus, the concentration, in the Salisbury African Locations of the educated and more articulate workers who not only felt the separation intensely but possessed the essential skills for organising and directing political movements made the Locations a suitable breeding ground for the proliferation of these associations.

Post World War Two Industrialisation and Urbanisation

With the advent of greater industrialisation and urbanisation in the 1940s and 1950s more Africans migrated to urban areas in search of job opportunities. This resulted in an upsurge in the African populations in towns. During World War Two, the combination of rapid industrialization, absence of many white workers serving as soldiers, high levels of poverty in the rural areas increased black urbanization by 10 percent annually.[7] They were, however, other pressures besides post World War Two industrialisation that accounts for the rise in the movement of Africans from the rural areas to the urban areas in Southern Rhodesia. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931, which was later redesigned in 1941, introduced a policy of semi-segregation which put economic pressures in the "Native Areas". The result was that male African labourers thronged to the urban areas in their thousands in search of labour to supplement their dwindling rural sources. A government initiated Howman Commission reported in 1943 that the "deterioration of the natural resources of the reserves [had] inevitably led to an exodus to labour centres.[8] Indeed, Gussman argues that the supply of

[6] *Ibid*, p. 4.
[7] P. Bond, "Economic Origins of Black Townships in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of Industrial and Financial Capital in the 1950s and 1960s", *Economic Geography*, Vol. 69, No. 1, 1993, p. 78.
[8] Southern Rhodesia, "Report on Urban Conditions in Southern Rhodesia, 1943", *African Studies*, vol. 4, No. 1, 1945, p. 13. It investigated the economic, social and health conditions of Africans employed in urban areas in

labour from rural districts or neighbouring territories bore little relation to the demand that existed for it in the urban areas.[9] The Africans in the post war period, migrated to the urban areas for a number of reasons and Gussman identified a number of them. For him, the Africans came to the urban areas "to earn more money than is possible at home so as to acquire certain possessions" and they came for "adventure because tribal life [bored] them or because a period of work in town [was] a necessary prerequisite to marriage demanded by prospective fathers-in-law."[10] More importantly, however, the Africans came to the urban areas "because soil erosion or other adverse agricultural conditions [had] limited the facilities for farm work."[11] Pierre Kipre' argues that urban growth in Africa between 1935 and 1960 was fuelled by a rural exodus born of the crisis in the rural areas rather than being the outcome of industrial development. For Southern Rhodesia, however, industrial development was also a key factor in attracting Africans to the urban areas to sell of their labour and meet their tax obligations.[12] It is this situation which accounts for the emergence, from 1930-5 onwards and especially after 1945, of the squatter settlement phenomenon in the urban centres of the continent.[13]

This rapid increase in the urban African population had a direct bearing on the housing, squatter and service delivery problems that confronted colonial Harare during this period and, unfortunately, very little was done to cope with the essential needs of the situation. Percy Ibbotson, reported of continued discussions relating to "spheres of responsibility" between Government and local authorities in the African Locations but without any tangible

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Southern Rhodesia. Over one hundred and twenty witnesses—Europeans and Africans were interviewed. This Committee realised that their main recommendations were identical with those put forward by the Reverend Percy Ibbotson in his "Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia". The Terms of Reference were: — 1. To inquire into and report upon the sufficiency or otherwise of the wages paid to Africans employed in urban areas, particularly those Africans who have to provide themselves with accommodation and food out of the wages paid to them. 2. To inquire into and report upon practical means of compelling all employers of Africans in urban areas to provide such Africans with accommodation and food (or payment in lieu thereof) in addition to wages. 3. To inquire into and report upon the minimum amount which should be paid by employers to Africans employed in urban areas for their— (a) monthly wage; and (b) cost of living in urban areas. 4. Generally to report upon the economic, social and health conditions of Africans in urban areas of the Colony.

[9] Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African", p. 136.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] See Phimister, *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe 1890-1948.*

[13] P. Kipre', "Industrial development and Urban Growth, 1935-80," in A. Mazrui (ed), *General History of Africa*, Vol. 8, Paris: Unesco, 1993, p. 385.

agreement with the resulting worsening of the problem.[14] For a long time the need had been apparent for additional land for African occupation in urban areas. Ibbotson reported that the original Land Apportionment Act of 193I and the new Act of I94I had made provision for the setting up of Native Urban Areas, but "this was permissive and not compulsory, with the result that not a single Native Urban Area was established in the colony" at least outside territory designated as European.[15] The pressure for land to build African accommodation in the urban areas also led to the amendment of the Land Apportionment Act in I945, which made provision for the compulsory establishment of Native Urban Areas and the setting aside of adequate land for African occupation.[16] Ibbotson also recommended the introduction of a Bill in Parliament in 1946 making it compulsory for employers to provide accommodation for African workers and their wives in order to deal with some of the problems associated with the influx of Africans into urban areas and the existing unsatisfactory housing and living conditions.[17] He also recommended provision to be made for the regulation and control by local authorities of Africans seeking employment in urban areas.[18]

There was thus too much pressure on limited facilities during the industrial boom of the post war years due to its accompanying urbanisation. The state and the local government were the main agencies responsible for the creation of more or less planned areas that were allocated to the inhabitants for residential purposes. As a result of the role played by the state in this regard, living space, like before, continued to exhibit signs of social segregation in Salisbury and it also pointed to the nature of the ties of political and economic dependence by which the African population was bound. The 1943 Howman Report described the following:

> Segregation has assigned to these labourers a purely temporary, make-shift existence in the urban area; the very word* "Location" and " Compound " are expressive of the theory which visualizes " homes" and " communities " as something to be associated only with the Native Reserves to which the labourer was expected to return. The speeding-up of building is urgently demanded in the interests of both European and African, and the Government should assist by every means in its power,

[14] P. Ibbotson, "Urbanization in Southern Rhodesia," *Africa*: *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1946, p. 75.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid*
[17] *Bid.*
[18] *Ibid.*

> both in the acquisition and provision of land where necessary, in the provision of funds and in the planning of proper towns and villages. The industrialization of the African has set in and he must be housed properly if secondary industries are to be a success. The bachelors may perhaps be housed in a Location, but the married man should be provided with a cottage with land available for garden lots.[19]

However, despite efforts to produce new, planned urban layouts or to cater more effectively for the growing demand for decent housing, the colonial state and the urban authorities never succeeded in controlling the "squatterisation" of African towns that became a key feature of urban growth.[20] The right of Africans to reside in the towns was depended upon their status as employees in town. The basic philosophy that had informed the establishment of the African townships that the permanent and real homes of Africans were in the rural areas from which they had come and that their stay in the towns was temporary continued to be the major determinant of the structure and character of the city.[21] Gray describes the situation from the middle thirties thus:

> the Land Apportionment Act deprived Africans of the chance of obtaining permanent rights in the European areas and thereafter it was taken as axiomatic that the towns should be regarded as white areas…. The African was permitted to visit the towns only under stringent control and his temporary residence was made conditional on his being in full- time employment.[22]

It should, however, be noted that there was a huge shift in the colonial officials' mind-set with regards to the presence of Africans in the urban areas especially in the post war period. A major demonstration of this shift was in statements made by the Prime Minister, Godfrey Huggins, which revealed a clear indication that he now accepted the view that many workers in urban areas had to be catered for as permanent urban dwellers.[23] Godfrey Huggins, when he first came in as Prime Minister was opposed to African urbanisation. He did not like the trend towards African urbanisation and he tried to put a stop to it.[24] However, he was soon

[19] Southern Rhodesia, "Report on Urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia, 1943", p. 12.
[20] Kipre', "Industrial development and Urban Growth, 1935-80", p. 387.
[21] J. C. Mitchel, *Cities, Society and Social Perception, A Central African Perspective*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, p. 52.
[22] Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 107.
[23] Some of the statements are quoted widely in Percy Ibbotson's Report and the "Report on Urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia, 1943."
[24] For a comprehensive reading of Huggins' attempt to curtail African urbanisation see: T O Ranger, "City Versus State in Zimbabwe: Colonial Antecedents of the Current Crisis,'' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*

to realise in the words of Benjamin Fereday who was a Salisbury City Councillor from 1932 to 1960 and was Mayor from 1934 to 1937, "that this was something that could not be reversed and something the settler government had to come to terms with."[25] Fereday describes Huggins' change of policy towards African presence in the urban areas as "a gradual awakening to the true position."[26] This same view was also shared by many employers of labour and those concerned with African welfare.[27]

In spite of the policy of segregation, and in spite of the alleged undesirability of creating more openings for the employment of Africans in European areas, the fact remained that the post-World War Two years had seen a considerable increase in the number of Africans employed in urban and industrial areas. Between the census of I936 and that of 194I the figures of male Africans employed in the six largest towns (including commonage areas) rose from 39,252 to 56,500.[28] Since the census of I94I there was a considerable rise in industrial development and this was accompanied by a substantial increase in the African population in the urban areas.[29] Regardless of these increases, the governmental and municipal services failed to adapt to the changed conditions because of the serious inadequacy inherent in their administration and other factors. A settled African community would obviously expect to enjoy the right of self-determination within the community as the cornerstone of its security. However, to the majority of European settlers, such rights, would impinge in many ways, on their sovereignty in the towns. It was, therefore, a demand which no European municipality was prepared to grant.[30] Many Europeans in Southern Rhodesia regarded the price of obtaining a truly settled African community as too high in political terms.[31]

The average urban African thus remained; badly housed, uneducated, and lacked any security in town. According to Gussman, in as much as most of the above amenities were provided for free or at subsidised rates, they were always in short supply and "whenever the African

Vo l. 1, No. 2, 161 and G Arrighi, *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, Mouton, The Hague, 1967.
[25]NAZ, ORAL/ FE2, Leslie Benjamin Fereday.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibbotson, "Urbanization in Southern Rhodesia", p. 74.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African", p: 143.
[31] *Ibid.*

required any of them, whatever his station, his income, or his background, he [was] to take his turn in the queue."[32] As such, these became the biggest and constant worries facing the urban Africans of all walks of life and the associations became an important mouthpiece for the expression of their frustrations.

Post War Housing and Living Conditions in the African Townships

The continued shortage of housing in the post war years was one of the greatest obstacles to the creation of contented urban African communities. Housing thus continued to be the rallying point for most of the African organisations that emerged in that period. The Howman Committee had reported rampant overcrowding in Salisbury's African Townships, conditions which by and large persisted and worsened in the post war period. It reported of a situation where; "Africans squeeze into what rooms they can find, seek out all kinds of shelters about the towns and "married" couples share rooms with bachelors."[33] In its recommendations, the Committee had emphasised the "paramount importance of focusing urban Native policy on the provision and maintenance of homes."[34] It had recommended the acquisition and setting aside of "adequate Urban Native Areas and Village Settlements wherever urban conditions develop; the planning and design of villages or towns with adequate houses, allotment areas and all the apparatus necessary for the achievement of health, education and civic consciousness."[35] The Committee had also recommended the erection of hostels for African women in all Urban Areas because "their numbers [were] already considerable and many [were] visiting town for legitimate purposes."[36] Despite these recommendations, the government and local council's pace in implementing the majority of them was very slow and the conditions in townships had worsened further.

P Bond contends that one of the factor that slowed downed the construction of African houses during this period was that the local base of experience in township planning was

[32] *Ibid,* p. 141.
[33] Southern Rhodesia, "Report on urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia, 1943."
[34] *ibid*
[35] *ibid*
[36] *ibid*

weak.[37] He also argues that there was a little housing market response to the influx because the average monthly wages of “slightly over one pound were half the minimum sustenance level for a household of four, and two-thirds of the black workers were forced to take accommodations from their employers.”[38] For Bond, therefore, an urban housing crisis immediately developed, because "African housing was not a lucrative investment and the building trade was virtually a white monopoly."[39] The old conflict between government, local authorities and capital over who should bear the burden of African urban housing also persisted and impacted heavily on the provision of housing for Africans. But as the number of African employees increased, two distinct changes in housing developed. On the one hand the employers of substantial numbers of African workers themselves undertook to provide housing for their workers. This was the pattern particularly for the mining companies, the railways and some large industrial concerns.[40] But the majority of the employers, many of them private individuals, small shopkeepers, or commercial concerns, employing only a handful of workers could not afford to undertake this responsibility. Municipal Council therefore, undertook the responsibility for them by investing considerable capital in building a sizeable number of standard houses which were in effect rented to employers for their African workers.[41]

In Salisbury, the central government also undertook to supply accommodation of African workers on the outskirts of Salisbury in housing which they would rent on a long term lease. For this purpose, the Department of Native Affairs set up a section for the administration of Highfield Township which duplicated almost entirely the services of which the municipality was supplying in its own townships.[42] The security of tenure of accommodation for an African in any of these townships, however, depended directly upon their security of employment. In time some leeway was allowed for those who lost their jobs, so that provided the rent was paid, they could stay for a limited period.

[37] Bond, “Economic Origins of Black Townships in Zimbabwe”, p. 78.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Mitchel, *Cities, Society and Social Perception,* p. 53.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid,* p. 53.

A Ministerial Committee on Native Housing and Townships was also formed in 1952.[43] The committee was composed of the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Native Affairs and the Minister of Finance and it also identified the gross inadequacy of housing "for natives in European township areas" and recommended that the most urgent problem was to provide housing for natives employed in the industries.[44] When the recommendations of the Committee were brought before Treasury one thing that emerged was that funds for the construction of African houses were very limited. All the Treasury could only do was to recommend the government to prioritise African housing and to increase "the amount of public funds made available for Native housing in future years."[45] It suggested looking for other "sources of taxation combined with either the reduction in standards of services for Europeans or a greater provision by Europeans for maintenance of their standards."[46] One thing that was made clear, however, was the impossibility "to finance the starting up of several Native townships around Salisbury."[47] Indeed, in a meeting that was chaired by the Minister of Internal Affairs, J M Greenfield, on 10 November, 1952, it was highlighted that "the immediate and urgent problem was to decide on sites around Salisbury and how their acquisition was to be financed; until this was settled, no further progress could be made with the town planning scheme for Salisbury."[48]

At the same meeting, the positioning of Native Locations was discussed and serious security concerns were raised. Some of the considerations that were raised to assess the suitability of the areas for "native" occupation included the following: Firstly; if "they were placed sufficiently away from European residential areas." Secondly: if they were not "required for European use in the near future" and thirdly; if they were "near enough but not too close to European areas to "provide labour for their needs."[49] For example, Mount Hampden was considered suitable because it was near enough but not too close to provide for the labour needs of Marlborough, Mabelreign and Avondale, which were white areas. It was also in an

[43] NAZ, S512, Ministerial Committee on Native Housing and Townships, Treasury Memorandum, 1 November, 1952.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] NAZ, S512, Ministerial Committee on Native Housing and Townships, Minutes of a Meeting in the Prime Minister's Department, 10 November, 1952.
[49] Ibid.

area where “a gin factory was located” and “obnoxious industries were being encouraged to go to the same area”[50]. The only possible objection was expected to come from the military authorities who were contemplating moving the RAR barracks there and thus they would not want to have a “Native Township next door.”[51] Crowborough was another alternative but again, there was a question of whether it could be extended as the only possible extension was to Willowvale and “it was most likely that the Lytton Tobacco Company would oppose a native township on their land.”[52] Crowbough and Highfields were expected, when fully developed, to meet the requirements of “Salisbury West, including most of the heavy industrial sites.”[53] Some areas like Donnybrook were not recommended because the “surrounding land was good agriculture land” and Lochinvar was recommended because it would “cater for all the Railway’s requirements.”[54] For Highfields, further considerations to expand were not recommended because “lack of water was holding up building extension, as well as lack of funds.” Highfield had been developed for the purpose of providing accommodation for “better class natives”, especially those in Government employment and the committee considered it unwise “to alter this plan”[55] it was because of that fact that “closer development in the area could not be accepted, though there was considerable scope still for the erection of better class buildings.”[56]

Of importance to note is the fact that in considering the suitability of an area as a possible African Township, such consideration as, European settler security, labour and agriculture needs of Europeans were given paramountcy. No attention was given to the needs of the Africans who were supposed to settle in those areas. This demonstrates the continued disregard of African urban dwellers by the colonial administration, a factor which further heightened the new found militancy of the residents’ associations that emerged after the Second World War. By the early 1950s, only 28,000 of some 75,000 blacks living in Salisbury had access to municipal housing, while another 17,000 were domestic servants living with

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

their employers.[57] Chronic housing shortages thus became the core of the urban Africans struggle to make Salisbury home.

The living conditions in Salisbury worsened drastically in the post war period for the Africans. Gusman describes the conception of African urban life, as expressed not only in its architecture but also in the legislation that controlled it.[58] He catalogues the stringent administrative control that characterised the urban areas for Africans exercised through the amended Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946.[59] On the physical side, Gusman also identifies the overcrowding, inadequate sanitary arrangements, and the lack of recreational facilities that was characteristic of the African areas. In his report for the year 1948, the Commissioner for Native Labour described the conditions in the African townships in the following graphic details: "squalid, sordid surroundings and over-crowded, filthy and verminous barracks.' He went further to claim that "living under such conditions must unquestionably be a factor in the creation of a spirit of hopelessness, sullenness and desperation" and how "this spirit can easily develop into mass disaffection."[60]

The Pass Laws also continued to contribute to the irritations and frustrations endured by the urbanised Africans. They thus worsened the Africans attitude not only towards their employers but also towards those responsible for administering their living environment as well. As mentioned before, the Pass Laws in Southern Rhodesia were modelled on those of the Union of South Africa and up to as many as fourteen different documents were required by a man leading a normal life in town. He required a pass to "have his wife in town and another for his children; ….and he require[d] a permit to seek work or to walk in the European part of the cities."[61] The need for these various documents was thus greatly resented by the African urban citizens.

The Howman Committee characterised African life in the urban areas as "casual and precarious and nourished by roots that go' no deeper than the daily contingencies of living"

[57] Bond, "Economic Origins of Black Townships in Zimbabwe", p. 56.
[58] Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African", p. 138.
[59] *ibid*
[60] Quoted, in *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid.*

in which; "community life [had] been shattered; the family suppressed."[62] The Report pointed to the roots of the urban problem when it maintained that the tragedy lied in the failure to appreciate the "grave need to provide the fullest possible community facilities, housing and educational machinery that would make possible the growth of a natural family, community and social urban life."[63] This was despite the fact that there was ample evidence that given such facilities and control the African would have responded positively and "in time an urban culture with its own standards, civic consciousness, leadership and spontaneous controls" would have emerged.[64] It was against this background, that the Committee desired its recommendations to be placed because it was its view that the European, by his demands for labour, was responsible for the uprooting' of the old traditional standards of African life; "on him, therefore, devolves the responsibility of re-creating new standards in the hearts, minds and actions of the people."[65]

Dewar argues that actions of the ruling European elite were generally directed towards "accommodating and gratifying African aspirations, adjusting to material change, reducing potential conflict and maintaining effective power."[66] However, the validity of many Africans demands, once articulated and made explicit, were readily conceded but it was generally the financial responsibility of going through with them that became a deciding factor. African urban conditions thus remained very bad and in the 1940s widespread dissatisfaction among urban Africans of all classes was steadily accumulating. It erupted in the strikes of 1945 and 1948.[67] Africans in Southern Rhodesia increased their focus on their relationships with Europeans and increasing numbers of Africans became aware that there were poor and the whites were rich, and this awareness bound them together. They increased their comprehension that they had a common interest and a fresh purpose in the new urban, industrial world where their old broken loyalties were largely irrelevant. Gray contends that,

[62] Southern Rhodesia, "Report on urban conditions in Southern Rhodesia, 1943", p. 17.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] N. Dewar, "Salisbury to Harare: Citizen Participation in Public Decision- Making Under Changing Ideological Circumstances in Zimbabwe," *African Urban Quarterly,* Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, p. 42.
[67] In 1945, immediately following the conclusion of the Second World War, a major strike by African employees took place on the Rhodesia Railways**.** Another general strike followed in 1948. For more on the two strikes see, K. P. Vickery, "The Rhodesia Railways African Strike of 1945, Part I: A Narrative Account", Journal *of Southern African Studies* Vol. 24, No. 3, 1998, B. Raftopoulos and I. Phimister (eds), *Keep on Knocking* and Phimister and Raftopoulos, ""Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe".

in Southern Rhodesia, the frontier of the nascent African nation was not a territorial boundary, but a common level of poverty, demarcated by colour.[68] The extent of this poverty was partially revealed by the two commissions of enquiry discussed earlier, the Ibbotson and the Howman Commissions. Poverty and a harsh struggle to provide even the barest necessities of life were thus a constant feature in the experience of the average African urban worker.[69] In the towns, Africans needed "hygienic quarters, adequate feeding arrangements, health inspection, good, cheap beer, football."[70] All this was, on the whole, readily appreciated by Europeans and the difficulty in dealing with the problem was mainly one of finance.[71]

Residents' Associations, Advisory Boards and Post war African Urban Struggles

The squalid, overcrowded and unsanitary conditions of the post Second World War period solidified African associational life in colonial Harare. This was aided by the failure by colonial administration to concede further administrative powers to Africans; a factor which drove the urbanised Africans to be more militant and confrontational. In Salisbury, central government assumed certain functions including town planning, roads, public health and the administration of African townships within their jurisdiction. Other large scale functions were obtained on an agency basis from the Salisbury Municipality. Salisbury Municipality functioned as a fully-fledged local authority providing a complete range of essential physical and social services for the residents. It was also fully responsible for three African townships within its ambit (Harari), Mabvuku and Mufakose.[72] Thus the administration and political control of towns therefore, was firmly vested in the hands of the White resident officials. Authority within the urban area was exercised by central government and the Salisbury Municipality and the nearest the Africans came to regulating their own civic affairs was through an Urban Advisory Board.

[68] Gray, *The Two Nations*, p. 210.
[69] *Ibid,* p. 217.
[70] *ibid*
[71] *Ibid,* p. 275.
[72] Dewar, "Salisbury to Harare: Citizen Participation in Public Decision- Making Under Changing Ideological Circumstances in Zimbabwe," p. 42.

The first elections for this Board were held in October 1947. The Advisory Board, as its name implies, existed only to advice and in practice received little recognition from the municipalities or support from African urbanites.[73] The Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act had included a provision for the creation of a native advisory board for Harare Township and other African Locations elsewhere. The township advisory board system was already in operation in South Africa's major cities by this time, and there too, they had been designed to offer Africans input into the running of the township but without significant decision- making power of their own.[74] Reverend Percy Ibbotson had suggested to the government that advisory boards would "act as a 'safety valve' for the ventilation of native feelings and opinions."[75] Ibbotson argued that through the advisory board system, it would be a good idea for the municipality to elect a few members and that voting by ballot should be used unless it led to "selection of undesirable people of the worst agitating type," in which case, "other steps must be taken" as "everything depends on securing the right type of person."[76] Africans, thus, viewed them with distrust. An urban African Affairs Commission identified this in 1958:

> Advisory Boards in their present form were subjected to a great deal of criticism. Whilst it was acknowledged that the present system permitted discussion and provided the opportunity for the members of a Board to come forward with useful ideas and so keep the local authority conversant with African opinion, the system as such was seen to provide no real outlet for the aspirations of persons who are interested in civic administration. Members of the boards were said to have no function other than to sit back and to criticise, knowing that there is little possibility of their being called upon to face any repercussions from the implementation of the demands they make. Indeed this lack of authority was seen to encourage an irresponsible attitude towards local affairs.[77]

The essential advisory character of these boards meant that they evoked little enthusiasm from the African residents, especially considering Ibbotson's reasoning that they were meant

[73] Gussman, "Industrial Efficiency and the Urban African." P. 139.
[74] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 34.
[75] NAZ, RH16/1/1, Rev. P Ibbotson, "Location Advisory Boards," Bulawayo, February 16, 1943.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Southern Rhodesia, "Report of the African Urban Affairs Commission," Chairman: RP. Plewman, Sessional Papers, 1958.

for “the right type of person” and not “undesirable people of the worst agitating type.” The advisory boards were thus meant to control African discontent and by so doing they could not do much in serving as an effective channel through which African grievances could be channelled and solved. Thus, in as much as the boards sometimes acted as a channel for grievances, local authorities were, by no means bound to take effective notice of their opinions, and in general the Boards gave no training in responsibility and, therefore, mostly added to the frustration of the urban African.[78] In the areas administered by European local authorities, there was then, little opportunity for Africans to exercise any control and initiative.

Therefore, as a pacifying initiative designed to soothe growing African disillusionment, local authorities considered the boards to be sufficient, successful and useful but Africans viewed them with cynicism. However, much as the Africans viewed the boards with distrust they provided the only recognised channel for ventilating their complaints. Scarnercchia makes the claim that Mzingeli, always suspicious of the government’s intentions, and aware of the local authority’s intended use of the advisory boards, took it upon himself to be elected along with as many RICU members as possible so that the advisory boards would not serve as yet another African “rubber stamp” organisation created by government.[79] For Scarnerccia, therefore, one of the reasons Mzingeli ventured into the advisory board politics was to make sure it did not become a European vehicle to falsely represent African interests.[80] The Advisory Board also presented an opportunity for Charles Mzingeli and his RICU to take a lead in community politics. As evidence of the colonial government’s attempts at making the advisory board a “rubber stamp” organisation, Scarnerccia reveals that Ibbotson and other Europeans had most likely hoped that other more pliable Africans would have been elected in the 1947 advisory board elections.[81] But three such men, Mnyanda, Rex Moses and Dominico Valente Joseph were to receive the least number of votes in the election and Ibbotson, annoyed with the success of the RICU candidates, made more of an effort the next year to get Mnyanda and other more cooperative township residents elected.[82]

[78] Gray, *The Two Nations*, p. 272.
[79] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 34.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *ibid*
[82] *Ibid,* p. 35.

One of the most revealing weaknesses of Advisory Boards was contained in an Editorial of the *African Daily News* of 19 December, 1956. The editor argued that:

> The stumbling block in the development of a respectable Advisory Board in Harare Township is that the City Council does not seem to take up the suggestions made by the Advisory Boards seriously, with the result many of the members get discouraged, as well as the people they represent. In our minds, Advisory Boards should be fostered in all towns and strengthened, as they will provide the only channel by which Africans can air their grievances to the Municipalities. Their scope should also be broadened and their stipend raised.[83]

Another explanation of the limitations of the Boards' mandate and operations is provided by the former Mayor of Salisbury, Benjamin Fereday. Fereday maintains that the Boards were set up by Municipal councils who "appointed municipal officials to assist the Africans in forming such Boards. The City Council in Salisbury appointed a few Councillors as members of such Boards. They provided good liaison."[84] For Fereday, the major criticism against the Boards, "was that this board was appointed- it was only an Advisory Board." He was of the view that "this Board ought to have had some power," but it "never had any power whatsoever. In earlier years it never had any power whatever."[85] All the Board did was to:

> meet with the goodwill of the Council, and the assistance of the Director of African Administration in Salisbury, and there were a couple of Councillors one of them myself for some years as Chairman. At a meeting the Board would resolve that we would proceed with making a new road from so and so to so and so within their own area. Well, resolving it should be done, but with what money? Well, that meant that the resolution was that this was a request to the City Council. City Council received the request, and it's read out at the Public Works Committee and some Councillor would propose the matter be put off to the next meeting. That's about the extent of the interest at one time.[86]

Fereday further makes the important observation that the "amount of interest in that Board shown by Salisbury City Council, of which I was a member, was very small- very little real

[83] *The African Daily News,* 19 December 1956.
[84] NAZ, ORAL/ FE2, Leslie Benjamin Fereday.
[85] Ibid
[86] Ibid.

notice taken. The Board did not receive the serious consideration it should have been given." He gives an example of how for instance;

> on the road programme, the council would say, 'Oh, Fife Avenue was doing badly. Look at the holes in Fife Avenue!' and you would have a job finding where the holes were in Fife Avenue. And a road in Harari, where they are asking for a road, you could hardly ride a bicycle, never mind about drive a motorcar, it was so full of large potholes. The Council was more inclined to postpone the Harari need! So the Board in such a case did not have a fair show. I think it was the general attitude in Council, of Councillors not being sufficiently interested. In other words, playing up to their own voters. Certainly some councillors were more unreasonable than others.[87]

It is important to note at this point that not all members of RICU agreed with Mzingeli's strategy to control the advisory boards. Men such as Moses Ayema and Francis Ayema spoke out against the strategy at the December 7, 1947, RICU meeting. Moses Ayema expressed his lack of confidence in the Welfare Societies and was also "doubtful whether the Advisory Boards in the Union of South Africa which have created most unenviable conditions of race relations", would be the best model for Southern Rhodesia.[88] However, in as much as there was resistance within the RICU with regards to its role in the Advisory Boards, the organisation was to dominate advisory board elections for the next ten years after the first election in 1947.

The RICU thus continued from where its predecessor, the ICU had left and increased its influence as a powerful force in the politics of Harare Township from its formation in 1946 to its "eclipse by the Southern Rhodesia Youth League (City Youth League) in 1956."[89] It played, an important role in the struggle against the repressive legislation introduced by the colonial government as part of its post-war political and economic readjustment. According to Rubben Jamela, a long-standing trade unionist in Harare Township who was involved in the RICU from its formative years, the organisation took up such grievances as a technique for enlarging the appeal of the organisation specifically and of protest action in general:

> I would like to take you back to where we started. [The RICU] was a sort of trade union, trade union cum political organisation, cum civic organisation,

[87] Ibid.
[88] Quoted in, Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 36.
[89] T. Barnes, "'So That a Labourer Could Live with His Family': Overlooked Factors in Social and Economic Strife in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe, 1945-1952", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1995, p. 106.

> a bit of everything, we took in everything. And as a result, our membership was not even demarcated, we didn't have any boundaries ... We took every applicant who was interested in joining the organisation. But we called it the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. It was formed by Mr. Mzingeli, Charles Mzingeli. In 1946. And then it was, of course, men only. Not by choice. They were the only people who were available, able to attend meetings and so forth ... So [in] 1946 we had this RICU begin ... Because in Harare [township] then, there were lots of things to complain about. There was no electricity, no clean toilets, sewage was very bad, cleanliness in the whole township, the occupation [of houses] there was restricted to people employed by city employers and they had no right to bring women into Harare. Only a few families in New Location were allowed; [there were] night raids. Almost every night they were arresting women and unemployed people, and ... visitors had to get a visitors' permit. And so many grievances we had. So these things attracted people to the meetings ... [and] helped our organisation to grow, you see ... we formed the RICU, was it March or April 1946 and from then on ... it grew up and became a lot, quite big, stronger each year, and wider.[90]

Jamela's statement is revealing in a number of ways. It solidifies the position of RICU as a residents' movement, "because in Harare, there were a lot of things to complain about" and those "things attracted people to the meetings."[91] The "new groups," RICU and others increased their role as focal points for a wide range of African political and economic discontent. Gray contends that in Salisbury, Mzingeli was for several years the unofficial mayor of Harare, and the RICU led the opposition to the authorities.[92] The support for Mzingeli and his RICU was even more widely based. Individuals with grievances against the Municipal administration or against their employers brought their cases to him, and the monthly meetings of the RICU, became a forum for the disgruntled. Under its banner, the residents of Harare Township continued to confront settler local government with regards to service delivery and their rights as township residents.

One such area of confrontation was on behalf of the marital rights of township men and for township residence rights for women.[93] The Urban Areas (Accommodation and Registration) Act of 1946 exposed a lot of urban women to considerable hardships. Under its new regulations, most women who were either single, widows or not staying with their husbands

[90] Quoted in, *ibid*, p. 107.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 321.
[93] Barnes, "'So That a Labourer Could Live with His Family", p. 107.

found themselves without accommodation and owing to the shortages of married accommodation, wives were prohibited from living in Harare until their husbands had completed two years of steady employment. Large scale police raids "to clean up the Location" became a common occurrence and abuses were almost inevitable.[94] The RICU adopted the cause of these women of Harare and at its third annual conference, the Native Urban Areas Act was debated at which Mzingeli informed the delegates that the Native Advisory Board had met the CNC and discussed this Act. Of interest was Mzingeli's admission of the powerlessness of the Native Advisory Board which he admitted would have abolished the Act if it had executive powers.[95] In August 1951, the *African Weekly* reported that "the women folk of Harare have rallied behind the RICU," that the large attendance of women at its meetings "would have been impossible a year ago" and that some of the women spoke "with the same courage and wisdom as the men".[96]

As a result of the protests and representations by the RICU on behalf of the women, the raids and arrests became less frequent.[97] Scarnecchia also accounts for the rapid increase in RICU membership during the period of these raids against women and illegal tenants than at any other time in its history. In 1951, the membership was estimated at 3000 and by 1953 it had grown to 7000.[98] For him, it was the protection offered by the RICU against the raids in 1951 and 1952 that saw the real increase in active membership.[99] Mzingeli and RICU went out of their way to lobby the government to stop the raids on township women. Through their links and networks to council officials, RICU officials were in many instances, able to provide information on impending raids and provided shelter for the majority of the women who were targets of the raids. Mzingeli's politics and his sincerity to treating women's issues as authentic political demands made the RICU the most effective means of channelling the community's anger into protests in the early 1950s.[100]Indeed, RICU played a major role in not only the popular agitation against the provisions of the 1946 Natives (Urban Areas)

[94] Gray, *The Two Nations,* p. 321.
[95] NAZ S517, CID Reports, Report of the Proceedings of the Third RICU Annual Conference by Detective D Robinson.
[96] *The African Weekly*, 17 August 1951.
[97] Gray, *The Two Nations*, p. 322.
[98] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 51.
[99] *ibid*
[100] *Ibid*, p. 52.

Registration and Accommodation Act but also, in "the struggle for the city" by urban Africans.[101]

The RICU also continued to express its discontent on behalf of African urbanites with regards to housing. An example of that was at the third annual Conference of the RICU held in Salisbury in September, 1949 at which one speaker wished to express appreciation of local authorities' efforts in accelerating the construction of African housing.[102] This speaker was vehemently opposed by Mzingeli who stated that the African had nothing to be thankful for in this respect because for him the lack of accommodation was a "deliberate policy of politicians." It was Mzingeli's opinion that the government could introduce more humane legislation which would ensure the African getting a 'square deal.'[103] However, Mzingeli argued, since segregation propaganda was the easiest way to become a leading statesman in Southern Africa, politicians were "busily engaged in methods to introduce the new doctrine of white supremacy" at the expense of African development.[104] Another member of the RICU, in mentioning the shortage of accommodation, felt that it was bad that "indigenous natives should suffer when foreigners such as Indians and other Asiatics received all necessary liberties."[105] Bango, another RICU official, argued that the cases of TB in the Location were caused by the overcrowded living quarters. A RICU delegate also referred to one hut where six boys were living and where he himself was to be the seventh.[106]

The treatment of Africans by public officials also dominated RICU meetings. At a RICU meeting held on the 6th of November 1949, Mzingeli informed the public that he had written a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs and Railway officials regarding the treatment of Africans at Railway Stations, but had received no replies.[107] Referring to the treatment of Africans in Post Offices, he stated that it would be far better if Africans kept savings in their homes until the Post Office officials learnt to treat Africans better.[108] At another RICU meeting

[101] Barnes, "'So That a Labourer Could Live with His Family'", p. 108.
[102] NAZ, S517, CID Reports, Native Affairs Memorandum no. 42, by Lieutenant Colonel F W Harris, Officer Commanding CID Headquarters, 23 November, 1949.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

held in Harare Township on 9 October 1949, Mzingeli told the people that when interviewing the Salisbury Municipal officials regarding the treatment of Africans at the Public Health Department, he had been informed that examinations would be conducted by the Municipal Medical Officer and not by Private Doctors.[109] The alleged ill-treatment of African passengers by Railway Guides was also voiced by several speakers and Mzingeli stated that he would write to the Railway authorities on this matter.[110] Incidentally, Mzingeli was to report on the improved treatment of Africans at the Railway Station at another meeting held in Harari Township on 4 December, 1949.[111]

The period between 1948- 52, has been described by Scarnecchia as representing Mzingeli's best years as a community leader.[112] He points to his organisation, the RICU, which had gained popularity through his role as mediator between the vulnerable residents and the state during the implementation of the Native Urban Areas Act.[113] Mzingeli found himself enjoying increased support not only from the elite of the politically conscious men, who voted in the elections for the Advisory Boards, but also from the large numbers of illiterate men and women, who attended RICU meetings and looked to him for leadership. Increasingly, he represented not the ambitions of a middle class but the grievances of urban Africans as a whole.[114]

The SRBC was another organisation that also maintained a strong presence in township affairs especially in the post war period. The SRBC, however, was known and has been presented in Zimbabwe's nationalist historiography more as an elitist organisation of middle class Africans who were bent on fighting for the franchise and to be treated as a "better class of natives." This organisation was founded in 1938 by a group of mostly educated Africans that included the Reverend Thompson Samkange who served as its President from 1943 to 1948.[115] On

[109] NAZ, S517, CID Reports, Report from Lieutenant Colonel F W Harris, Officer Commanding CID Headquarters, 21 October, 1949.
[110] Ibid.
[111] NAZ, S517, CID Reports, Native Affairs Memorandum no. 43, by Lieutenant Colonel F W Harris, Officer Commanding CID Headquarters, 24 December, 1949.
[112] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 66.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Gray, *The Two Nations*, p. 326.
[115] For more on Thomas Samkange and his politics, see T. Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920 – 1964*, Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995.

paper, the SRBC claimed to be a national organisation, but it had little contact with the national constituency of Africans it claimed to represent. It, however, represented a different position compared to the RICU. Unlike the mission educated elite in the Bantu Congress, Mzingeli and RICU saw themselves as the representatives of almost all township residents, especially the most vulnerable of them. The RICU was, therefore, quite clear in their criticisms of racial and economic exploitation as the root cause of the problems facing township residents.[116] The Congress, on the other hand, represented the elite position of the African educated group up until the 1950s and it defended the position of the African middle class particularly their educational and property qualifications for voting against the majority of Africans who could not qualify based on education or wealth. There was thus, serious competition between the RICU and SRBC which had continued and intensified in the post war period.

The SRBC sold itself as the only organisation which was run "by Africans for Africans." E P Chieza, the Branch Secretary of the SRBC, in a letter published in the *Bantu Mirror* of 6 November, 1943 claimed that the SRBC was the "African people's organisation which is run by Africans for Africans," and that it was "the voice of the African people." He further elucidated the aims of the Congress which were: to improve the life of the African people by striving to get for the African people descent standards and conditions of living.[117]

A cursory glance at the nature of the issues that the SRBC focussed on confirms its elitist inclinations. It concerned itself mainly with the Africans' "bad behaviour" in the townships, especially such issues as prostitution. Thus unlike, the RICU which fought for women's rights, the SRBC continued to express its discomfort with the presence of "loose and unattached" women in the urban areas who, in its view, contributed to the moral decay amongst Africans in the urban areas. The difference between RICU and SRBC mostly played out in what the two organisations perceived to be the roles of the Africans in the urban areas. Again, the two organisations' respective class structures and orientations were clear. For the SRBC, Africans were responsible for uplifting themselves especially through education to gain favour amongst their white rulers whilst RICU argued that it was the right of every African in the

[116] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 6.
[117] *The Bantu Mirror*, 6 November 1943.

urban areas to be treated equally regardless of their level of education or economic status. The SRBC thus argued that educated Africans were supposed to be treated differently from their uneducated counterparts. Mzingeli, therefore, struggled with the leaders of the Congress, whom he viewed as too elite and too far removed from township life to represent adequately the interests of urban Africans.[118] However, it should be noted that the Congress' elitist tendencies were to soon change especially after the Southern Rhodesian government increased urban segregation and it became clearer that elite status for qualified Africans was not in itself a guarantee of economic and social equality.[119]

For example, at the SRBC annual conference at Gweru on September the 12th, 1945 the Congress passed a resolution that: Africans should be given more chances of running native eating houses in Towns and Locations and that the government should draw the attention of all Local Authorities to the unhealthy and dirty conditions of the present Eating Houses.[120] Mnyanda, a member of the Congress expressed his disappointment at reports that the "time was not yet ripe for Africans to sit with Europeans in joint discussion on matters of the Africans."[121] At the same conference, Rev T D Samkange, the President General of the SRBC, lodged a complaint that men and women were not separated in beer halls.[122]

The differences between the organisations mostly found expression through the media. Charles Mzingeli, writing to the *Bantu Mirror* of December 20, 1950, claimed that the ICU "suffered in the past not because it was anti-white, but because of the educated class of Africans who misled the unfortunate."[123] In another letter to the *Bantu Mirror* of 30 June 1945, the author, who did not hesitate to make his preference of RICU known, wrote:

> The need for African leadership is becoming a serious problem in Southern Rhodesia and the blame is principally on the Africans themselves. The SRBC that we believed would become the corner stone for the building of the African progress in the colony is becoming embarrassingly dormant so much so that a writer in this issue has asked whether it still exists since there had been a long string of problems that affect Africans discussed by Europeans but not commented upon by the Africans themselves." "Can the Congress

[118] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 7.
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] *The Bantu Mirror*, 22 September 1945.
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *The Bantu Mirror,* 20 December 1950.

> leaders, if they exist, tell us why they prefer keeping their tongues in the mouths to hurrying the progress of the Africans of the colony?[124]

A letter to the *Bantu Mirror* of 9 April 1949, by a Mabaso and addressed to Mzingeli, claimed that Mzingeli "suffer[ed] from an inferiority complex and as such [was] haunted by fear of highly educated African men." It further went on to claim that the "past history of the defunct ICU and the RICU discloses the fact that some of the principal leaders of this organisation are men who [were] in sole need of ready money."[125] He concluded by claiming that "if the truth were known, the very people who elected him [Mzingeli] to the board would oppose and unseat him' and that Mzingeli's leadership "can be likened to a legless man who teaches running."[126] In defence, Bango, a member of RICU, also wrote to the *Bantu Mirror* claiming that; "Mabaso Matiki after finding himself without supporters has decided to attack the RICU.' He further claimed that the ICU was "fully alive to the grievances of the people" and that people living in Harari Township knew very "well that these attacks against Mzingeli are made by one person who disguises himself with these different names."[127]

The Advisory board elections also soon became a big contest between RICU and other leaders and organisations in the township. Mzingeli and the RICU had easily won a majority in the first three elections of 1947, 1948 and 1949; but in 1950 the RICU's claim to be the voice of township politics was shaken by a rival party and residents association known as the Harare Residents Party (HRP).[128] During the 1950 campaign, the HRP, by taking a direct approach to hostel- dwelling workers, succeeded in defeating most of the RICU candidates although Mzingeli and Pazarangu remained on the board.[129] Jekecha, a Harare resident, wrote to the press complaining about the behaviour of members of the Harare Residents Party, who he accused of going into the "streets in Harare Township, after dinner on Friday broadcasting and slandering Mr. L C Mzingeli's good name as a means of canvassing for support." He further maintained that the six successful candidates of the Harare Residents Party had received the majority of their votes from Municipal Compound boys living in the Municipal

[124] *The Bantu Mirror,* 30 June 1945.
[125] *The Bantu Mirror,* 9 April 1949.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *The Bantu Mirror,* 26 April 1949.
[128] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 62.
[129] *Ibid.*

Hostel in the native residential area, "whose interests as such is quite different from that of the general African citizens, the rent payer in the Township."[130]

The RICU, however, retained its majority in the 1951 advisory board elections and in his victory speech published in the *African Weekly,* Mzingeli wrote:

> Our opponents must admit that the Reformed ICU is an organisation of the people by the people…. It now rests with you [the residents of Harare] to see that your representatives to the Native Advisory Board make every effort that you wish them to. Harare Township is our home, a permanent home in the urban area where we must be able to help ourselves by creating happy surroundings for ourselves and our children.[131]

Another Residents Association, the Harare Civic Association (HCA) emerged to also challenge Mzingeli's hold over residential issues in Harare.[132] Interestingly, the HCA was originally established by the RICU to nominate RICU candidates for the local advisory board elections. It was also meant as a public forum where residents could bring their problems which the HCA then passed on to the local advisory board.[133] It, however, developed an increasingly critical approach towards Mzingeli and the Harare Township Advisory Board and it made demands similar to the RICU's in the 1940s: lowering of rents, further electrification of the township and better police protection for residents. Many of the prominent leaders in the Association- including Rubben Jamela, Shato Nyakauru and George Nyandoro- all of whom had previously been close to Mzingeli- were now beginning to part ways with him.[134]

The HCA thus fed immensely from the RICU in terms of both membership and leadership. It was also initially backed by the RICU, logistically, especially during Township Advisory Board elections. A huge proportion of the RICU leadership contested under the banner of the HCA in the elections especially from the mid-1950s. These included RICU leaders such as Mzingeli, A J Chigwida, who was the HCA Chairman and James Moyo.[135] These three were sponsored by the HCA in the 1956 election. However, in that election the four candidates who were

[130] *The Bantu Mirror,* 20 December 1950.
[131] *African Weekly*, 26 December 1951.
[132] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 70.
[133] *Ibid.*
[134] *Ibid*, p. 71.
[135] The *African Daily News* carried extensive advertisements for these candidates under the banner of the HCA.

sponsored by the City Youth League won the Harare Advisory Board Elections. A statement presented by the National Executive of the Youth League, George Nyandoro, stated that the League pledged to fight for the following improvements: 1. Reduction of ever- rising rents. 2. The improvements of roads and avenues. 3. The reduction of bus fares on African routes within a twenty mile radius of Salisbury. 4. Abolition of raids by Municipal Police. 5. To fight for the abolition of pass laws in Harare Township. 6. To fight for the ward system in Harare Township. 7. To fight for more married houses for people now living in the Old Bricks, Hostels and Joburg lines.[136]

For the first time in the history of the Advisory Board Elections in Harare, Mzingeli lost. Youth League candidates elected were L H Samuriwo, 351 votes; J Madzima, 259; J K Makoni, 258 and S M Mbirimi 247 votes.[137] The three Harare Civic Association backed candidates who contested and lost had the following number of votes: L C M zingeli, 200 votes A J Chigwida 192 votes, James B Moyo 173.[138] Both organisation had meticulously campaigned for their candidates. The Youth League's Samuriwo used a lorry and a loudspeaker to canvas for support for Youth League candidates telling township residents that the "candidates being sponsored by the Youth League were better suited to represent Harare residents in the Advisory Board."[139] He further went on to "advise" Harare residents "not to vote for the other candidates, who had been tried and had failed."[140] This was in obvious reference to Mzingeli and other RICU candidates who had dominated the Advisory Board for the previous nine years. The loudspeaker announcement went on to describe some of the candidates of the HCA as "sell outs and yes-men."[141] HCA backed candidates were equally innovative and aggressive. They too went around the township with a loudspeaker announcing from vantage points in the Location and highlighting the strengths and virtues of the four candidates they were backing. They informed the residents that the four "understood the difficulties and desires of Harare residents more than any others."[142] To note is the fact that the previous year, the HCA had sponsored and supported six candidates including Mzingeli and of the six

[136] *The African Daily News*, 29 December 1956.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] *The African Daily News*, 28 December 1956.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] *Ibid.*

only four were still members of the 1956 board and were joined by the new, Youth League candidates.[143]

The HCA did not take its loss to the City Youth League lightly. Chigwida, Chairman of the HCA and a RICU member, argued that the Youth League was not supposed to have sponsored candidates in the Harare Advisory Board elections.[144] He argued that all the four candidates sponsored by the Youth League and who won the elections had done so "through the back door."[145] Chigwida argued that "the Youth League, which [was] a political organisation, should not have interfered in the Advisory Board elections in Harare," as the elections were "purely a civic matter."[146] It was Chigwida's opinion that the Youth League was supposed to concern itself with looking "after the political aspirations of the African people in the whole country." Chigwida concluded that the City Youth League had failed to organise branches in other centres and they, "now sought to interfere in our domestic affairs here in Harare."[147] In voicing these concerns, Chigwida claimed to represent the majority of thinking residents of Harare when he said that "all the Youth League candidates had not been voted in by the cream of enlightened residents of Harare but by the very ignorant class of people whom they went about picking in their trucks."[148]

Very interesting issues emerge in the above assertion from Chigwida and the 1956 Advisory Board elections. The ambiguous nature characteristic of the African organisations during this time emerges and was put to good use in harnessing African township residents. On 28 April 1957, almost a year after topping the Harare Advisory Board elections on a City Youth League ticket, Samuriwo was elected as the new Chairman of the Harare Civic Association, effectively ending RICU's dominance in that Association as well. [149] The previous Chairman, Chigwida was elected as the Organising Secretary. This had two very important effects on African representation. Firstly, it accelerated the steady but considerable decline of Mzingeli as a community leader and of the RICU as an important organisation in township affairs. The

[143] *The African Daily News*, 29 December 1956.
[144] *The African Daily News*, 2 January 1957.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *The African Daily News*, 29 April 1957.

taking over of the Chairmanship of the Harare Civic Association by Samuriwo who was previously a front runner for the Youth League in Harare Advisory Board elections also signalled the take over and subsequent dominance of the Youth League in African township representation and beyond. Gonese, former Secretary of the Southern Rhodesia Youth League, writing to the *African Daily News* in December 1956 implored Mzingeli to "go and give way to young Chikerema"[150] who was the youthful leader of the City Youth League. He claimed that Mzingeli's services were valuable sometime back when Southern Rhodesia was still a young country and development was slow, "but now the pace of development was too fast for him and African aspirations too high." Gonese further went on to maintain that Mzingeli in so many years of leadership had not managed to do as much as was "being done by this young group."[151]

Edson Sithole, a Youth League national executive member, wrote a letter to the *African Daily News* of June 4 1957, in which he criticised Mzingeli for attacking the proposed African National Congress.[152] Mzingeli had reportedly said that Africans should have a National Congress but not one founded by the Youth League. He accused the Youth League of claiming colony wide membership which it did not have, and also predicted that the planned Congress would only be accepted through intimidation.[153] Another Youth Leaguer, A M Chambati, wrote:

> I must let Mr. Mzingeli know that if the political ideas of the African thinking youth are beyond his comprehension he must not come in their way and be a stumbling block. The Youth League sponsored the candidate who ousted Mr. Mzingeli from the Advisory Board. This proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the Youth League are leaders and Mzingeli is out of date. That Charles Mzingeli is still a leader of the African people is an out of date idea. If Mr. Mzingeli is a leader and sees that the Youth League Movement is going astray, why then does he not advise these young men? I thank Mr. Mzingeli for having started the short race. He has now handed the baton to the Youth League who are now running towards the winning post. Indeed, they are much faster than Mzingeli and he wishes he had been faster than them. It is good to wish he had done so but he has already done his part in the race though slow.[154]

[150] *The African Daily News,* 12 December 1956.
[151] *Ibid.*
[152] *The African Daily News,* 4 June 1957.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] *The African Daily News,* 8 June 1957

In another scathing attack, Edson Sithole maintained that Mzingeli's defence that "he has led numerous organisations to success," represented Africans at "international conferences and that he has been in the leadership field for many years thereby making his leadership unchallengeable were not convincing facts to make him a true leader."[155] Sithole claimed that though Mzingeli enjoyed "great popularity as a great leader," he had "for the past years remained a problem in African leadership. He has shown to be possessed by a spirit of non-cooperation with other leaders."[156] J T Maluleka, a Harare Township resident implored Mzingeli, in a letter to the *African Daily News*, to "leave Chikerema and the Action Committee[157] alone" because you [Mzingeli] have already shown us that you do not know politics."[158] He mockingly advised Mzingeli to retire from politics and follow the route that was being taken by Lord Malvern who was "retiring from leadership to give chance to younger people with modern ideas."[159]

The struggle between the City Youth League and the RICU to control the Harare Civic Association and the Advisory Boards points to the importance of the HCA especially with regards to township affairs. In as much as there was no official recognition of the HCA by either the Salisbury Municipality or the Central government as a bona fide representative of African Township affairs, both the central government and the municipality gave the organisation their attention. On 7 May, 1956, for example, the CNC and Secretary of Native Affairs, Mr. S E Morris, addressed the HCA and members of the Advisory Boards of Harare and Mabvuku.[160] Samuriwo, the Chairman of HCA, chaired the meeting.[161] At this meeting, wide ranging township issues from housing, rents, sanitation, kaffir beer and police raids were discussed. Significantly, the Secretary for Native Affairs, implored the members of the HCA to talk to the members of the public with regards to its new policy on rents and

[155] *The African Daily News,* 5 January 1957.
[156] *Ibid*
[157] The Action Committee will be discussed in much detail later.
[158] *The African Daily News*, 22 October 1956.
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] *The African Daily News,* 8 May 1957.
[161] *Ibid.*

accommodation.[162] The HCA also raised their concerns about rents, sanitation and shortage of accommodation and they got the Secretary's assurance that he was going to look into it.[163]

At another meeting, officials of the City Council presented to the HCA, a six point plan to improve the conditions in Salisbury's African Townships. The six point plan had emerged on January 25, 1957, from a special meeting of the City Council's Health, Housing and African Administration Committee.[164] The six points were: an increase in recreational facilities, grading of secondary roads and installation of lighting, a move to enlist the help of voluntary organisations, including African bodies, and participation by Africans in their own local government affairs. The Mayor, F Clement argued that one of the major causes of unrest in the townships was the lack of decision on the outstanding matter of participation by Africans in their own local government affairs.[165]

The central role of the HCA and the Youth League in township affairs can also be gathered from the role the two organisations played in a crippling bus boycott by Africans in the townships in 1956. In the words of the African leadership, the bus boycott had been caused by the government which was "not interested in seeing that pressure is brought on the Salisbury United Transport Company" and which was not "prepared to meet Africans halfway in their demands" and more interested in the welfare of the company than Africans.[166] An Action Committee had been formed to deal with the bus crisis and its members included leaders from the HCA and Youth League. They were appointed to negotiate with the bus company, United Transport and the Government over questions of bus fares. Such members included among others, J Chikerema, a Youth Leaguer, who was its Chairman, Chigwida, Chairman of HCA and Mangwiro, another member of HCA. It was this Committee that reportedly called for the boycott of the buses on September 17.[167] The bus boycott is an important event in the history of the township in that it is, in addition to the 1945 and 1948 strikes, an important benchmark of African militancy.

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[162] *Ibid.*
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] *The African Daily News,* 26 January 1957.
[165] *Ibid.*
[166] *The African Daily News,* 25 September 1956.
[167] *Ibid.*

Addressing a meeting of African leaders, the CNC condemned the irresponsible attitude of the Action Committee "who could have prevented trouble from breaking out."[168] He accused some members of the Committee of refusing to cooperate when he had asked them to broadcast an appeal to the rioters to disperse.[169] Such an admission by the CNC displays the influence that the Committee, composed of Youth Leaguers and HCA members, had in shaping public opinion in the township. It also demonstrates the shift in the mind-set of African leadership towards becoming more confrontational and militant and the new and uncomfortable "dependency" on the part of colonial administration on African organisations to maintain law and order in the townships.

Indeed, Chikerema, Chairman of the Action Committee argued that he was prepared to call off the boycott if the "Government was prepared to negotiate with the Action Committee with a view to reducing the bus fares in any form possible."[170] The Action Committee duly called off the boycott in view of "the fact that a tense situation exists in Harare Township on the subject of bus fares." [171]Chikerema was, however, satisfied that "the African users ha[d] registered their protest strongly enough to the Government" and the Government had "seen that the problem is hitting the African very hard, and should be well investigated."[172] He informed the public that a "Commission to be appointed by the Government has, inter- alia, transport as a term of reference." In order to inform as many people as possible that they were calling off the boycott, the Action Committee had to seek "permission from the powers … to make use of a broadcast van to go round telling people to board the buses."[173]

Another report in the *African Daily News* also seems to confirm the central role played by the Action Committee in initiating the boycott and its complacency in the face of the accompanying violence. The report presented what it claimed to be the opinion of many Harare residents that "the leaders were really responsible for the looting and rioting which

[168] *The African Daily News,* 20 September 1956.
[169] *Ibid.*
[170] *Ibid.*
[171] *The African Daily News,* 19 September 1956.
[172] *Ibid.*
[173] *Ibid.*

occurred."[174] One man blamed the "open air meetings where many of the audience are spivs and loafers … and hardly understand what the speakers are driving at become restless and the result is always the same: lawlessness and hooliganism."[175] Some residents criticised the looting. One said:

> Breaking my windows like this, hurting my wife and children and breaking the windows of my car, is not the way to ask the Government or United Transport to lower the bus fares. Why did the Action Committee call this boycott and then leave these loafers and hooligans to get out of control like this. Most of these people are teenagers, who have nothing to do and now have found a job to do on this boycott.[176]

Another woman said: "Raping my daughter, is that the bus boycott?" while another man was of the opinion that he agreed with the bus boycott "but not the hooliganism; this demonstration of savagery."[177] However, in a rare show of support of the Action Committee and, indirectly, the Youth League, by Mzingeli on 17 September 1956, he voiced his support for the bus boycott because the Action Committee had "done its best to reason with the authorities and the bus company and they ha[d] been ignored.[178]

Highfield Township also had an equally active and vocal residents association, the New Highfield Ratepayers Association (NHRA) formed around 1956. The Association had promised to deliver the following for the residents of Highfield: (a) installation of lights and water meters, (b) abolishment of lodger system, (c) appointment of an African Superintendent (d) improvement of roads and houses.[179] For example, under the auspices of the NHRA, a meeting attended by more than 2000 ratepayers and the Superintendent of New Highfield, Mr. o' Hare, was held on 19 May 1957 to discuss the circumstances which had made the Southern Rhodesia government increase the water rates from 1 May 1957.[180] At the end of the meeting the association unanimously passed a resolution in which it requested for the suspension of the payment of the new increased rates until the Government had given a more detailed account of the matter. However, all tenants were advised to pay the new rates only

[174] *The African Daily News,* 18 September 1956.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *The African Daily News,* 17 September 1956.
[179] *The African Daily News,* 14 May 1957.
[180] *The African Daily News,* 20 May 1957.

for the month of May.[181] Several speakers who also spoke at an emergency meeting of the NHRA held on 20 May 1957, called upon the Government to issue instructions directing the Engineering Department to have all water pipes in the Institute of Native Engineering at New Highfield examined for possible mechanical defects.[182]

It is, however, important to note that the NHRA was also caught up in the serious squabbles between the RICU and the Youth League and for the better part of its existence was dominated by and had Youth League sympathisers. An example of such fighting was a scathing letter that was written by its Secretary claiming that the RICU was now defunct. In the letter, the Secretary challenged Mzingeli to tell the country "why it is that the RICU has held no meeting or conference for such a long time."[183] He also asked for an audited statement of accounts showing the true position of the organisations' financial standing. The letter further claimed that "Mzingeli's attack on the splendid work done by the Action Committee was inspired by inner jealousy" and that "Mzingeli must admit that the RICU is a dead organisation and that he is no longer a leader himself."[184] The New Highfield Ratepayers Association was thus another example of the RICU and Mzingeli's monumental loss in township affairs. Its members, who were also affiliated to the Youth League, dominated the Highfield Tenants Board.

The NHRA also had its fair share of critics. Robert Marere, who lived in Highfield, complained bitterly about what he termed the inactivity of the Ratepayers Association.[185] He claimed that "this body [was] unable to represent people of a big village like the New Highfield.[186] In another indirect attack on the Association, another Highfield resident, Dunmore Katsaruware wrote to the *African Daily News* of 29 December, 1956 expressing disagreement with the report of the Director of Native Administration who had written in his annual report that he supported Verwoerd's[187] viewpoint that all Advisory Boards did nothing to accomplish the

[181] *Ibid.*
[182] *Ibid.*
[183] *Ibid.*
[184] *The African Daily News*, 7 November 1956.
[185] *The African Daily News,* 9 May 1957.
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (8 September 1901 – 6 September 1966), also known as Dr H.F Verwoerd, was Prime Minister during the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961.

goals and aims for which they were meant for. The Director had blamed the failure of the boards to the presence of "agitators and irresponsible people" among the members of Advisory Boards. For Dunmore, to "talk of agitators in the African Advisory Boards [was] like accusing a 4 year old child of car theft or store breaking."[188] He argued that these Boards were "ineffective and useless and full of yes man," and that was the reason for their failure and not agitators and irresponsible people like the Director claimed.[189] Another Highfield resident, A Hakata, encouraged his fellow residents not to be misled and vote for people who lack qualities of leadership. He encouraged Highfield residents to reject leadership based on "pride, selfishness and untruthfulness and accept leaders who take grievances "from the residents to the authority concerned."[190]

Like a majority of the African organisations of this time, the New Highfield Ratepayers Association was hit by serious internal squabbles. In May 1957, P J Mashingaidze, Chairman of the NHRA tendered his resignation at the executive meeting of the Association.[191] The main reason for the resignation was that members of the executive were opposed to his leadership. He also claimed that since they had been elected to the Executive they had often disagreed amongst themselves and that at "certain times he had been threatened to be beaten up."[192] The Secretary of the NHRA, was of the view that Machingaidze had done well by resigning from the position of Chairman of the Association as the Executive was composed mainly of "people who were concerned primarily with personal glory." The Secretary was of the view that since the Executive had been elected, "it had never worked as an Executive Committee of New Highfield with new brains."[193]

Conclusion

[188] *The African Daily News,* 29 December 1956.
[189] *Ibid.*
[190] *The African Daily News*, 24 January 1956.
[191] *The African Daily News,* May 22 1957.
[192] *Ibid.*
[193] *Ibid.*

The living conditions of many Africans employed in urban areas worsened in the post war period. In certain private compounds it was found in 1945 that sometimes three or more married couples were sharing the same room, which was used as a bedroom and living-room, and that sometimes married couples and bachelors were sharing the same room. Owing to the influx of Africans into urban areas there was a very serious shortage of accommodation and workers were compelled to live in shacks and places not fit for human habitation. The scarcity of houses was not due to the war but arose out of a short-sighted and unsocial view of industrial progress extending over many years.

Africans employed in the urban areas were, thus, largely dependent on the action of the local authorities for the provision of better facilities and because the local authorities neglected their elementary duties, the conditions of urbanised Africans only worsened. Lack of accommodation was not a sudden growth but had steadily increasing over the years. Industries were encouraged to start and sprang up in the areas set aside for them, but no serious thought and provisions were made for the African workers employed there. Indeed, the problems in the African urban areas only worsened and this prompted the Southern Rhodesia Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into urban conditions of the African. The Commission was to be headed by Mr. R P Plewman.[194]

The actions of the different African organisations that were in existence during this period were therefore motivated by these conditions and the local and central government's reaction to them. For example, the motivating factor of the RICU, according to Mzingeli, was to build the character and dignity of urban Africans, "to form up an opinion and slogan which will assist the Africans to have the feeling of belonging."[195] As such, the character and dignity of the urban Africans had to be squeezed out of the urban authorities who were reluctant to commit financial resources in that regard. This reluctance was also because of the general attitude prevailing at the time which made any European who dared to suggest helping the "Natives" risk losing popularity or in some cases political office. This forced the different organisations and Associations to be confrontational and militant if they entertained any hopes of squeezing out any concessions from the Local and central government. Thus one of

[194] *Ibid.*
[195] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe,* p. 19.

the most prominent African civic leaders, Mzingeli and the vibrant and youthful leaders of the Youth League and the residents' associations who replaced him had to be very vocal and sometimes outright difficult, if they hoped to make a stout contribution to the improvement of African urban conditions. They were, however, hindered, in their attempts at effective African representation, by conflicts between them and within them.

The chapter also highlighted the position of the Advisory Boards as a site of struggle between the different organisations. The different organisations, especially RICU, used the Boards to maintain a foothold in Township politics. However, while Board members usually consulted the people and conveyed their wishes to the Council they were also colonial mouthpieces, taking council decisions to the Africans.[196] From the start, the Advisory Board system was structured as a powerless institution. These boards could only make recommendations to the City Council which was not legally bound to accept them. As such, as Africans became more politically informed and restless, the Advisory Boards ceased to be respected as platforms for expressing African opinion. From the early 1950s, there was suspicion amongst some Africans that Advisory Boards were tools to serve colonial interests. Because of this suspicion, tenants' or residents' associations were also seen as alternative, unofficial platforms to express African urban grievances.

The chapter also traced an important shift in urban representation in this period; the emergence of narrowly focused residents' associations that developed in the post-World War Two period. These associations, however, had links with the labour movements or the nascent nationalist movements, especially because they were largely made up of the same individuals who were prominent in either the labour movements or the nationalist movements. They were thus heavily influenced by these two movements. Both the RICU and the City Youth League, for example, used these residents' associations as vehicles to campaign in elections into the Advisory Boards for their members. The success of the City Youth League in that regard can also be explained in the context of the general shift of the Southern Rhodesia economy in the mid-1950s which took a turn for the worse hence making the confrontational Youth League an attractive option for the majority of African urban dwellers,

[196] Msindo, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe,* p. 282.

especially young men and women who were mostly affected by the economic challenges. That shift and the dynamics that account for it, explains the replacement, in urban representation, of old type, non- confrontational movements with emerging militant nationalist influenced urban movements.

Chapter Five: African Urban Representation and the Nationalist Movements. 1958 to 1980

Introduction

This Chapter examines the residents' movements in the post Urban Affairs Commission period of 1958. It assesses the operations of the residents' associations and Advisory Boards in an environment of heightened national struggle for independence by Africans. It examines how this environment impacted not only on the character and nature of urban representation but also on the nature and direction that the movements took from the late 1950s onwards. It also focuses on the change in the temperament and form of African urban representation and its relationship with the emerging nationalists' movements on one side and local government on the other. The chapter examines how the associations and African boards responded when confronted by a new political context with new challenges, outlook and focus. An important question guides the analysis: how did the urban movement perceive the changing political context as it affected them in their attempt to influence agenda-setting and decision-making? Many organisations were affected by broader nationalist politics, particularly as a majority of their members were also active in the nationalist struggle. Because of its close links with the nationalist movements, the residents' movements interpreted the political changes as opportunities to influence decisions. The chapter thus examine how nationalist politics influenced and shaped the nature of urban representation and vice versa in this period. It carries the story from the previous chapter of the shift towards a nationalist led and nationalist influenced take on residents' issues by the urban movements.

The 1960s was a politically charged period in Rhodesia. Between 1953 and 1963, the colony was part of the Central African Federation together with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This created conditions for dialogue among emerging African nationalists from the three colonies. Demands for political reform increasingly coalesced around the notion of African

majority rule.[1] Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland gained political independence in 1964 after the break- up of the Federation in 1963. By contrast, Southern Rhodesia's majority white settler politicians rejected African majority rule. This rejection was largely represented by the politics of Ian Smith and his Rhodesia Front government. R Blake describes Smith as the "epitome and symbol of the white Rhodesian ascendancy caste," whose objective was the "preservation, as long as possible, of their dominant position." [2] African political movements in Rhodesia, consequently became increasingly militant in their struggle for majority rule.[3]

The decline of the RICU in the early 1950s signalled the end of the strictly urban-based political movement, representing the interests of individuals and groups in the city. Indeed, before the advent of the Salisbury City Youth League in 1956 and the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) in 1957, African political organisations in Southern Rhodesia had more or less accepted the non- confrontational route of reformist and constitutionalist politics.[4] The main source of such politics in Salisbury from the 1930s until the early 1950s was the RICU led by Charles Mzingeli. This older type of politics was replaced by nationalist movements led by an emerging middle class with greater concern for land issues and a more militant approach.[5] A new generation of leadership within the City Youth League, understood the vital importance of linkages between themselves and the poorer, less educated majority. It was this group that began to determine the direction, pace and agenda of urban struggle.

The emergence of the City Youth League and later nationalist parties between 1955 and 1965, signalled new developments in urban politics. The Youth League showed its mettle by gaining control of the Salisbury African Advisory Board. M West also acknowledges the impact of the arrival of the Youth League on the urban scene and argues that its triumph came at the expense of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union.[6] Whereas the RICU had confined its activities to issues largely relating to the 'Location' area and the permanent city dwellers,

[1] Munochiveyi, *"Prisoners of Rhodesia",* p. 28.
[2] R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia,* New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1978, p. 361.
[3] Munochiveyi, *'Prisoners of Rhodesia',* p. 29.
[4] T. Scarnercchia, "Poor Women and Nationalist Politics: Alliances and Fissures in the Formation of a Nationalist Political Movement in Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1950- 56", *Journal of African History*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1996, p. 285.
[5] Raftopoulos, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury, 1953–1965", p. 79.
[6] West, *The Rise of an African Middle Class,* p. 205.

the broader mobilisation strategy of the nationalist movements, of which the Youth League was a part of, included as a central feature, the rural grievances of urban migrants. This strategy created a broader basis for national mobilisation. However as the agenda of the nationalist movements was increasingly formed and articulated by competing sectors of the growing African intelligentsia, other struggles in the city were prioritised according to the needs of this nationalist agenda.[7]

The late 1950s marked an important era in the history of African urban movements in Salisbury. The formation of the SRANC was an important turning point. It marked the beginning of a close alliance between organised African urban movements and the nationalist movements. This alliance changed shape over time and was largely influenced by the politics of the time, both within the Nationalist movements itself and in broader Southern Rhodesia politics. In many instances, African urban struggles came to be subordinated to the nationalist struggle. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the overarching influence of nationalist politics in the urban movements was a result of the political and economic conditions in the late 1950s that pushed nationalist politics to centre of African struggles. It was also a result of the nature of the narrowly focussed residents' associations that emerged in the post Second World War period who were open to influences from the new militant groups like the City Youth League, National Democratic Party (NDP), Southern African Rhodesia National Congress and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). This study agrees with Mothibe's assessment of organised labour in colonial Zimbabwe as not subordinated to petit bourgeois nationalism but as an integral part of the nationalist movement leadership.[8] It utilises the same analysis when evaluating the relationship between the nationalist movements and the African urban movements.

"The Native Should be kept in his place." The 1958 Urban Affairs Commission[9]

[7] *Ibid.*
[8] T. H. Mothibe, "Zimbabwe: African Working Class Nationalism", p. 158.
[9] The Commission was set up to give recommendations for the future of urban planning and in particular, the status of Africans as residents in segregated towns and cities.

A majority of white settlers and the colonial authorities still subscribed to the general view that the Africans, especially, those in the urban areas should be managed and controlled so as not to cause any problems to white privilege. A common position among the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia and which had a huge bearing on how they approached African urban affairs was the position that African residential areas should continue to be territory set apart from the European residential areas. They argued that the principle of segregation was obviously established in order to maintain good relations because the African and the European were in two different stages of evolvement.[10] For them, the Native Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act was never intended to undermine the Locations Act of 1908, but to strengthen the policy of segregation.[11]

In this context, in as much as the recommendation of the Urban Affairs Commission were largely not implemented by Whitehead's government, the Commission was an important watershed in African administration and the nature of African urban movements to emerge in this period. From a policy perspective, the Commission provided a platform for many European settlers who contributed in shaping the built environment of the Africans in the urban areas to express their opinion, expert or otherwise. It also gave them a platform to express themselves with regards to how they viewed the Africans, especially those in the urban areas. From an African urban movements' perspective, the views and opinions of the majority of the white contributors to the Commission help in the understanding of the functional environment in which the movements were operating in. It illuminates some of the extreme views and policy opinions dominant among the governing group that help explain the radical shift in the urban movements at this time.

Many settlers believed that the "natives" had not "reached the stage of evolution whereby they can impose themselves upon Europeans without causing ill- will."[12] In fact, they blamed the Federation and the "preaching of partnership and integration plus political advancement"

[10] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Memorandum from Alderman Chas Olley, Salisbury.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

for causing a substantial increase in bad feeling between the races. It was, the opinion of most whites, including MPs, City Councillors and Town Management Board members that; "the native should be kept in his place" that is; the African must be subservient.[13] It was in the context of control and maintenance of law and order, that the preservation of the pass system to enter 'European towns' was amongst some of the key submissions to the Urban Affairs Commission. This policy was encouraged to be actively maintained for fear that the towns would be "flooded with black proletariat and any freedom of entry will unquestionably lead to disorder and will encourage strife between Europeans and Natives."[14] The pass system was thus seen not as a way of "keeping down the natives; but of controlling them until they have evolved in the mass to a much higher standard."[15]

This popular position is best illustrated by a rather lofty submission to the Urban Affairs Commission by Alderman Chas Olley who believed that the "Native cannot rise in responsibility unless he is given the responsibility to try and live."[16] He argued;

> It maybe not be wise to attempt to do for the blacks what God himself has not done. An examination of the veldt will show that animals, reptiles and birds keep to themselves. That largely arises out of the fact that animals are also at different stages of evolution. The situation should not be allowed to grow whereby two towns or townships are in close proximity- the one white and the other black. This unfortunate state of affairs has already come about in Salisbury. An overwhelming number of Natives too close to European towns can be the basis of much distress in the event of their being a clash between the two types of people at different stages of evolution.[17]

He was thus of the opinion that the government was supposed to create additional Native areas a long way from the European residential areas and incidentally "provide the necessary transport plus other amenities to keep the blacks out of mischief."[18]

One Nyasaland government representative, D H McCalman was of the considered opinion that the Advisory Board system was a "satisfactory one but the stage has now been reached

[13] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Northern Rhodesia Government, Labour Office.
[14] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Memorandum from Alderman Chas Olley, Salisbury.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid .

where increasing representation and increased responsibility should be given to the Advisory Boards or their succeeding bodies."[19] He was of the view that the Boards, in their present capacity were of "such limited membership, having regard to the numbers whom they represent, that the views expressed in meetings must suffer from the restricted outlook which such a limit predisposes."[20] He thus recommended that "tribal or at least territorial representatives should be appointed to the boards and that there should also be ward representatives."[21]

H M Gillespie, Principal of Chitsere School in Salibury argued that the rising middle class, consisting of teachers, clerks should have "a better type of home and be differentiated and separated from the less educated classes" and "more elaborate homes, very different from any now seen in Locations should be provided for them."[22] Interestingly, Gillespie also identified, within this middle class group, another more "restless and enterprising section which is far from complacent in accepting such employment and housing as it pleases authority to give it" and that group was "demanding very definite opportunities to control its destiny and to make something advantageous from the opportunities which the modern world would appear to bring into being."[23]

The Labour Office of the Northern Rhodesian government maintained that the present system of administration of African Affairs in urban areas appeared "unfavourable to the stability and development of the African population."[24] The Office also did not see the necessity to obtain a "Pass to seek work" in urban areas because in their view, this caused "an awful waste of man hours and seems to serve little purpose." They also recommended the development of a community spirit among Africans by making them responsible for the control of African Townships through letting the Africans "progress beyond advisory committees and run their

[19] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Answers to Questionnaires attached to Letter numbered COM/112 Sent to D H McCalman, Nyasaland Government Representative in Salisbury in His Private Capacity.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Memorandum Submitted by: H M Gillespie, Principal, Chitsere School, Salisbury.
[23] Ibid .
[24] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Northern Rhodesia Government, Labour Office.

own affairs," unlike the African Advisory Board System which did not give the Africans "responsibility for conduct and control."[25] W J Sampson, a Statistician, in his submission to the Urban Affairs Commission, also favoured the existence of Departments like the Native Affairs Department and African Advisory Boards, in their present advisory form but only to "administer and protect less educated and less civilised Africans." For him; "civilised Africans need no such protection and should be able to administer their own affairs."[26]

One key factor, however emerged from the Urban Affairs Commission and this was with regards to colonial attitude to African abilities especially as far as administration of their own affairs was concerned. The prevailing attitude was that the "Natives are at a low state of civilisation--- lowly evolved" and thus "must be encouraged to follow a life of their own." Segregation was seen as "essential for some time to come" and that;

> civilization was not simply scholastic education. On the contrary, it is the refinement of the Soul--- or the person. It must be remembered that the bulk of the Natives are still in the barbaric stage and some still in the savage condition. Most Rhodesian Natives are a mere one to two stages out of the savage. Such people without an onward creeping movement called background cannot be termed civilised just because they have learned something at school. Hence the necessity for segregation and their own community spirit.[27]

The prevailing conclusion was thus; "It will be many years before the Natives arrive at the stage whereby they can conduct a million pound business or anything like it. When it comes to administration, they must rise slowly as though at school."[28]

The above patronising and condescending opinions and views gleaned from submissions made to the Commission continued to be the guiding principles of colonial authorities' dealings with urban African affairs. The period from 1958, therefore, witnessed very little positive changes with regards to the administration of African Townships. Like before, there was very little participation by the residents in the administration and development of the

[25] Ibid.
[26] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Memorandum Submitted to the Urban Affairs Commission by W J Sampson, Statistician.
[27] NAZ S51/7 Urban Affairs Commission, Answers to Questionnaires, 1957: Memorandum from Alderman Chas Olley, Salisbury.
[28] Ibid.

township. The Municipalities, Town Council, Rural Councils, etc, (in effect European Local Governments) adopted the paternalistic attitude of catering for what they believe were the African needs. In as much as there was general admission among official circles that the Advisory Board system was not working, there was marked resistance in colonial government circles to have the system changed. This in effect, made the Boards become a fora and target of complaints among urban Africans because of their ineffectiveness. The Boards were at the centre of African frustration because they viewed them as feeble and useless.

The Urban Affairs Commission, noting the unproductive nature of the Advisory Boards, recommended that the Boards be replaced by better alternatives. The commission proposed three alternatives.[29] The first one was the creation of autonomous "Native" councils in the African Townships. This proposal was dismissed by the councils as impracticable. The argument advanced was that there was no satisfactory subdivision and because African Townships were impossible of becoming financially independent. The second proposal was direct representation and again, the City Councils felt that White public opinion was against it. The third proposition was to retain the Advisory Board system but increase its power "by providing certain spheres in which the Board's views would prevail."[30] Two very important points were made by the Commission. Firstly, it maintained that; "the urbanisation of the African [was] proceeding apace and the colony must face the fact that the immediate and rapidly growing problems involved have to be met."[31] The second point was a key recommendation that alternatives for the development of African local government were to be considered an option to the Advisory Board system. There was, however, a change of government before the Urban Affairs Commission Report was received. The recommendations of the Report were rejected by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Edgar Whitehead who expressed himself in favour of 'Native" Councils.[32]

As a display of the desire for more administrative powers by the Africans, the post Urban Affairs Commission witnessed an upsurge in enquires about more powers of Advisory Boards

[29] NAZ S51/7, Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Urban Affairs Commission, 1958, p. 108.
[30] Ibid, p. 109.
[31] Ibid, p. 108.
[32] Ibid.

of the Salisbury Municipality from the Advisory Board members. As mentioned earlier, these enquiries were prompted by dissatisfaction among African urban leadership over the low status of these boards. However, the move towards an improved Board system continued to be hampered by resistance from different quarters of colonial administration.

Administration of African Urban areas: The Post Urban Affairs Commission Period

Indeed, the period after the Urban Affairs Commission in 1958 was characterised by serious disagreements especially between the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs with regards to how African townships were to be administered and diverging views dominated the period right up to independence. These differences compounded the slow pace of change in African urban administration and this together with other factors led to a more militant and confrontational stunts from the urban movement which was provoked by the deliberate slow pace of change. On the one hand, the state, through the Ministry of Local Government, held that there was "a creature known as the 'urban African' who resembles his tribal brothers only in pigmentation." That "creature" the Ministry argued; "is now an individual and can now thus confidently operate a system of government designed to meet the needs of and be operated by those from a society based in the individual."[33] On the other hand, the Ministry of Internal Affairs argued that any attempt to have elected and representative African boards was doomed to failure unless the local government was firmly grafted into the tribal system. They categorically claimed that "the whole concept of an African representative body with responsibilities for administration of African Townships in the European areas must be rejected." The Ministry also claimed that such a concept was "foreign to African culture and the tribal system."[34]

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also argued that in the constitution and in the Land Tenure Act, Government had stated its policy of separate development and of separate European

[33] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Draft by the Secretary for Internal Affairs on African Local Government in Townships, 8 July, 1975.
[34] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: Community Development and Local Government in African Townships in the European Areas, by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 27 June, 1971.

and African areas; therefore, this principle was the one that was supposed to dictate policy in other fields. Therefore, in pursuance of this policy, the retention and fostering of the tribal structure and the recognition of the tribal areas as the background, refuge and permanent home of the African were seen as implicit.[35] For them, direct administration, combined with short- term leasing of houses, could cause "more security problems in the long run than some acceptable alternative."[36] Thus, Internal Affairs embraced the view that the 'urban African' was in fact a "group- oriented tribesman who has learned some of the skills of urban living, without cutting himself off from his tribal group, or in fact desiring to do so." The Ministry of Internal Affairs was thus of the opinion that the urban government was to be drafted on the tribal authority. In short, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs' point of view; "the African should be ruled through his own leaders, in accordance with his traditional system."[37]

Officials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs claimed that their position was promoting the use of a "recognised, known and accepted system' and they wanted to use it "as a foundation on which to build" African administration and "not an attempt to return to the 'ox- wagon' days."[38] They also argued that the "Headman", "kraalhead' or councillor system had grown on the mines and was thus bound to be successful in African urban areas. They contended that each major "tribal group' in the township would have its own Headmen who would settle family disputes and when disputes crossed tribal boundaries, "the case" would be tried by a panel of "Headmen", which would, in effect, be the Town Board.[39] Internal Affairs proposed a split of major functions in the African Townships. The landlord and engineering functions would be taken up by the Government and the social functions by "the African." They further proposed that the social functions be divided into "traditional" functions and "evolved" functions. The traditional would be performed within the tribal system and included court work and land allocation.[40]

[35]Ibid
[36] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: African Townships in European Areas: Town Boards from R C Woollcott, Provincial Commissioner Community Development to Mr. N A Hunt.
[37] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Draft by the Secretary for Internal Affairs on African Local Government in Townships, 8 July, 1975.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Notes on African Participation in Township Administration and Development, by F H Dodd, Administrative Officer, Ministry of Internal Affairs, 24 July, 1974.

It is important to examine the position taken by the Ministry of Internal Affairs further because it brings to the fore very important issues with regards to urban Africans. Firstly, Internal Affairs' major source of discomfort was the fact that the system proposed by the Ministry of Local Government of an elected Town Board was based on the nomination of 50 percent of the membership of the board. The Ministry of Internal Affairs feared that "the Nationalists will see to it that only their followers will be nominated."[41] For Internal Affairs, the danger was also that those people considered by government to be suitable "may decline nomination, and/ or that the whole system will be boycotted by the local population." Given such fears, the Ministry preferred the government to ask for nominations from influential groups within the community and select most (if not all) of the appointed members from those persons. In this way, Internal Affairs maintained, the Government was going to be able to control the appointment of 50 percent of the total board but, at the same time, "not be seen as the sole arbiter in the selection of the individuals concerned."[42] More importantly, from the point of view of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, this would have meant that any political party trying to gain control in the normal way would find its task a lot more complicated than in a straight election.[43]

One of the fundamental issues guiding the position of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was the survival of whites in Rhodesia. This survival, according to Internal Affairs, was to be ensured by recognising the principle "that the African is in the European area solely as a worker" and by shunning "any policy which will lead him to think that he has any permanent home in the European area."[44] Internal Affairs held that the policy of separate development based on recognition and an acceptance of, the difference between the races and an acceptance that the European and the African should develop separately, "in their own areas, in terms of their own cultures and at their own pace" was key to the survival of not only the European but the

[41] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Letter from M C Haselthorn, Ministry of Internal Affairs to Mr. Powell.
[42] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: African Townships in European Areas: Town Boards from R C Woollcott, Provincial Commissioner Community Development to Mr N A Hunt.
[43] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: Community Development and Local Government in African Townships in the European Areas, by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 27 June, 1971.
[44] Ibid.

urban African as well.[45] This was because in their opinion the African advanced best in a "tribal atmosphere where his thoughts and actions are affected in terms of a general need or want." To deprive the African of the "tribal blanket," the Ministry argued, was to expose "him to the cold night air of confusion, leading to anarchy and revolution" because the African "is a product of natural selection suited to his environment and to continue his success as a human being, his environment should not be tampered with."[46]

The Ministry of Internal Affairs also maintained that the proposed elected Boards by the Ministry of Local Government was based on the misconception that on leaving his tribal area, or even having been resident in an urban area for a considerable time, the African becomes a different person, in fact a "white man with a black skin."[47] They also argued that the thinking behind the Boards ignored the fundamental principle that these townships were in the European area and that it was vital that the African should not be led to believe that he had permanent rights there.[48] Central to their concerns with regards to elected representative boards for Africans was the fear that such a "western democratic pattern will inevitably give rise to demands by Africans in the European area for more power."[49] Such a scenario, Internal Affairs contended, would have made it impossible to contain the Africans who would have eventually demanded for a "takeover of municipal councils by majority representation."[50] For Internal Affairs, the tribal system in the African urban areas was, therefore, the best method to use if government was "to combat the forces attacking Rhodesia."[51]

The interest in African custom by Internal Affairs went beyond its utility in restructuring African administration. As Alexander observes, the shift away from the 'high modernism' of the NLHA 'required that African society be reconceptualised once again as communal, bound by irrational beliefs, and so incapable of modernisation'.[52] This construction of Africans as

[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: Community Development and Local Government in African Townships in the European Areas, by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 27 June, 1971.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Alexander, *Unsettled Land: State-making and the Politics of Land in Zimbabwe,* p. 63.

cultural 'others' was used to justify denying them full citizenship and treating them as ethnic subjects bound by 'customary' obligation.[53] This strategy was often disguised as a concern for the preservation of African custom. For example, defending racially discriminatory legislation in parliament, Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, argued that the "whole body of so-called racially discriminatory legislation . . . in fact protects the customary social life of the African against unwanted and unwelcome intrusions of European influence."[54] Such policies were contrary to the rising and changing ambitions of the urban movement especially as it was heavily influenced by the broader motivations of the nationalist movement advocating not only for self-governance of African urban areas but for majority rule as well.

Rhodesian Political Economy and its Impact on Urban Movements: 1957- 1980

The Federal boom from 1953 to 1957 was a very successful period for the Southern Rhodesian government. It witnessed increases in wages of the unskilled labour force and the expansion of the Southern Rhodesian economy. Annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 9.3% between 1953 and 1960.[55] This enabled the government "to 'buy off' most sections of the white and black opposition and to undermine African labour protest."[56] The number of manufacturing enterprises increased from 700 in 1953 to 1,300 in 1957 and total employment in manufacturing grew from 35,000 in 1946 to 70,000 in 1953.[57] The 1950s certainly witnessed the expansion of opportunities for small sections of the African elite. But, towards the end of the decade, the limitations of such opportunities for advancement became increasingly apparent and Africans in the urban areas of Salisbury were adversely affected by these political and economic changes. The demographic shifts in the city's population, reflecting the increasing influx of indigenous Africans into the urban area caused the development of a "more organic link between urban and rural politics in Mashonaland." [58] According to Ranger,

[53] J. Comaroff, "Governmentality, Materiality, Legality, Modernity: On the Colonial State in Africa", in J. Deutsch, H. Schmidt and P. Probst (eds), *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate,* Oxford: James Currey, 2002, p. 113.
[54] Cited in C. Palley, "Law and the Unequal Society: Discriminatory Legislation in Rhodesia Under the Rhodesian, Front from 1963 to 1969", *Race and Class*, Vol.12, No.1, 1970, p. 20.
[55] D. Wield, "Manufacturing Industry" in C. Stoneman (ed), *Zimbabwe's Inheritance*, Harare: College Press, 1981, p. 154.
[56]Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965," p. 83.
[57] Wield, "Manufacturing Industry", p. 154.
[58] Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965," p. 83.

in the 1950s "a sense of Shona cultural identity belatedly emerged and this interacted with yet more intense peasant grievance to give the main impetus to African nationalism."[59] All these changes had a huge bearing on the character of urban representation in Salisbury and the nature of its interaction with both local government and the state.

As the impressive growth of the federal economy began to slow down by 1956, with the fall in the price of copper, the rate of growth of the Southern Rhodesian economy began to fall as well. Unemployment amongst African workers increased and this was despite the government's attempt to prevent foreign workers from entering the colony through the Foreign Migratory Labour Act introduced in 1958.[60] The decline in the rate of economic growth was also accompanied by a decline in state subsidies for blacks. For example, the government's expenditure on housing fell from a high of 1.8 million pounds in 1956-57 to just 375,000 pounds a year later.[61] Local government was also hit by shortages of external finance, as loans raised by municipalities shrank from 5 million pounds in 1956-57 to 3 million pounds the next year, with even lower amounts registered during the early 1960s.[62] Salisbury financiers were reluctant to do business in the townships where political emotions were getting worse. Thus, a combination of poor living conditions, nationalist discontent and economic recession sparked riots in Salisbury and elsewhere in July 1960.[63] Politics moved from the squabbles amongst Africans over Federal nominations, to the radical populism of the Youth League. As leaders like Mzingeli, Samkange and Savanhu became embroiled in their participation in Federal politics, a new, young leadership of men like George Nyandoro and James Chikerema emerged in Salisbury.[64] The City Youth League thus rose to challenge both the dominance of an increasingly conservative Mzingeli on the Advisory Board and the leadership of the intellectuals who were participating in multi-racial organisations such as the Capricorn Society and the Inter-Racial Society, dominated by white liberals.[65]

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[59] T. O, Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War*, California: University of California Press, 1985, p. 137.
[60] Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965", p. 87.
[61] Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Advisory Committee: The development of the economic resources of Southern Rhodesia with particular reference to the role of African agriculture.* Salisbury: Southern Rhodesia Ministry of Native Affairs**,** p. 84.
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] These riots are dealt with in more detail below.
[64] Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965", p. 87.
[65] I. Hancock, *White Liberals, Moderates and Radicals in Rhodesia: 1953-1958*, London: St Martins Press, 1984, pp. 39-56.

Busani Mpofu also argues that mass nationalism emerged in colonial Zimbabwe in the 1950s partly as a result of the 1951 Land Husbandry Act that left many Africans landless and drove some into urban areas to look for jobs and also due to opposition to the Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963.[66] In terms of urban politics the major effect of the NLHA was to greatly affect the changes in political leadership in Salisbury, by broadening the debates around territorial nationalism and an extended national identity. The year 1960 was generally widely heralded as the "African Year" in reference to the unprecedented number of African countries that achieved formal independence. Such momentous events inevitably had repercussions in stimulating African political activity and the desire for greater representation and participation in all public spheres, including the Local authority.[67]

The political environment also worsened the situation in Southern Rhodesia. Garfield Todd who was Southern Rhodesia' Prime Minister from 1953 to 1958 was replaced by Edgar Whitehead who was brought in as a compromise candidate for the United Federal Party. Blake argues that Todd's defeat marked a turning point in Rhodesian history because "given the intensely personal nature of Rhodesian politics, only Todd could at that moment have taken, to bring the educated, politically conscious African into the political system," and it had seemed possible that under him, African nationalist leaders would "accept partnership and try to become part of 'the political nation.'"[68] Robert Blake, quotes Nathan Shamhuyarira's, *Crisis in Rhodesia* to illustrate this point. In it, Shamhuyarira stated the following; "The years of hope for peaceful co-operation and swift progress towards racial equality- or better, a non-racial state- were over. Whitehead might prove to be as liberal as Todd, who knew? But he had come to power on a wave of reaction, and Africans had lost faith in partnership.[69]

[66] B. Mpofu, "No Place for 'Undesirables'; The Urban Poor's Struggle for Survival in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, 1960-2005", PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2010, p. 58.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia,* p. 313.
[69] *Ibid.*

For Whitehead, African advancement was a pre- condition of Britain's consent to 'independence.'[70] However, many of the European electorate and Whitehead's own supporters thought that he too was too 'soft' over law and order. He was confronted on one hand by a white opposition party which demanded European independence with little regard to African advancement, and, on the other hand, by an African movement which demanded African independence with little regard either to white interests or to law and order. Whitehead was, therefore, defeated in 1962 elections by Winston Field of the radical Rhodesia Front. Indeed, Blake cites the first party Congress of the Rhodesia Front party since its victory in September 1963 at which delegates displayed an "intense resentment of criticism which they equated with treachery to the country, and much determination to reverse the steps towards African advancement taken, however, haltingly, by the Whitehead government."[71] Winston Field had campaigned on a platform of the preservation of the Land Apportionment Act, rejection of 'forced integration' and opposition to "'dominance by the African of the European before he has acquired adequate knowledge and experience of democratic government.'"[72] Blake argues that the extreme statements of Nkomo and other nationalist leaders during this time, the apparently endemic violence in the townships and the reserves, the events in the Congo, the Mau Mau atrocities in Kenya all contributed to make this seem a reasonable programme.[73]

It is important to note that the Rhodesia Front, especially under Field, did not deny forever the possibility of African political control. That extreme position was to come later. All that Winston Field argued for was slowing down of political advancement which Whitehead was alleged to be pushing too far and too fast. Field was replaced by the yet more radical Ian Smith in 1964, who remained Prime Minister until 1979. Smith's first step was to clamp down hard as he could on the African nationalists and anything linked to them. This dealt a huge blow on the operations of the residents' movements. For Smith, the terrorism and lawlessness in the townships warranted drastic action and he exploited to the full the formidable powers which had been conferred on the executive branch of government by the Legislative Assembly

[70] Blake, *A History of Rhodesia,* p. 337.
[71] *Ibid,* p. 354.
[72] *ibid,* p. 342.
[73] *Ibid.*

during the past few years. The principal nationalists were either jailed or put into restriction and many of them were to be there for over ten years. The pro- nationalist newspaper, the *Daily News*, was banned- and the two nationalist parties were declared to be illegal organisations.[74] It should also be noted that many supporters of the Rhodesia Front were emphatic opponents of multi racialism and of African political advancement in the foreseeable future.

In 1965, the Smith led RF Government issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence. Smith had the belief that he could manage to bring the Africans down.[75] The unsettled nature of white politics during this period was due to intensifying pressure of African nationalists' politics within and outside Southern Rhodesia and the desire of different communities of white settlers to safeguard their interests by forestalling any competition from Africans.[76] From 1958 onwards, and especially under the Rhodesia Front government, white settler politics consolidated and hardened around one issue – resistance to majority rule. The period from 1960 to 1980 was, therefore, labelled the "turbulent years" in the history of local government authorities in Southern Rhodesia because nationalist activities proved a fertile ground for breeding urban Africans discontent that eventually led to the passing of draconian legislation which, in turn, had a huge bearing on the operations of the different African urban organisations.

The Rhodesia Front Party (RF) had indeed emerged when a number of right-wing white groups came together in response to internal and external processes which they perceived as threats to continued white dominance in the country.[77] Regionally, the dissolution of the Central African Federation was imminent, and with the British government ready to grant independence to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, it seemed evident that Southern Rhodesia would follow. Internally, white dominance also seemed threatened by the United Federal Party led by Edgar Whitehead. Not only had it introduced the 1961 constitution, which

[74] *Ibid*, p. 363.
[75] F. Cooper, *Africa since 1940; The Past and the Present,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 136.
[76] Mpofu, "No Place for 'Undesirables", p. 58.
[77] G. H. Karekwaivanane, "'It Shall be the Duty of Every African to Obey and Comply Promptly': Negotiating State Authority in the Legal Arena, Rhodesia 1965–1980", Journal *of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2011, p. 336.

appeared to pave the way for African majority rule, but it was also planning to repeal the Land Apportionment Act, long considered to be the 'Magna Carta' of the settler community.[78] In addition, growing political unrest affected the urban areas and these unrests were now embedded in a language of self-determination, majority rule and rights.

The rebellion of 1965 fundamentally was an attack on the urban Africans and all they had hoped to achieve from colonial government. Acts of defiance against the state, such as riots, and petrol bombings, became widespread culminating in a fully-fledged guerrilla war by the early 1970s. These acts of opposition to settler rule were met with brutal repression by the Rhodesian state. At the legal level, the state's response took two main forms. The first was an increasing reliance on repressive legislation. Where political unrest was concerned, a number of laws inherited from the Whitehead government were put to extensive use.[79] These included the Unlawful Organisations and the Preventive Detention Acts, both passed in 1959, as well as the Law and Order (Maintenance) and the Emergency Powers Acts passed in 1960. These acts were repeatedly amended through the 1960s and 1970s to provide state officials with extensive powers to suppress African opposition to the state. The Emergency Powers Act, for example, was used to impose a near permanent state of emergency and allowed the executive to amend laws without parliament's involvement or approval. Over time, a wide range of acts of opposition to settler rule were deemed criminal and made punishable by death or lengthy imprisonment. The International Defence and Aid Fund estimated that in 1976 approximately 3,000 people were incarcerated for political and ideological reasons. This number included 960 who were held under preventive detention and 58 who had been sentenced to death.[80]

The European fears that pushed towards the radicalization of the colonial state from the 1960s were an inevitable and natural reaction to events in Africa and Southern Rhodesia during the 1960s. European interests were seriously under threat in Africa during this period from the "winds of change" that were sweeping across the continent. However, as events elsewhere in Africa influenced the Europeans, so also did they influence a majority of Africans

[78] *Ibid*.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Munochiveyi, *"'Prisoners of Rhodesia'*, p. 30.

of Southern Rhodesia but in a very different way. While Europeans looked at these events with fear and apprehension, for Africans they were an inspiration and a guide. In the government, the fear translated itself into a determination to preserve peace and order at all costs. Barber maintains that this determination "coloured all government actions during the 1960s."[81] Paradoxically, instead of completely obliterating African political organisations, the Rhodesian regimes' continued prohibitions of African political formations only propelled nationalist leaders to seek alternative routes to achieving the goal of black majority rule. One such route remained the urban arena where most of these organisations continued to exert their influence through the advisory and township boards. Thus, although the guerrilla war front quickly became the most important site of struggle, political activists inside Rhodesia creatively established others especially in the urban townships. The course of events in the Advisory Boards and residents' associations in the African Townships in Salisbury reflected this in a big way.

From the 1960s and onwards, for example, Board affairs were increasingly subjected to political influences which emanated from the nationalist parties emerging at the time.[82] This was shown by the growing absence from Board meetings, procrastination in discussions, negative attitude to proposals and an unwillingness to take responsibility for decisions. Other reasons which contributed to this feeling and behaviour by Board members was that they felt they were being used by the Council to rubber stamp their decisions especially in the face of the nationalist onslaught. There was also constant pressure from the public and the different political parties which accused the Boards of being ineffectual. When unpopular decisions were made, Board members were blamed and in some instances, unfortunate board members were labelled as sell-outs by the public and political parties and were sometimes physically threatened. African elites realised that the boards could not participate in urban local government because they were being used by the colonial government. These attacks on the boards led the members to campaign for direct representation. Board members felt that the City Councils became conservative after change of government in 1962. The situation led to poor turnouts during Advisory Board elections.

[81] J Barber, *Rhodesia, The Road to Rebellion*, oxford University Press, London, 1967, p. 54.
[82] These political influences are the subject of greater discussion much later on.

The different political groupings also staged rent boycotts, damaged municipal water meters and withdrew children from urban schools in protest at fee increases. In the minds of nationalists, local Council problems were part of broader national political problems.[83] Unfortunately, confronting the colonial power directly became more difficult as African leaders failed to unite. Although Africans had only vague ideas of nationalism in the early 1950s, they understood colonial subjugation, which made them a collective oppressed 'other'. The denial of political power to African elites made some of them identify with the masses, thus undermining colonial efforts at dividing and ruling. From 1957, as African political leaders made inroads on the urban Advisory Boards, these Boards, together with tenants associations, became political platforms to lobby for African representation in urban administration. The failure of this project led to a boycott of the Boards and the beginning of the politics of sabotage and violent political confrontation. The Advisory Board experience nonetheless showed the organisational power of the African nationalists.[84]

Thus as a result of African impatience with the pace of reforms and in opposition to increased repression, new black political parties had formed. They agitated both politically and violently sometimes resorting to sporadic acts of sabotage. At the forefront of this move was the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. It was shortly joined by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), a breakaway group under Ndabaningi Sithole. The urban movements were thus caught up in this state of affairs and operated side by side or in union with the bigger nationalist projects. This did not mean that the urban movement was subjected to a place of less importance. Rather, it only meant that urban issues were confronted in a different and variegated context in which it was decided, in the spirit of the nationalist movements, not to ask for half measures but to demand the whole package of self-determination with regards to township matters.

Urban Movements, Violence and the Rise of Nationalism

[83] For a more comprehensive discussion of the violence in the African urban areas, see Scarnecchia, T*he Urban Roots of Democracy.*

[84] Msindo, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe", p. 290

To properly understand the disposition of the urban movements, it is important to provide a background of the political developments of the period in question, especially as it relates to the rise of African nationalism. According to Barber, the growth of a large African urban population encouraged African organisations.[85] These organisations were stimulated and shaped by the major political and ideological changes which swept through Africa after the Second World War, and found their expression in the nationalist movements. Indeed, African nationalism impacted heavily on the direction and character of urban representation from the 1960s onwards. With the rise of national political consciousness characteristic of the late 1950s, Advisory Board positions were politicized further. These provided a platform from which African nationalists questioned the colonial government and lobbied for direct African representation in urban administration. In Salisbury, in the late 1950s a number of this growing class of nationalists were composed of highly qualified teachers, clerks and football referees, social workers, artisans/cabinet makers and shop owners. Most of them had complaints, particularly lower pay than white workmates. In addition, some African graduates were underemployed, and at times supervised by untrained white personnel.[86] Perhaps most importantly, black urban elites lacked political power, which made them identify more with the poor African masses than with their rulers. Because their intellectual position and experiences afforded them a more privileged and more informed interpretation of current political affairs, they became an African 'think tank', and provided a wider ranging and nuanced political perspective to the urban movements. Their contributions to the numerous Township meetings showed an intelligent grasp of colonial problems, which was important not only to an emerging nationalist ideology but also to the urban movements as well.[87] The Chief Native Commissioner's 1956 report alluded to 'a growing nationalism among Africans'.[88] It was this nationalism that influenced the direction that the urban movements were to take.

For example, as a highlight of the success of the ANC in gaining a foothold of the township, by 1959 a security report on ANC activities in Salisbury read; "... in and around Salisbury, Congress generally succeeds in attracting large crowds who applaud the extreme statements

[85] Barber, *Rhodesia, The Road to Rebellion*, p. 12.
[86] J. Nkomo, *The Story of My Life,* London: Methuen Publishing Limited, 1984, p. 41.
[87] Such contributions are abound in the African Press and examples of such are found in the following: *Bantu Mirror*, 14 Jan. 1950, ; *Bantu Mirror*, 29 Mar. 1952; *Bantu Mirror*, 26 July 1952, *Bantu Mirror*, 9 Oct. 1954,
[88] *The Bantu Mirror*, 14 April, 1956.

of speakers."[89] Msindo cites the example of the ANC which fielded candidates to contest in the 1958 Bulawayo Advisory Board elections barely a year after its formation.[90] Likewise, in Salisbury, the African Boards provided the newly formed nationalists parties with a platform to gain a foothold in township affairs and in influencing national politics. Such participation in urban affairs, through the African Boards, remained the general trend at least until 1964 when most nationalists decided to boycott the Boards, opting for a more confrontational approach. Interestingly, the colonial authorities were slow to realize the force of African nationalists' opinion in the late 1950s, and the extent to which these new politicians had infiltrated the Advisory Boards. For example, the Native Department had considered urban African politicians as just a group of unorganised "rabid, fanatical power-seeking"[91] and "tub-thumping traders in politics ..., hurling invectives and insults against Europeans… [and] issuing insults against any native who might take a different view."[92]

The realisation of the inroads that the nationalist movement had made was comprehended by Dr. Ashton, the Director of African Administration, who made a telling comment on this development: "For the first time, politics has entered local affairs in that several NDP leaders contested the Advisory Board with active Party support. About half of them were successful. At first they adopted an intransigent party line, impermeable to facts, but with experience and participation they gradually mellowed to a more constructive and practical approach."[93] The new Advisory Board members of the late 1950s and early 1960s, unlike their earlier non-political counterparts, were largely leaders of the ANC, NDP and ZAPU with a sense of a wider political mission. They wanted a share of power as city councillors in the African Locations, perhaps as a pilot project to demonstrate the administrative capacity of Africans.[94]The debates held and recommendations made by the Boards between 1959 and 1964 show that African leaders never lost sight of their political mission. In Highfield and Salisbury Location, the Congress had started dominating the Advisory Board election by 1957. In 1958, the Mabvuku Advisory Board enjoyed a close relationship with the Congress and in Highfield;

[89] NAZ, F120/725/L343/1 Security Situation Reports 30/12/59.
[90] Msindo, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe: Bulawayo, 1950 to 1963," p. 284.
[91] Quoted in *Ibid.*
[92] Quoted in *Ibid.*
[93] Quoted in *Ibid,* p. 285.
[94] *Ibid* p. 287.

three-quarters of the 18 member Ratepayers Association were active ANC members.[95] In cases where local businessmen refused to assist the Congress, they were moved from membership of the Highfield Trading Association and replaced by people more sympathetic to ANC objectives. Moreover people were told not to purchase goods from shopkeepers who were not members of Congress.[96]

The influence of the political parties in township politics was revealed by the growing colonial authorities' anxiety with ANC' activities with regards to township affairs. This uneasiness was demonstrated in a memorandum concerned with the possible creation of Town Boards from R C Woollcott, the Provincial Commissioner of Community Development in 1959.[97] Woollcott suggested that "the best way to spike the ANC guns would be for government to prohibit participation by political parties in local government throughout the country."[98] He recommended for this to be done "before the ANC make their intentions public" thus making it "very difficult for them to gain control of African councils or urban town boards."[99] Of importance was the revealing question that Woollcott presented in his memorandum: "What exactly does this political party hope to achieve by gaining control of local authorities?" He proffered the answer that the political parties relished the; "thought of being able to make their presence felt in local matters and use this vehicle as a training ground for bigger things, but also that they desire to build up the party's image by being able to take credit for any worthwhile projects."[100] He further reasoned: "If this is so, a declaration by Government that party politics in local authorities is out would go a long way towards negating these ambitions."[101]

Of interest to note is the fact that government was anticipating "some form of clandestine manoeuvring" which would result in "ANC sympathisers being elevated to the position of councillor wherever possible, irrespective of the fact that the Party was unable to participate

[95] Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965", p. 89.
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Memorandum: African Townships in European Areas: Town Boards from R C Woollcott, Provincial Commissioner Community Development to Mr N A Hunt.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

openly."[102] Again there was a resigned acceptance on the part of government that "most, if not all, councillors in the African Council system are already ANC supporters and to a considerable degree likely to be influenced by Party Policies."[103] The government was, however, not concerned by that because; "unless the ANC can openly take credit for the achievements of a local authority, there would seem to be little advantage to be gained by the party in this direction."[104] Conversely, it was their reasoning that "if this Political Party were to try and wreck the council system by manipulating resistance to certain functions of these councils, the result could only be to the detriment of the African in general."[105] In such a position, it was articulated that any attempts by the ANC or any party to resist "the education system would result in a closing of schools and resistance to any aspect of health policy could result in a closing of clinics."[106]

The Advisory Boards in Salisbury adopted a policy of passive resistance to the Council. This included boycotting meetings, cancelling meetings for lack of a prepared agenda and delaying bringing their recommendations to the Council, arguing that they were taking matters back to 'the people'. The Director of African Administration thought that the tendency to defer to 'the people' was a response to Boards' fear of the increasingly popular Tenants Associations, which he observed as having become "a feature of African political life in the African townships"[107]. Msindo argues that this popular imagination of African power by the nationalists and attempts to democratize a colonial institution (Advisory Boards) was consistent with the politics of moderation and cooperation adopted by African politicians before the 1963 ZAPU-ZANU split.[108] Because moderation did not work, African opinion turned against it and political leaders began to withdraw from the Advisory Boards. What also annoyed the Board members were attempts to have them endorse rent increases in 1964, which they knew would make them more unpopular. Consequently, they resigned in protest and campaigned for the boycott of boards' elections. This stance led to the collapse of the

[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] NAZ SRG 3/ INT 4, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Two Year Period Ended 30/6/1962, p. 3.
[108] Msindo, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Urban Colonial Zimbabwe", p. 288.

Advisory Board system from 1964 to 1968, when it slowly revived. With the temporary end of the Boards, coordinated underground urban activism increased.[109]

Following the banning of the ANC, the National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed in 1960. Amongst its many goals were improvements in African housing and education, an issue that resonated very well with the already established urban movements. A significant aspect of the formation of the NDP was the stronger representation of the intellectual elite within its ranks. One of the high ranking officials of the party, Bernard Chidzero, commented that "it was time for the middle class, to realise that it has a vital role to play in the destiny of the Africans - it is the spear head and the tool of the masses, and must never lose sight of the fact."[110] The NDP quickly established itself, especially in Salisbury. Its existence was, however, short-lived as it was banned in December 1961 to be replaced by the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Like the NDP before it, ZAPU also quickly made its presence felt in the townships raising the ire of the Director of African administration who complained that "... there has been a pronounced upsurge of politics on an unprecedented scale."[111] He cited the methods that the Party used to project itself such that "its political beliefs and dogmas have been insinuated into almost every facet of Township Administration, and has been such that it has permeated into the lives of the whole community."[112] The Advisory Boards became one of the best conduits through which ZAPU could exert its impact in addition to the "unauthorised Civic and Tenants Associations and ….trade Unions" which were "similarly loaded with politics."[113] In addition to the reported "infiltration" of the African Boards and Trade Unions, the Nationalist movement threatened rent boycotts and created community schools in Harare and Mabvuku. The latter were composed of school drop-outs and those considered to be in the city illegally and became fora for nationalist mobilisation amongst the youth.[114]

[109] *Ibid.*
[110] Quoted in Raftopolous, "Nationalism and Labour in Salisbury 1953-1965," p. 90.
[111] NAZ SRG 3/ INT 4, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Two Year Period Ended 30/6/1962, p. 3.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

The rise of the nationalist movements also impacted the urban movement when it made the government increase its repression of what it deemed African subversive activities. This saw the promulgation of a remarkable collection of security legislation. In the name of maintaining law and order, much of it was designed to prevent any protest or other political expression or activity by Africans directed against colonial authorities. In the ten years preceding UDI there were six declarations of a state of emergency, each of three months' duration and since UDI in 1965, there was a continuous state of emergency.[115] The 1959 Unlawful Organisations Act (UOA), for example, outlawed certain organisations. It provided for the banning of organisations if their activities were deemed "likely" to disturb public order, "prejudice" the tranquillity of the nation, endanger "constitutional government," or "promote feelings of ill will or hostility" between the races. Furthermore, the UOA outlawed any organisation that was "controlled by or affiliated to or participates in the activities or promotes the objects or propagates the opinions of any organisation outside the colony."[116] The executive's banning of an organisation was "not open to question in any court of law," and the burden of proving that one was not a member of a banned organisation fell on the accused. Attendance at a meeting or possession of books, writings, accounts, documents, banners, or insignia "relating to an unlawful organisation" were prima facie evidence of membership "until the contrary is proved." This Act declared ten organisations, including all the African nationalist Movements and Parties to be unlawful.[117] Finally, the act provided for the complete indemnification of police and civil servants for actions connected with enforcing the measure. Between 1960 and 1965, 1,610 Africans were prosecuted and 1,002 convicted under this law. However, this tough stance by government, in the words of the Tredgold Commission, "only served to embitter the African majority."[118]

Another piece of tough legislation that was also introduced by the colonial government in reaction to the rise of the nationalist movement and had a direct impact on the urban movements was the Preventive Detention Act (PDA).[119] This was introduced to continue the

[115] *Racial Discrimination and Repression in Southern Rhodesia*, A Legal Study by the International Commission of Jurists, London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1976, p. 34.
[116] Legislative Assembly Debates, 25 June 1959, Col. 234.
[117] *Racial Discrimination and Repression in Southern Rhodesia*, p. 37
[118] Gargett, "Welfare Services," p. 168.
[119] Quoted in J. R. T. Wood*, 'So far and no Further! Rhodesia's bid for Independence during the retreat from Empire, 1959- 1965*, Johannesburg: 3O Degrees South Publishers, 2005, p. 49.

detention of ANC members who had been arrested and held without charge during the 1959 state of emergency. The act authorised the detention of persons "concerned," "associated," or "supporting" "any of the activities of any organisation which led to the present state of emergency" and persons considered "potentially dangerous to public safety or public order."[120] This effectively meant that belonging to the flourishing African residents' associations and other African urban groupings was, by law, deemed illegal and punishable by detention because of these associations' support of and association with the nationalist organisations. The Native Affairs Amendment Act, was also introduced in 1959 to prohibit any "native" from making statements or acting in a way "likely to undermine the authority" of, or bring into "disrepute," governmental officials, chiefs, or headmen.[121] The act abolished meetings of twelve or more "natives" without the permission of the Native Commissioner. This act severely curtailed the freedom of speech of the majority and made many feel that they had no or very little lawful mechanism of having their grievances addressed. Thus, the meetings which were central to the urban movement, became unlawful, thus further curtailing the momentum of the movement.

As an illustration of the impact of the pieces of legislation, Rubben Jamela, a trade union leader during this period described how the movements lapsed in 1959 because "we had been thrown into detention" because "we played a part in township politics, unionism and nationalism."[122] Thus when the nationalist politicians were arrested in 1959, Jamela and others involved in township politics were also arrested. He further describes how trade unionism and township politics reached a "low ebb as people felt it was an offence" to belong to a trade union and participate in township politics.[123] He recalled how township people cited his case and "that of Maluleke who had been arrested as well" to demonstrate the dangers of labour and township activism. Paradoxically, Jamela also cites the increased activism in 1960 as a result of the formation of the National Democratic Party which "accounted for the high level of trade union activity during this period." Thus the rise and fall of trade unionism and township activism was intricately linked to the rise and fall of

[120] *Ibid.*
[121] Quoted in E. M. Sibanda, *The Zimbabwe African People's Union, 1961- 87: A Political history of Insurgency in Southern Rhodesia*, Asmara: Africa World Press, 2005, p. 52- 53.
[122] NAZ AOH/ 63, Interview Held with Mr. Rubben Jamela, by Dawson Mujeri on 11 January, 1980.
[123] Ibid.

nationalism. For Jamela; "the fire of trade unionism spreads and fades off in relation to the political situation and when political parties were banned in 1962-3, trade unionism reached a low ebb. Because of the divisions in the African nationalist movement in 1963, there was a low ebb in trade unionism."[124]

Advisory Boards, Township Boards and Residents' Associations: Urban Violence and the Politics of Self- Administration, 1960- 1980

In a large measure, the Advisory Boards, which were meant to be the conduit of African contribution in urban affairs and symbols of African participation in the administration of their affairs in the townships had major operational shortcomings. The African Advisory Board members acted as a link between Africans and the white councillors and while Board members usually consulted the people and conveyed their wishes to the councillors, they were also colonial mouthpieces, taking council decisions to the Africans. It was the latter role of being the colonial mouthpiece that attracted a lot of disdain and contempt for the Boards among the urban Africans. This disdain and scorn was to increase with the intensification of the nationalist movement which used sell out politics to castigate any African with links to the colonial order. Thus the period from the 1960s onwards witnessed a rigorous campaign by the urban Africans to have more responsibility in the conduct of local government and the African Advisory Boards was seen as lacking in that regard. In fact, it was increasingly seen as a stumbling block for African ambitions for increased participation in local government and eventual autonomy. However, despite such pressure, no significant changes were made by the colonial government towards African participation in urban local government and the conditions under which Board members operated gradually became difficult in this period. After the UDI Africans were left in a worse off position than before. It was a new era in which African advancement in any field was seen as capitulation in favour of majority rule. Discussions towards autonomous development in the Advisory Boards of the Salisbury Municipality were discouraged by the City Council and seen as unrealistic.

[124] Ibid.

The African Advisory Boards thus virtually collapsed in the 1960s and onwards and central to their collapse was pressure from the nationalist movement which regarded them as anti-progress. Board operations also came under growing pressure from the colonial government who viewed the members with suspicion because of their links with the nationalist movement. Indeed, the political situation in the country led to the resignation of a majority of Board members. For example, the Mufakose Advisory Board which was established in November 1961, for the new African Township of Mufakose did not leave long before it resigned.[125] When the Board was established, a new residents association, the Mufakose Civic Association, came into being which opposed it. This Association was allied to ZAPU and its executives were also ZAPU branch officials.[126] By the end of 1962, the Advisory Board for Mufakose had ceased to function as no nominations were received for a bye- election. The ZAPU dominated Mufakose Civic Association replaced the Advisory Board and it promised to deal with all matters affecting the residents and to set up a new structure in the African residential area of Mufakose which would be keeping in with the financial ability of the residents as well as determining rents.[127] Among other things, the Civic Association aimed at the abolition of Advisory Boards in favour of Town Management Boards and to deal with matters of health and education. It also wanted to control and use beerhall funds and rents and according to the constitution of the Mufakose Civic Association, Advisory Board members did not qualify to become members.[128]

A similar association, the Mabvuku Residents Association was also set up in the African township of Mabvuku with the consequent resignation of the area's Advisory Board. Although the resignation was explained to be a result of the City Council's indecision on African participation in urban local government, the Board's resignation was largely as a result of pressure from this newly formed, ZAPU dominated, residents' association. Maburukwa, who was the Chairman of the Association was also the leader of ZAPU's Chizhanje District.[129] The Mufakose and Mabvuku Advisory Boards collapsed mainly because of two reasons. Firstly,

[125] NAZ SRG 3/ INT 4, City of Salisbury, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Year Ended 30th June, 1962, p. 30.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.

ZAPU members saw them as collaborating with the colonial government and secondly; the Boards were very unpopular amongst the residents. The Board members were thus under severe pressure from residents and ZAPU to either disengage from the board or promote ZAPU's political agenda in it. On the other hand, the government's hardening stance towards any signs of African dissent also contributed to the resignation of some members of the Boards. For example, Board members J Musamba and S Maponga of the Mabvuku Advisory Board were interned in 1960 by the colonial government under the Emergency Regulations and had to resign.[130]

In 1963, as the Mabvuku and Mufakose Advisory Boards elections were boycotted, only the Harare Advisory Board continued to function. Residents were encouraged by the nationalist not to put across nominations because it was seen to be not in the interest of urban Africans.[131] Indeed, seeing the resignation of the Board members and the apathy by the Africans with regards to Boards affairs, the City of Salisbury's Director of African Administration observed in 1964 that; "It is more than conceivable that 1964 will be the end of these boards."[132] Indeed, between 1965 and 1966 only the Harare Advisory Board was functioning. The Mabvuku Advisory Board was only resuscitated in 1967 and efforts by the City Council to resuscitate the Mufakose Advisory Board failed. From 1967 to 1970, therefore, it was only the Harare and Mabvuku Advisory Boards which scarcely continued to function.

The increased violence in the urban areas of Salisbury also hugely impacted the operations of the African Boards in particular and African urban representation in general. Scarnercchia contends that the lack of safety for township residents had begun to take its toll on collective action and people's willingness to attend rallies, strikes and protests.[133] As mentioned earlier, the state, in direct response to the violence, enacted several pieces of legislation that was meant to deal with the rise of violence, especially in the urban areas. For example, the arrest in mid- 1960 of several NDP leaders led to serious riots in Salisbury- where some 2000 Africans

[130]NAZ SRG 3/ INT 4, City of Salisbury, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Year Ended 30th June, 1960, p. 2.
[131] NAZ SRG 3/ INT 4, City of Salisbury, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Year Ended 30th June, 1964, p. 5.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy,* p. 152.

attempted to march to the centre of the city.[134] Seven of the rioters were shot dead and about 60 to 70 were wounded by gun shots fired by security forces. The rioters also looted and destroyed the township's two African beer halls, and also did the same to shops owned by Indian and Coloured people in African areas. The Highfields African Township Cocktail bar lounge was stoned because an African had been denied admission because he did not meet the required dress code or standard.[135] Africans in Gwelo (Gweru) also rioted on the 9th of October 1960 following an NDP meeting in the Gwelo Township and set alight 3 bakeries, Bata shoes factory and the Gwelo Location superintendent's house.[136] Ironically, it was State repression that had deepened African alienation from the colonial government; a fact which promoted the idea among a majority of Africans that peaceful political organising was not to be the best way to confront the government.

However, the violence that broke out in Gwelo and Salisbury in October 1960 gave impetus to justify the colonial thinking that regarded urban African workers as posing a serious threat to authorities. Writing in 1958 for example, G. H. Hartley had argued that the great body of the "illiterate migrant class" of Africans in urban areas still required administrative control, guidance and above all, discipline in the interests of law and order.[137] He highlighted that the administration must always recognise that these people formed:

> "in our midst a volatile mob of primitive and undisciplined beings, whose actions in time of unrest are quite unpredictable and whose attitude to the emotional stimulations are so naïve that inevitably they constitute a potential menace in what are generally peaceful family communities. When they do lose control of themselves, they wreak indiscriminate damage chiefly upon the persons of their own people."[138]

The riots in Gwelo and Salisbury (Harare) were thus the catalyst for the promulgation of a number of repressive laws that further alienated the Africans and changed the way they dealt with colonial authorities. For example, anticipating more trouble, a week before the passing of the Vagrancy Act, Prime Minister Sir Whitehead moved European troops into African townships in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gwelo and proposed drastic steps to control

[134] Munochiveyi, *Prisoners of Rhodesia*, p. 30.
[135] *The Chronicle*, 10 October 1960.
[136] Mpofu "No Place for 'Undesirables", p. 61.
[137] G. Hartley, "The Development of an Urban African Community" in *NADA*, Vol. 35, 1958, p. 91.
[138] *Ibid* .

lawlessness that included powers to deport undesirable Africans from outside Southern Rhodesia, extending police powers including powers to impose a curfew, considering stoning of cars tantamount to attempted murder liable to a minimum of five years in jail, powers to send "African hooligans, spivs and loafers" to rehabilitation centres and banned all public meetings.[139] Thus the Vagrancy Bill and Emergency Powers Bill meant to facilitate the campaign to root out hooligans, loafers and spivs from the townships were ready for the first time in the assembly on Wednesday 19 October, 1960.[140]

Violence in the urban areas forced the colonial authorities to change their tactics from previous attempts at pacifying Africans to the outright show of force. According to an article in *Property and Finance,* authored by a former city administrator; "an end to the nonsense of appeasement ha[d] now become essential for political and financial stability."[141] It went on to claim that "White citizens [were] sick of black demands, black threats, black posturing, black insults and subversion and impudent black political faces appearing almost daily in the newspapers, as represented or lauded by the ANC."[142] The article also demanded that the Prime Minister and his cabinet make it clear to all that:

1. European interests are again to be paramount in the European half of the country, especially in the towns.
2. That the process of enforced racial integration will be reversed.
3. That in the interest of domestic peace and security, Muzorewa and his gang will be put firmly in their place as will other of like intent
4. That, if Africans want "advancement" despite their birth right, from now on they will have to show what they intend to do about it themselves, in their own communities. [143]

The year 1971, saw the enactment of the Urban Councils Act which established Township Boards. The act was amended in 1972, 1973 and 1974. The aim of the above act was "to

[139] *The Chronicle*, 14 October 1960.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] *Property and Finance*, No. 210, August 1973.
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] *Ibid.*

confer functions and powers and impose duties upon municipal and town councils and local boards; to provide for the administration of African Townships and the "development of local government there in."[144] The Township Board provided for the holding of elections of African members and it had a provision for collecting money through fees, charges and rates within its area. The Township board had both advisory and executive functions.

The Urban Councils Act aimed at removing the discrepancies of the Advisory Boards and allowing for autonomy in the African residential areas. The government was reluctant to face up to its implications. In as much as the authorities were uncertain about African participation in urban local government, it was clear that it was not interested in African autonomy and advancement in urban administration. Debates between the Ministry of Local Government and the Ministry of Internal Affairs demonstrated the discomfort with executive Town Boards for Africans. The Minister of Local Government, for example, was in favour of the establishment of African Township Boards and he was of the opinion that the promotion of Township Boards in selected African Townships was to be encouraged.[145] On the other hand, the Ministry of Internal Affairs was uncomfortable with the Ministry of Local Government's proposal to establish township Boards as the standard form of African Local Government.[146] Internal Affairs' major worry was with regards to the sort of powers, rights and duties these Boards would have and they were also especially concerned with Local Government's preference of the use of "'democratic' elections on Western lines," in which all ratepayers were to be allowed to vote.[147] The Ministry of Internal Affairs, for its part preferred to establish African councils set up under the African Councils Act. Membership of African Councils would include the local chiefs and any headman ex officio. [148] In short, Internal Affairs preferred "representation of the Tribal leaders in the towns."[149] The following key questions raised by the Ministry of Internal Affairs ministry summarise their concern over the establishment of African Town Boards:

[144] Urban Councils Act, 1971.
[145] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Speech Delivered by the Minister of Local Government, 8 July, 1975.
[146] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Draft by the Secretary for Internal Affairs on African Local Government in Townships, 8 July, 1975.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] NAZ, S3700/106/17, African Local Government in Townships: Letter From M C Haselthorn, Ministry of Internal Affairs to Mr. Powell

1. Would not the African members meet unofficially without the European members?
2. Can we then exclude aliens from voting or becoming members of a Board on the grounds that they are not Rhodesian citizens?
3. Is it envisaged that these Boards will act in an Advisory capacity only or will they have certain executive powers and functions?
4. With regards to home ownership, we have advocated that this should not be possible in the European area.
5. A direct relationship between Tribal Authorities and most of the leaders in the towns might have unfortunate consequences.[150]

The indecision which pervaded the local government scene was engendered by the local government's policy on community development which was not clear.[151] It should be noted that the policy of Community Development should be placed in its proper context, especially if it is analysed in the context of African urban areas. It was mainly the Rhodesia Front government which placed great emphasis on Community development. This policy was introduced by the United Front Party government but the Rhodesia Front recognized it and laid much greater emphasis on it. James Barber argues that some Rhodesia Front supporters saw Community Development as a "cure for all ills, a magic formula by which Africans could develop without challenging the existing social structure."[152] However, it should be noted that the Rhodesia Front government's policy of community development offered little for urban Africans. The Director of Housing and Amenities in Bulawayo reported in 1965 that: "Little has been heard of the government's community development policy, which in a number of places was said to be moving into the active stage."[153] Barber also argues that there was no easy

[150] Ibid.
[151] The introduction of Community Development policy in 1962, coincided with a genuine if short-lived trend towards greater liberalism in Rhodesian politics. It was a time when the country seemed close to legal independence from Great Britain, and the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, in an address to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations, announced the intention of his Government to end all racial discrimination, and in particular, to repeal the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which had been the cornerstone of segregation between the races. (It was this declared intention, according to Lord Malvern, which caused the backlash reaction of the White electorate and the victory of the Rhodesian Front.) This was also a period of heightened political tension engendered by the realization of nationalist aspirations to independence in neighbouring territories. Above all it was a time of widespread dislocation and misery among the African population of Southern Rhodesia, brought to a head by the Land Husbandry Act (No. 52 of 1951) in the late 1950s.
[152] Barber, *Rhodesia, The Road to Rebellion*, p. 224.
[153] *The Daily News*, 21 July 1965.

channel through which urban Africans could express themselves or voice their needs because community development policy failed to provide a direct means of African participation in urban government.[154] The majority of Africans wanted a system with universal application which would give them responsibility in the conduct of local government. They also wanted autonomy through Town Management Boards or as councillors in order to ensure their representation. However, such a view was seen by the colonial government, especially the Rhodesia Front government, with suspicion.

The campaign for township boards launched by the Salisbury City Council and the government after 1971 was aimed to ensure that no politics was to be discussed in these bodies. More importantly, the violence characteristic of the nationalist movement and of the urban areas in the 1960s onwards had serious implications on how the Salisbury City Council dealt with urban Africans and African representation. The editor of *Property and Finance* who was also a member of the Greater Salisbury City Council argued that the "stoning of motor cars by African hooligans emotionally disturbed at a soccer match was a reminder to Salisbury's citizens of the actual or potential situation in the vast crescent of African Townships now bordering the European area."[155] He was of the view that such violence "added weight to the City Council's anxiety over the political administrative implications of the elected African Boards that the Ministry of Local Government was determined to establish in all townships." In fact, the Council decided to send a deputation, headed by the Mayor to draw the attention of the then Minister of Local Government, Partridge, to a developing situation that was impinging "not only on elementary security but also on the Municipality's own responsibility to administer and control the teeming thousands in the townships." The City Council conveniently used the issue of rising violence to campaign against the proposal to give more administrative powers to African Boards by using the violence as evidence that the Africans were not ready to take up such responsibilities. The Council argued that the concept that the African, urban as well as rural, "should be gradually be encouraged to assume responsibility for the services that he wants or must have, for only in that way will he appreciate that amenities cost money and effort."[156]

[154] Barber, *Rhodesia, The Road to Rebellion.*
[155] *Property and Finance*, No. 208, June 1973.
[156] *Ibid*

It was the editor's position that the Council believed that Africans were not ready for more administrative duties and needed more time until such duties were imposed on them. It put the blame on the Ministry of Local Government for the rise in urban violence because they had decided to impose an elected African Board on African Townships. The Council argued that in attempting to impose these elected African Boards, the Ministry had; "ignored the *sabukus* and the existing system" and it had "ignored the opposition of the mass of the people; condoned the misconduct of at least one of its African organisers; and did nothing to discourage the new Board from insulting, denigrating and deliberately undermining the *sabuku* system that the mass of the people still strongly supports.[157]

It was, therefore, to the Editor's knowledge, he claimed, that the City Council strongly opposed the establishment of elected African Boards and put forward what it termed facts to account for its "grave apprehension". The facts ranged from:

1. African Nationalist politicians regard the new system as a heaven sent opportunity to establish or re- establish themselves. Some, at least, of "the community leaders" selected by the Ministry on the advice of its African representatives are known to have been members of banned organisations.
2. Whereas Municipal voters in the European area have to be residents and Rhodesian citizens, a large proportion of the inhabitants of at least one township is foreign (Malawian and Mozambican). At one of the official "Meetings of Residents' to discuss the powers and constitution of a proposed new board, the invitees included a number of non- residents or illegal residents, some with assumed names.
3. In another township a particular Church, known for its political views and aspirations, boasts of its overall control.
4. Attempted corruption is already evident.

The Editor claimed that the City Council was also not in agreement with the policy that informed the Ministry of Local Government in their decision to establish the elected African Boards. In its proposal to have elected African Boards, the Ministry had argued that such

[157] *Ibid*

boards would "encourage the emergent African" and that traditional customs and administration "were ok" for the Tribal areas, but that "increasing education and standards of living induce the urban African to expect sophisticated Western systems of government." This argument was dismissed by the City Council as nothing but "imported academic theories, divorced from reality but heavily loaded with the thinking of the Left." For the Editor, The City Council had a first class Community Development Unit directed by men who had "proved themselves; who believe that in Africa to hasten slowly is the only sound approach; who know what the people of the various townships want, as distinct from what the nationalist politicians seek."[158]

Much as the Editor of the *Property and Finance*'s views at that time may not necessarily be representative of the position of a majority of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, they represented an important constituency of the white population which was central in decision making. This is demonstrated by the shift in Southern Rhodesian politics which revealed an intolerance of liberal views and positions and an embrace of a radical stance especially towards Africans.

In as much as these Township Boards had a measure of executive authority to operate minor services and to provide and maintain welfare, to prepare budget estimates and to raise finance from beer sales, some residents' associations and the nationalist movement remained very apathetic to the idea. This emanated from their distrust of government and their belief that the programme was nothing but a programme to entrench a policy of separate development and deprivation of the African of the real wealth of the city. Such an attitude was entrenched by nationalist politicians who at this stage felt that they could get more than just half measures.

In April 1969, an African Member of Parlaiment, Gondo, raised the issue of the creation of a local authority for the Township of Highfield.[159] In response to the enquiry the Minister of Local Government, Partridge, argued that it would not be possible for some time to come, for "obvious technical reasons and financial reasons, to delegate either the landlord functions

[158] Ibid.
[159] Legislative Assembly Debates, Number, 21, vol. 73. Col. 456, 23 April, 1969

involving the administration of houses owned by government or municipal authorities, or the main engineering functions such as sewerage disposal, water supplies and main roads." For Partridge, Africans were only ready to assume "responsibility for community services, including preventive health, clinics, charity, schools, welfare, beer halls and the like." He also emphasised that before an autonomous African local authority could be set up it was essential that certain criteria should be satisfied.[160] That criteria included among other things, the following: (1) that the particular township should be economically viable, (2) that there was real evidence that the residents were prepared and able to take on the responsibility attaching to local Government, (3) that the residents had some real stake or interest in the township; and (4) that an effective means had been found to get proper representation of the residents on the authority."[161]

Indeed, Partridge argued that the Government was prepared to encourage participation by the resident in his own affairs and to assist in engendering in the urban African, an awareness of community needs and the desire to be involved in fulfilling such needs.[162] He claimed that the government was open to suggestions or proposals from the township residents as representatives of groups or as individuals.[163] The formation of committees or other bodies interested in particular facets of township life will be encouraged and it may even be that these bodies will provide the nucleus of the future township authority. He, however, argued that the speed at which the policy of encouraging the formation of committees or other bodies interested in particular facets of township life was depended, in the final analysis, upon the residents themselves[164] Partridge emphasised that government was supposed to be satisfied that a township local authority was representative of the community as a whole, and this was depended "on the circumstances in each township and the desire of the residents." Secondly, because the township local authorities as envisaged would have executive powers, the government did not intend to delegate any powers to it without a corresponding delegation of responsibility, because according to Partridge, it was essential that the local

[160] *Ibid*.
[161] I*bid.*
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] ibid
[164] *Ibid.*

authority "should be fully responsible for the consequences of its decisions and actions."[165] For the Minister, the actual motivation, for establishing the Local authorities "must spring from the townspeople themselves, who must show that there are capable of running their own affairs responsibly and prepared to accept the responsibilities that go with it."[166]

Between 1970 and 1980, not much was done to adopt the new changes that the Ministry of Local Government was proposing for the African Townships. In fact, the existing African Boards' functions were reduced to social and welfare activities which had very little to do with the politics of the time. The Advisory Boards of the Salisbury Municipal area continued to operate during the period 1971 to 1980 but they were very unpopular and ceased to play an important political role. They were strictly limited to their advisory function and no significant changes were made in the direction of African participation in urban local government as the Council refused direct representation. The Mufakose Advisory Board was resuscitated in 1972, ten years after its resignation. By this time it could operate because many nationalist parties had been banned (ZAPU and ZANU in 1964). It however, lacked any political influence. Application of new legislation to the African Townships and general welfare of the African population continued to occupy the attention of Advisory Boards of the Salisbury Municipality between 1973 and 1978. Moreover, the Boards did not receive much attention from the City Council. The announcement by the Rhodesian government in September 1976 that it had accepted the principle of majority rule raised speculation on changes likely to take place in local government. It was hoped that Advisory Boards would be integrated into a multi- racial City Council since all racial and discriminatory laws and practices would have been removed. The Boards felt that since Africans would have to play a significant role in municipal service, training was necessary before the transition. They argued that under the present system Africans have had little or no access to some municipal professions.[167]

In 1977, an African residents' study commissioned by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing to examine and make recommendations on African representation in local government observed that the major disadvantage of the Advisory Board was that it had no

[165] *Ibid.*
[166] *Ibid.*
[167] City of Bulawayo, Annual Report of the Director of Housing and Amenities Department, 1975- 1976, p. 4.

executive powers and that it: (a) is only advisory (b) does not provide proper training in local government (c) does not provide a proper link with council (d) does not involve members in decision making (e) is not directly represented on the African Affairs Committee, and (f) is obsolete, i.e it has never been improved since.[168] Moves were made to replace the Advisory Boards and residents' associations with Township Area Boards in 1979. The following year, 1980, saw the demise of the Advisory Boards of Harare, Mufakose and Mabvuku and their replacement by Area Councils. Under the new conditions, local government areas, formerly African Townships, were to have their own Councils which would be charged with the responsibility of running certain welfare and recreational facilities before incorporation into full council.

Conclusion

The period from 1958 after the Urban Affairs Commission was an important one as far as African urban movements were concerned. It signalled a shift from the localised focus on Township issues which was characteristic of Township politics before to a much wider focus, inclined to a nationalist agenda that also arose during this period. Broader continental experiences were a huge influence to the younger leadership in Salisbury in their attempts to grapple with the effects of land legislation from the mid-1950s and township politics from the same period. The confrontational attitude of the nationalist movement also influenced local government and the colonial state to harden their stance towards issues that dealt with greater autonomy and civic responsibility by the Africans in the townships. Indeed the state, toughened their policy, at least on paper, towards separate development. An article in the *Property and Finance,* written by one who claimed to be a former Administrator, argued that "friction inevitably occurs when two races, widely divergent in outlook and background, are forcibly "integrated' especially if competing in the labour market.[169] It argued that, the African

[168] NAZ, Ministry of Local Government And Housing, Mokoba Study Committee, Minutes of all Informal Meetings Held Between 28th April 1977 and 19 May 1977 in the Makokoba Board Room pertaining to Discussions on the Advisory Board, 1977.
[169] *Property and Finance*, No. 200, October 1972.

will inevitably swamp the White community and the White areas if "integration' in them was permitted.[170]

The prevailing belief in colonial government circles thus continued to be that the place for Africans, even those who had acquired certain skills, knowledge, habit of work and education from the white man was not necessarily the developed White areas, but the undeveloped and ailing Black areas. It was such a mind-set that inevitably hardened the urban movement especially as it came to be led by educated Africans who believed that they were ready to put the destiny of their lived environs in their hands. The urban movement thus took in new forms, which included open confrontation, violence and a convenient appropriation of the nationalist movement's language of self-determination in their dealings with both the colonial state and the City Council.

[170] *Ibid.*

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The colonial administration feared detribalisation and the consequent urbanisation that followed. Their "fear" was that urbanisation would lead to social anomalies, mass unrest and the rise of a politically conscious class that would ultimately challenge minority colonial rule altogether. Initially, Southern Rhodesian governments, sought to foreclose this possibility by preventing African urbanisation. The colonial authorities were content with keeping Africans confined to "reserves" and use a network of influx controls to temporarily bring Africans into the white cities for work on fixed term contracts. However, this colonial system that sought to keep Africans confined to rural areas was not impermeable and could not prevent the emergence of an "unwanted" African population in 'white" cities. Initially, many Africans who moved into the city for work lived in spaces such as the workplace backrooms or their employers backyards. The rising numbers of Africans in the urban areas led to emergence of informal settlements, which, as demonstrated in this thesis, forced the colonial government to construct a habitat for the Africans; the Location.

A major source of worry for the colonial authorities was that "free roaming" Africans were difficult to manage and control. Colonial administrators worried that urbanisation was producing Africans who were independent from the control of rural chiefs and headmen. These concerns about social chaos showed as apprehensions about "danger" and "pollution' in the minds of Europeans. The colonial state, therefore, undertook to neutralise this danger by creating the segregated township where Africans could be monitored and "civilised" for the purposes of control. As demonstrated in chapter two of the thesis, the formal establishment of the Location was, primarily in light of the supposed urban decay of the "white town" as a result of uncontrolled African presence in it and growing white pressure for segregation. To find validation for the establishment of the ghettoised Location, the Town Authorities had used the argument that poor sanitation caused by Africans was central in the need to create the Location and move the unsanitary Africans into it. However, while colonial authorities intended the Location to be a foundation of social control, they were only prepared to fund only the most token constructions. The central argument provided by this

thesis is that, the state and capital were not prepared to pay for the most basic provisions of the African township which culminated in a movement of mass discontent in it.

This thesis provided a detailed explanation of African attempts, in the colonial city in Rhodesia, to create avenues of engagement with local authorities and colonial government in determining and influencing the nature and character of their urban environ. The study explored the role of African urban residents' movements that emerged in colonial Harare from the establishment of the first African Township. It accounted for the nature of African representation in the urban arena of Salisbury and traced the impulses, operations and influence of such representation on urban Africans' lived milieu. The key argument advanced by this thesis is that the nature of the colonial city was a major influence in giving life and form to the African urban movements.

The claim to the nature of the colonial city as a major influence in giving life to the African urban movements is advanced very strongly in Chapter Two of this thesis. The chapter argued that the nature of the colonial city and the peripheral placing of Africans in it was a suitable arena for the occurrence of African "protest voices." A major premise that this thesis utilised is that the guiding principles of colonial administration of "differentiation and domination" created the roots of urban protest. It argued that the attempted colonial project to keep the city white and in the process keep Africans at the outer edge of the urban economy was a major ingredient in the rise of African protest voices. What has generally been referred to, in this thesis and elsewhere, as the Rhodesian urban problem expressed itself in an uneven distribution of income, perennial accommodation problems, the expansion of slum conditions and the pressures on limited social services arising mainly from the lack of commitment from the central government, capital and the local authorities to invest in African urban development. The creation and successive running of African Locations became a bone of contention between the government and the municipalities and the disagreement focused on the spreading of the social costs and benefits that were associated with the exodus of Africans into the towns. More important, the chapter also argued that central to the Rhodesian urban problem was the fixation of the colonial state with the need to control its

African "subjects"[1] and it was this obsession that made the state to compromise on quality of urban Africans' nature of urban life.

Central to the thesis' argument is that Salisbury was, by and large, created as an almost exclusive property of whites. There was, therefore, always an attempt to control and legislate the presence and behaviour of Africans in it to suit the needs and customs of Europeans. The policies and conditions that emerged from such attempts were thus at the core of African urban protests. The thesis argued against the conclusion made by a number of scholars that in so far as one could speak of African protest in the early days of colonial rule, it was characterised by a resigned acceptance of white rule.[2] It maintained that such an analysis can be misleading if it is taken to represent general African reactions to the conditions that European colonialism created for them especially in the urban areas. It has demonstrated that Africans reaction to their situation in the township was anything else but resigned. They lobbied, fought and presented to the local authority their grievances with regards to the nature of the townships. The conclusion made by Ranger and others that none of the African organisations of the early period made any lasting impact is limiting in that it only measures the organisations' impact as nationalist projects. A different conclusion is made by this thesis through examining the African organisations' impact in the context of township representation. They became important mouthpieces for the urbanised Africans in attempts to influence the government to construct an urban arena they desired. Whether or not their desires were given attention by the government and capital is subject to debate. The fact that these organisations were central mouthpieces for such is important. The thesis has demonstrated how, from the onset of the African Location's establishment, African organisations, became an integral part of township movements that packaged and made known, to government and capital, the everyday hassles of living in an African township.

Phimister, Raftopolous, Ranger, Scarnecchia and other historians have done a sterling job, in their different ways, of looking at the many different African organisations in colonial

[1] The term, subjects, is used taking into consideration Mahmood Mamdani's take of a colonial African state as a bifurcated power that mediated racial domination through tribally organised local authorities, reproducing racial identity in citizens and ethnic identity in subjects.

[2] Scholars like Ranger and Gray have made similar conclusions with regards to the organisational abilities of the Africans and attempts, or lack of, at creating a formidable nationalist movement.

Zimbabwe either as formidable trade union or nationalist organisations. This thesis has traced how the same organisations and more, extended their antennas to the township where the power relations of the ruler and the ruled vividly found material and geographical manifestation in the way the African "Location" was structured and assembled. The thesis has advanced the argument that some of the African representative groups which have been previously studied by other scholars as labour or nascent nationalist groups also had another key task of representing urban Africans in the African townships. These organisations represented urbanised Africans who were collectively affected by township problems and became formidable residents' movements which were important conduits through which urbanised Africans could engage with the colonial state, local authorities and capital. It made the claim that the nascent labour union movement that was in Rhodesia was compelled by the nature of the African urban setting, established by the colonial government, to become a mouthpiece for township affairs. The workplace, by its nature, became an important and central organisational rallying point for the urban dwellers who shared a common urban problem. So the ambiguities inherent within the labour movement were not accidental. Rather, they were a product of a system that had imposed upon the African urban dwellers conditions that were ripe or ready-made to be a source of an urban outcry.

This argument is offered in Chapter three of this thesis which argues that the unions were conditioned by the state of affairs in the townships to become a mouthpiece for African urban dwellers. The colonial system created and permitted conditions in the townships that were too dire for any union or organisation that claimed to represent African interests to ignore. Thus these unions widened their mandates to create platforms from which they could represent township residents. These organisations thus became *de facto* township residents' associations and they carried out this function with the same dedication and commitment as they did labour issues.

The study revealed that mobilization of urban Africans into the residents' movements was often made easy by the abundant collective experiences and mutual grievances of Africans in the urban areas. These shared grievances were many and this was mainly because there was no unanimity between the central state, the local council and employers over who would bear the cost of African urban housing and social services. A principal argument forwarded in the

study is that it was because of that lack of unanimity and the consequent abdication of responsibility in African urban development that resulted in the manifestation of poor amenities and poor social services in African townships. Confronted by these poor amenities and poor services, urban Africans rallied around organised African movements to express their frustrations, hopes and vision with regards to their urban locality. The growth, both in size, numbers and activities, of the African urban movements, corresponded with the expansion of the African townships and this helped in amplifying the African protest voice. It also aided in increasing the visibility of these urban movements. The thesis thus categorically maintained that this made the Location a principal site of African urban social movements as they emerged as one of the key representations and vehicles of African urban protest.

Another argument despatched by this study is that in as much as a majority of educated, urbanised Africans and others who were mainly responsible for establishing the different African associations and unions set out, especially in the post second World War period, to use the African townships as an amphitheatre to further their emerging national political ambitions, they were also obligated to engage with the everyday issues that affected urbanised Africans. This was because of the centrality of such issues to the African urbanites and the growing importance of the links between everyday township struggles and the growing nationalist project. Local residents' worries, therefore, were vital in the everyday survival of the organisations as were the organisations as representatives of the African residents. As such, those African leaders who harboured ambitions that were beyond the confines of township politics could not afford to ignore Location issues if they entertained any hopes of growing beyond township matters.

Notwithstanding the "urban nationalism" that these organisations thrived to attain, they went a long way in being a platform for everyday township residents' affairs and they developed into formidable residents' movements that shaped the nature and direction of the growth of the African township. The organisations became strategic vehicles for urban Africans in trying to influence government and municipalities to improve conditions in the townships with varying degrees of success. On the other hand, the attention that central government or the municipality gave to these different organisations was influenced and determined by a number of factors, but what was important was that these organisations

became formidable enough to warrant it. Indeed this study agrees that the African organisations also offered the possibility to seek out greater democratic participation by a number of African men and women. That, however, does not discount the fact that they became an integral part of township movements that packaged and made known, to government and capital, the everyday hassles of living in an African township.

The thesis also established the intimate relationship between changing local, national and international events to the change of social attitudes and inter-group relations in the urban arena. It argued that shifting local, national and continental events were paramount in influencing the changes in the manner in which a majority of Africans and African groups related to any form of colonial authority. Key were the social, economic and political changes necessitated by the two world wars, increasing debate concerning the usefulness and morality of colonialism; growing nationalism in Africa; increasing complexity in the domestic economy which required diversification of skills and trained manpower; growing population numbers, particularly among the African population in Salisbury; and rising levels of African education. Industrialisation had seen an increase in African urban dwellers and with it, the expansion of formal African settlements especially in Salisbury. These settlements continued to be overcrowded and had poor conditions and facilities and it was such conditions that led to the expansion of African urban representative unions and associations.

Also central to the discussion in this thesis is the impact of the Depression and the Second World War on the development of the urban environment and how such developments also shaped the direction and pace of African urban representation and protest. Chapter Four of the thesis identified the industrialization of the colonial economy in the late 1930s and 1940s as a major stimulus to the rise of African urban residents and the consequent increase in the development of formal African settlements especially in Salisbury (Harare) and Bulawayo. The chapter contended that the increased urbanisation caused by post World War Two industrialisation and other factors, increased African urban social movements in colonial Harare. It argued that the emergence, during this period, of residents' associations whose sole and major mandate was township affairs and civic matters was a result of not only the growth of the African population in the Townships but also of the increase in consciousness by urbanised Africans of their significance as both an economic and political constituency in

Southern Rhodesia. Paradoxically, this growth found refinement in the face of the colonial administration's continued refusal to consider the Africans as equal human beings and its failure together with industry, to improve African urban conditions.

Rapid urbanisation of the post Second World War period, therefore, had a knock on effect on the formation of township resident associations which emerged initially with the aim of fighting for the rights of urban residents but later worked in league with the emerging liberation movement for political emancipation of the African people not only in urban areas, but even in rural areas.[3] The residents' associations were thus a reaction to the increase in the number of Africans in urban areas, which increased the interest around their conditions of living. The associations came to be associated with campaigns for better accommodation, agitation against poor living conditions such as over crowdedness, squatter camps as well as shortage of safe drinking water and other proper sanitary conditions befitting human habitation. This was, however, not a new phenomenon only found in the post war years. Such representation had existed before but what was new was the emergence of "proper" residents' associations with a specific mandate to represent residents in their localities. These were mostly linked to or of shoots of long existing organisations like RICU, SRBC and BANVA who had operated prior as both residents' groupings, trade unions and nascent nationalist political organisations.

The emergence of residents' associations in tandem with trade unionism increased militancy as the colonial administration refused to consider Africans as equal human beings. The militant spirit manifested itself through more demands for citizens' rights in all aspects of life. The proliferation of these Associations at a time when they did also had a lot to do with the character and nature of Southern Rhodesia's urban development. The clear cut separation between the richer, socially separate and politically dominant whites and the impoverished and politically emasculated African was so blatant in the post war years. Thus, the concentration, in the Salisbury African Locations of the educated and more articulate workers who not only felt the separation intensely but possessed the essential skills for organising and

[3] J. Mapuva, "Enhancing local governance through local Initiatives: Residents' Associations in Zimbabwe," *African Journal of History and Culture,* Vol. 3, 2011, p. 4.

directing political movements made the Locations a suitable breeding ground for the proliferation of these associations.

Another area of focus was on the operations of the residents' associations and Advisory Boards in an environment of heightened national struggle for independence by Africans from the 1950s onwards. This is examined in chapter five which argued that this environment impacted not only the character and nature of urban representation but also the nature and direction that the movements took from the late 1950s onwards. It maintained that the relationship between urban movements and the emerging nationalist movements changed the temperament and form of the residents' movements and this had a huge bearing on the relationship of the movements with local and central governments. The chapter examined how the associations and African boards responded when confronted by a new political context with new challenges, outlook and focus. The thesis contended that many organisations were affected by broader nationalist politics, particularly as a majority of their members were also active in the nationalist struggle. It argued that because of its close links with the nationalist movements, the residents' movements interpreted the political changes as opportunities to influence decisions. The chapter thus examined how nationalist politics influenced and shaped the nature of urban representation and vice versa in this period.

From the 1960s onwards, the failure by colonial authorities to engage effectively with the residents movements on matters that concerned African urban dwellers led to these organisations adopting a more militant and confrontational disposition as they positioned themselves to engage with a colonial government that was increasingly adopting an uncompromising position as far as entertaining African aspirations was concerned. The militant and confrontational mode of the associations was also influenced by their link with labour and nationalists movements which had gained momentum in the 1940s and 1950s. This militancy can also be explained by what Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni argue as a demonstrated inability and incapacity by colonial urban authorities to imagine a settled urban wage labourer despite a clear attempt by many Africans to make the city home.[4] With the passage of time, these resident associations began to diversify their engagement with the

[4] Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, (eds), *Sites of Struggle. Essay in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, p. 6.

colonial administration by challenging the white economic and political order. They began to demand for the observance of human rights, universal suffrage and enfranchisement, political representation and improved living and working conditions for Africans.

The thesis also argued that the nature, scope and constituency of the residents' movements in colonial Harare has never been static and has changed depending on the different epochs of Zimbabwe's colonial history. The different colonial governments' approaches to African affairs were never homogenous and they influenced the behavior of the residents' movements in different ways. It argued that the defeat of the liberal Todd marked a turning point in the manner the residents' movements, like the nationalist movements, dealt with colonial government. Todd's fall was a setback to the developing rapprochement between African nationalism and white liberalism. This is not to say that Whitehead, Todd's successor was less liberal, but Todd had an intensely personal way with which he approached African leadership which Whitehead did not have. However, it would be wrong to assume that Todd's replacement by Whitehead was the only reason for the alienation of the urban movements which gathered momentum after 1958. This alienation was a result of many factors central of which was the winds of change blowing across Africa. This alienation was further compounded by Winston Field and Ian Smith's Rhodesia Front government's outright disdain and failure to accommodate African aspirations. All this aided in soliciting different responses from the urban residents' movements.

This thesis argued that the occurrence of African protest movements in Salisbury was a result of urban Africans' attempts to make sense of their living space. These movements emerged in the midst of failure by colonial authorities to accommodate residents' representatives and this failure was mainly rooted on the colonial attitude towards Africans that viewed them as subjects whose major function in the urban setting was labour provision. Unfortunately for the colonial authorities, it was this unimagined and unforeseen "possession" of the city by Africans that raised not only their ambitions but also their concerns with regards to how they were to be accommodated and treated in the city. It was these concerns that encouraged and motivated Africans in the urban areas to demand a city constructed on their own terms. An increasing number of Africans began to consider the urban space as more than just a transitory location for labour, rather it became viewed as 'home' and it naturally followed

that they were to demand all "the comforts of home." The different African organisations became that vehicle through which Africans demanded these comforts.

The thesis also opens up space for looking beyond the sometimes confining categories of labour and nationalist history. Whilst not dislodging the central importance of labour and nationalist history in Zimbabwe's historiography, it argues that the historical overview of the development of the residents' movements in Rhodesia is another important avenue through which the history of the struggle against colonialism can be incorporated into Zimbabwe's mainstream historical narrative. This thesis is not nationalist history nor labour history. It does not even attempt to fit into any of the two categories. It is the history of urban social movements led by African urban residents who were incidentally members of the different labour and nationalist organisations. This is not to say that they led the residents' movements as separate movements from labour and nationalism. Rather, the same organisations and more who were connected to either the labour movements or the nationalists also had an important mandate of being residents' representative groups and they confronted the local authorities or the state with issues that affected them as "Location citizens". Thus the connections of the residents' movements to the labour and nationalists' movements did not make it less important. Rather, such connections were intended to amplify, collectivize and widen the scope of the residents' concerns.

Chapter one demonstrates this twin mandate clearly when it identifies the first meeting of the ICU under the Indaba Tree whose agenda was concerned with civic matters: "protest against the Town Council of Bulawayo's action in the Bulawayo Native Location."[5] As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the list of resolutions of that first meeting were entirely township issues, which in itself was a demonstration by the organisation of its awareness of its mandate in township issues. Likewise, chapter three also demonstrated, by clear cut examples, the role of the Southern Rhodesia Native Association in township affairs. The colonial government in 1926, for example, through the Acting Chief Native Commissioner maintained that the SRNA "provided a channel for voicing the feelings and aspirations of detribalised Natives in Towns and other labour centres."[6] Similarly, the CNC in 1929 also

[5] Quoted in Raftopoulos and Phimister's (eds) *Keep on Knocking,* p. 21.
[6] NAZ, S246/782, Letter from Acting CNC to SRNA, 29 June, 1926.

emphasised the government policy which was that the Association's activities should be "restricted to urban and industrial areas to afford means for representation of grievances of Natives living in the towns"[7] and the highlight of the SRNA'S role as a residents' representative organisation was its role in 1929 and 1930 towards the Native Affairs Commission discussed in chapter three. Again, Gray contends that Charles Mzingeli, the General Secretary of the Reformed Industrial Commercial Workers Union was the unofficial Mayor of Harare, and this thesis further maintains that it was not a mistake that he was designated as such. Rather it was because of his and his organisation's central role in civic matters.

In coming to some of these conclusions, the thesis benefitted immensely from Yoshikuni and Scarnercchia's works. Yoshikuni's book *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe* has an entire section which looks at what he terms Municipal Ghetto and Community Action which looks at the emergence of collective protest action in the Location and has at its centre; "We, the People in Location" a group of Africans in 1914 who came together to write a letter of protest against the administrative changes initiated for the Location in 1913.[8] This letter is an important one for a number of reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates not only awareness of strength in numbers but it also shows acceptance on the part of Location residents that they had become a more permanent feature of the Location and not transitory. As such, if they were now aware of their permanency, they then were naturally more concerned about their living conditions. Secondly, the letter demonstrates the development of urban consciousness among location residents. The residents were becoming aware of what it meant to be urban residents and how they could canvas for better conditions using their collective identity of being "People in the Location." Thirdly, it shows urgency in the Location residents especially their awareness of the strength of their threat to move away from the Location.

Yoshikuni does a good job of not only highlighting the direction which the protest action took, but also examines the structural causes of the protest by looking at the Location social and built environment. His analysis, however, only runs up to 1923 but his work formed an important background utilized by this thesis which then went further to examine the progressive built up of associational protest movements in African townships right up to

[7] NAZ, S246/782 Letter from CNC to the NC Charter district.
[8] Yoshikuni, *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe*, pgs, 38- 66.

independence. Scarnecchia's book looks at the nature of township life and argues that the urban democratic tradition established in the 1940s and 1950s "fell victim to a particular style of political violence that developed out of the peculiarities of township life and the demands of a more nationalist politics by the 1960s."[9] His work demonstrates how particular leaders and political parties made decisions to accept political violence as a means to acquire political control of the township population. More importantly, Scarnecchia is one of the first scholars who acknowledge the involvement, in a big way, of organisations like RICU, the City Youth League and other nationalists' parties in everyday township matters as proxy residents' associations. However, although Scarnecchia has an interesting, well-articulated intervention in that regard, a detailed analysis of the organisations' civic engagements do not constitute the key objective of his work and this thesis went a long way to cover that gap.

Although this work does not pay any specific focus on nationalist history, it argued that the different layers of struggle that were characteristic of the nationalist movements had a huge bearing on the nature, direction and character that the residents' movements took especially from the mid-1950s. Scarnecchia has done an excellent job of looking at the one layer of struggle, which is rooted in the urban origins of democracy and political violence from which this work drew a lot of insights from. M Sithole' work, also looks at another dimension of those layers of struggle; struggles within the struggle, which looks at the struggle for control of the movement from an ethnic angle.[10] This work also identifies another arena of struggles: the struggle by the nationalists' organisations for control of the urban space and civic matters. These struggles play out mainly through the battles for control of the Advisory Boards and the different residents' associations especially after the post Second World War period. It argued that these encounters, like the struggles within the struggle that Sithole alludes to and the urban roots of political violence that Scarnercchia accounts for, were equally brutal and vicious.

By looking closely at the residents' movement in colonial Harare, this work raises important questions some of which can be answered by Phimister and Raftopolous' suggestion to pay greater attention to the lived "experiences of discrete classes or social strata in different

[9] Scarnecchia, *The Urban Roots of Democracy and Political Violence in Zimbabwe*, p, 2.
[10] M. Sithole, *Zimbabwe: Struggles-within-the-struggle (1957-1980),* Harare, Rujeko Publishers, 1999

towns and locales."[11] Such a suggestion can also be extended to scholars of nationalist history who run the risk of analysing any form of African responses in Southern Rhodesia in the context of the rise and development of nationalism and national consciousness. As argued in chapter one of this thesis, such an analysis ignores African responses to their local conditions especially where those reactions are not packaged in a nationalist context because not all African responses were nationalist in character and some and most of them were reactions to the nature of their local conditions.

This work on urban social movements also ties in well with extensive works on urban history in South Africa. Much attention has been given to the process of urban segregation, as scholars have traced its origins and tried to explain the rules and mechanisms that governed the process. Important comparisons can be made between urban historiography of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Firstly, like colonial Zimbabwe, the overall picture to emerge in South Africa shows urban segregation evolving over a long period of time in a rather disorganised way. Secondly, features of this urban historiography stand out. Like the historiography of Zimbabwe, South African urban historiography has been largely Afrocentric, highlighting the black urban experience and urban policy as it affected black people. Another important similarity involves social history, concerning the effort to capture something of the urban experience - the life style, culture and struggles of urban dwellers. There has also been a tendency to link the urban social movements of the post-apartheid era to the nature and character of the urban environment constructed in the apartheid period. The same links are present in Zimbabwe with studies concluding that the post-independence rise of urban social movements in the urban areas have a direct link to colonial urbanisation.

Of importance also is the fact that residents' associations in the post-colonial period have become important in civic struggles. In as much as they lost their lustre in the immediate post-colonial period as a result of the propensity by the new government to view non state actors with suspicion and as saboteurs of the new order, they emerged stronger in the post 2000 period and have proven to be an important part of Zimbabwe's political economy.

[11] I. Phimister and B. Raftopolous, '"Kana sora ratswa ngaritswe", p. 323.

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