

# The Development of the Zimbabwe National Defense College, 2004-2012



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Edited by

Max John Chinyanganya

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The book is dedicated to the generality of the people of Zimbabwe who endured international isolation for their resilience to a multitude of 'real' and 'perceived security challenges' for period of over two decades and their unwavering support for their State Security Services in the maintenance of peace and stability in the country.



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## PREFACE

The idea of the establishment of a national institution of learning bringing on board the military and civil society was borne after the identification of national values and interests were under threat from a plethora of exogenous and endogenous influences in Zimbabwe. As far as possible the contributors have included a full analysis of creation of the National Defence College in the period 2004 to 2012 with the Ministry of Defence as the driving ministry of the institution. The philosophy and principles of war has been a fundamental reality of social and political existence from the earliest stage of human political organization. War is indeed so tragic and intellectually and emotionally disturbing that many tend to sidestep it in their study, research or intellectual analysis. From time immemorial war has dominated mankind about matters that he has ignored but continues to have an influential part in public life at times with little success. The need therefore to understand war and its attendant horrendous effects and implications is perhaps even greater than the two previous World Wars.

An important feature of the book is the analysis of security related developments particularly in the majority of developing nations in the post-Cold War era. Close to two decades after the end of the Cold War the scourge of war and conflict have continued to surface in mankind's activities and his environment nationally and internationally, defence and security establishments or national institutions have been intensifying the study of war, conflict and possible options for its management and resolution. It is only befitting that the this academic treatise is not only appropriate to set out the tone of this club scholarly inquiry with a view to contributing in the search of inquiring into the vagaries of conflict through the leadership of a multi-disciplinary research approach at the highest institution of learning with the assistance of specialists from elsewhere in government, civil society, the private sector, international community and the academic, offering such analysis in general and particular areas of interest to national and international defence and security is an important part of the College mission. The current national and international environment is indeed characterized by instability and unpredictability.

It is only sensible and reasonable that options are objectively examined in the hope that optimum national goals and interests are studied and

conceptualized to ensure a conducive environment for peace and stability required for political, economic, social and cultural development. The enduring study of the cumulative responsibility on the development of the National Defence College as the highest institution of higher level training and learning for senior officers and senior civil servants and their civil society ushers in new era in the study and understanding of defence and security issues at the strategic level has never being so pressing particularly in the case of Zimbabwe after the often controversial Land Reform of 2000 and its attendant consequences to national security discourse . In his famous book, *On War*, the famous Prussian General Carl Phillip Gottfried Von Clausewitz correctly observed '*the crucial inter-relationship between foreign policy, domestic policy and military policy*'. In addition, Von Clausewitz was equally apt to believe that a state must emphasize patriotism, national will, and the need to struggle in order to survive in the world.

The importance of need emphasizes the requirement to understand and comprehend the academic principles identified in the study succinctly which deals with the difficult problems of national policy, the areas where political, economic, psychological, and military factors overlap cannot be overemphasized. Suppose at no better time and space has there been no further vindication that there is no such thing as pure military advice or solution when it comes to issues of national strategy and the ever arching need to galvanize national will and commitment to uphold sovereignty and identified national interests. According to Beatrice Heusser (2010) practice has shown that, "*the separation of strategy and policy can only be achieved to the detriment of both. It causes military power to become identified with the most absolute application of national power and it tempts diplomacy into over-concern with finesse*" (Hueser, 2010, p. 489). To readers of contemporary strategic issues from a third world perspective in particular, future strategists and policymakers will benefit from the efforts of the discussion in the book.

The book is recommended for tertiary level scholars, students, researchers, lecturers; diplomats, policy makers and the public interested in military and strategic operations; peace-building; racial integration; national reconstruction; peacekeeping; reconciliation strategies; peace and security operations; regional integration and transformation; and post conflict national integration and international strategic relations.

## ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

1. AFDL	Allied Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo
2. AFZ	Air Force of Zimbabwe
3. AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act (US)
4. ALC	African Liberation Committee
5. ANC	Africa National Congress (South Africa)
6. APC	Armoured Personnel Carrier
7. AU	African Union
8. CAF	Central African Federation/Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland
9. CAR	Central African Republic
10. CCR	Centre for Constructive Resolution
11. CDF	Commander Defence Forces (Zimbabwe)
12. CDM	Congolese Democratic Movement
13. CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
14. CFS	Congo Free State
15. CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
16. CIO	Central Intelligence Organization
17. CRA	Congo Reform Association
18. DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
19. EDC	European Defence Community.
20. ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
21. ECOMOG	ECOWAS Military Monitoring Group
22. EEC	European Economic Community
23. FTLP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme.
24. FAC HQ	Congolese Armed Forces Headquarters
25. FAR	<i>Forces Armies Rwandais</i>
26. FAPLA	<i>Forcas Armadas Populares de Libertacao de Angola (Angola)</i>
27. FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
28. FLS	Front Line States
29. FLELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique (Mozambique)</i>
30. FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
31. GDR,	German Democratic Republic
32. GDP	Gross Domestic Product

33. HCRC.	High Council of the Republic of Congo
34. ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
35. IFOR	Implementation Force
36. ISDSC	Inter-State Defence and Security Committee
37. JMC	Joint Military Commission
38. MLC	Movement for the Liberation of Congo
39. MNR	National Resistance Movement
40. MONUC	United Nations Observer Mission in the Congo
41. MPLA	Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola
42. MPR	Movement Populaire de la Revolution
43. NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
44. NACC	North Atlantic Co-operation Council
45. NCOs	Non-Commissioned Officers
46. NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development.
47. NRMDD	National Revolutionary Movement for Democracy and Development
48. OAS	Organization of American States
49. OAU	Organization of African Unity
50. ONUC	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.
51. OPDS	Organ on Politics Defence and Security
52. OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
53. OSCE	Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe
54. PAC	Pan African Congress (South Africa)
55. PARME-HUTU	Hutu Masses
56. PF	Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe)
57. POW	Prisoners of War
58. RPTC	Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre
59. RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
60. RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
61. RLDF	Royal Lesotho Defence Force
62. RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
63. SACU	Southern Africa Customs Union
64. SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
65. SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference
66. SADF	South African Defence Force
67. SANDF	South African National Defence Force
68. SFOR	Stabilization Force
69. SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan for the Organ

70. SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization (Namibia)
71. UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Rhodesia)
72. UN	United Nations
73. UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
74. UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
75. UNTSO	United Nations True Supervision Organization
76. UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
77. UNOSOMII	United Nations Operation in Somalia II
78. UPDF	Ugandan Defence Forces
79. WEU	Western European Union
80. ZITF	Zimbabwe International Trade Fair
81. ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
82. ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
83. ZIPRA	Zimbabwe's People's Liberation Army

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Exploring the theory and practice of national interests and values principles, the book makes a succinct conceptual debate tapping on the history and origins of Zimbabwe and the historical outcome of conception and creation of a National Defence College was possible through the extensive interviews conducted by senior military and civilian officials who volunteered to provide useful information for the compilation of the book.



## CONTRIBUTORS

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## FROM THE EDITOR

### *In the Book.....*

The book introduces the academic historical development of the Zimbabwe National Defence College from its conceptual framework in 2004 to 2012. The aim of the book is to lay the academic foundation of the theme of expression of national interests and values principles from a developing nation's view point. The key principle of its protection and symbol in everyday lives of nation states is indeed paramount, emphasizing that it is a cumulative responsibility of all citizens in upholding the nation's vital interests. The book highlights that states even in the post-Cold War era continue to be willing to fight longer and harder to secure or defend what they consider to be their vital interests.

In Chapter 1 Max John Chinyanganya argues that there is a discernible shift from the traditional concepts of national security defined in terms of the ability to protect identified states interests from external threats. In the chapter, the contributors argue that there was a growing debate on the need to expand the traditional notions of security to address the non-traditional threats and to develop a more comprehensive approach to national security. Non-traditional security issues often relate directly with actions by individuals of certain social groups. These non-traditional security problems may easily surpass various types of limitations of politics, geography, and cultures, and begin to spill over from one country or region to another.

In Chapter 2, Max John Chinyanganya and Sibusiso Busi Moyo trace the historical development of the National Defence College from its conceptual evolution from 2004 up to 2012. They argue that the establishment of the national institution in large part was an attempt to create a platform to explain and educate the population on the fundamental national security issues taken for granted by developed countries but misunderstood by the developing countries. The Chapter highlights that nation states continue to be willing to fight longer and harder to secure or defend what they consider to be vital interests. The Chapter argues that there was a discernible shift from the traditional concepts of national security defined in terms of the ability to protect states interests from external threats. The Chapter argued that there was a growing debate on the need to expand the traditional notions

of security to address the non-traditional threats and to develop a more comprehensive approach to security. Non-traditional security issues often relate directly to actions by individuals of certain social groups.

Chapter 3 describes the history of civil-military relations debate in Zimbabwe. In the chapter, Godfrey Chikowore and Max John Chinyanganya emphasize that the theoretical approaches adopted in the country are a product of their time: they reflect the historical background of each epoch as it directs and makes use of the military to its requirement of the time; the military organization itself reflects its identity with its co-operative tendencies in its implementation of policy objectives of the time; and that the co-operative motive is predominant in its *modus operandi*. The Chapter highlights the complexity of African civil-military relations. It further argues for the adoption of a critique that utilizes the new insights proposed in the chapter to redeem those elements of value within traditional civil-military relations existing in the unique terrain of Africa's political environment.

In chapter 4, Max John Chinyanganya and Sibusoso Moyo analyse the Think Tank Report on the Establishment of National Defence College, which was commissioned by the Commander Defence Forces (CDF) on 29 May 2009. The Chapter argues that it was against the background of securing national interests and values that was a strategic need and requirement to establish a homogeneous multi-disciplinary institution to safeguard and protect these identified interests. Even prior to independence in April 1980, the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF) were sending their senior military officers to the South African Defence Forces (SADF) military institutions for higher military learning and education (Rhodesia Training Manual, 1976). From 1989 the Zimbabwe Defence Forces was sending its senior military officers to such institutions as The Royal Corps of Defence Studies (RCDS), the United States National War College (NWC), the Pakistan National Defence College, the India National Defence College, the Nigeria National Defence College and the Kenya National Defence College (ndc K) among others. The institutional mandate and responsibility would be to produce high grade military and civilian strategies, capable of making or contributing and advising on complex decision-making processes in matters related to and security issues.

Chapter 5 discusses comparative key issues on civil-military relations in Zimbabwe debate. Max John Chinyanganya, Godfrey Chikowore and Sibusiso Busi Moyo argue that there are no clear-cut templates to be followed or adopted by Zimbabwe from the experiences of different countries in the international system. Logically, the aim of the Chapter was

to argue that the issue of history and its attendant experiences has had direct and indirect influence in the management of civil-military relations in Zimbabwe.

It was argued that traditional theories espoused by renowned scholars such as Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz remain validated and especially in developing countries. On a development note, close interrogation of the proposed syllabi for the National Defence College suggests one option of bridging the gap in the civil-military relations in Zimbabwe. The chapter also interrogates the participation of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association (ZNLWVA). Although the ZNLWVA was registered as a non-partisan entity, the organization was implicated as being more aligned to Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). The definition of term non-partisan as an entity is grossly misleading. An examination of its constitution clearly denotes that the veterans have the ideals of the liberation struggle need to be respected and sustained by successive generations.

In chapter 6, Max John Chinyanganya and Godfrey Chikowore attempt to interrogate what they describe as the New Millennium Regional Integration Imperatives: Civil-Military Relations Perspectives and Prospects for Transformation. They argue that civil-military relations imperatives based integration systems starts with the individual, then households and sophisticates hierarchically to national, regional, continental and global level. In the contemporary world, the presence or absence of complementary civil-military relations imperatives correspondingly generates the presence or absence of national peace, security and stability as well as anarchic culture in all its deplorable manifestations.

In the final chapter, Max John Chinyanganya, Godfrey Chikowore and Sibusiso Moyo draw reflective and conclusive remarks on the historical outcomes, thoughts and significance on creation of the Zimbabwe National Defence College and highlight the key issues including the rationale of the creation of the military and civilian academic institution and the cumulative responsibility of all citizenry in the handling of the complex subject of civil-military relations in Zimbabwe in particular.

The Chapter concludes by arguing that sensitive discourse of national defence lies in it being a key element in laying the foundation of the theme of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interests, and the crucial principle of its protection and symbol in everyday lives of nation

states, emphasizing that it is an all-inclusive responsibility of the nation's defined vital interests.

August 2019  
M J Chinyanganya

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: NATIONAL VALUES AND INTERESTS PRINCIPLES REVISITED

MAX JOHN CHINYANGANYA

### **Summary**

This Chapter introduces the historical development of the Zimbabwe National Defence College from its conceptual framework in 2004 to 2012. The aim of the Chapter is to lay the foundation of the theme of national interests and values principles from a developing nation's point of view and the principle of its protection and symbol in everyday lives of nation states, emphasizing that it is a cumulative responsibility of nation's vital interests. On the logic of sovereign consolidation, the Chapter highlights that states continue willing to fight longer and harder to secure or defend what they consider to be vital interests. The chapter argues that there was a discernible shift from the traditional concepts of national security defined in terms of the ability to protect states interests from external threats. Arguably the chapter notes that there was a growing debate on the need to expand the traditional notions of security to address the non-traditional threats and to develop a more comprehensive approach to security. Non-traditional security issues often relate directly to actions by individuals of certain social groups. More often these non-traditional security problems may easily surpass various types of limitations of politics, geography, and cultures, and begin to spill over from one country or region to another.

### **History of Zimbabwe**

The history of Zimbabwe has witnessed intermittent periods of wars and conflicts between people that occupied it; from hunters and fruit gatherers, to colonial beginnings in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century when colonial establishments and white minority regimes fought nationalist groups, which waged wars of

liberation up until the 1979 Lancaster House talks in London (Sibanda, 2014). The Lancaster House Agreement was a political consensus which brought the independence of Zimbabwe from Rhodesian rule. The negotiations that led to the Lancaster House Agreement brought recognized independence to Rhodesia following Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 (Meredith, 1989). The Agreement (signed in December 1979) covered the Independence Constitution, pre-independence arrangements, and a ceasefire (United Kingdom Constitutional Conference Report, 1979). The parties represented during the conference were: the British Government, the Patriotic Front led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and the Zimbabwe Rhodesia government, represented by Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Ian Smith. It was signed on 21 December 1979 (Preston, 2004).

In the period of conflict in the country that was stirred up by Arab traders as rival local leaders sought to take control of the gold and ivory being exchanged for cloth, beads and other luxuries. When the Portuguese arrived in the 1500s, they took sides in these disputes to gain the trade for themselves. The locals resented Portuguese interference and by the turn of the century, these first European settlers left the Zimbabwe plateau (Mudenge, 1988).



## Origins of Zimbabwe



Figure 1. The Ancient Great Zimbabwe Monument. 2013.

Source: UNESCO/NHK

Zimbabwe derives its name from historical stone structures called “*Great Zimbabwe*” (meaning houses of stone) the largest in Africa after the pyramids of Egypt, (UNESCO/CLTWHC, 2013). The stone sculptures were built in stages between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century. They are the remaining evidence of a past imperial capital of imposing architecture, whose walls of millions of hand-cut, brick-sized blocks of granite fitted together without mortar or cement and still stand about 11 meters high and six meters thick in places. The Great Enclosure is about 250 meters in circumference. Great Zimbabwe became a citadel, and famous as a world trade center. Thus, as Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages, two centuries before the 1066 Norman conquest of England, in Zimbabwe, the Great Zimbabwe National Monument by Africans were founded, which lasted six hundred years (Ibid). Smaller stone structures were also found at Khami, Dhlodholo, Nalatele and 250 other sites in present day Zimbabwe, South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique. Despite difficulties of communication during the early days, African people developed powerful state formations, extensive administrations and sophisticated socio-economic networks. The construction mastery and the strategic structure of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins demonstrated the

ingenuity and resilience of the Zimbabwean people (Beach, 1979). The citadel was built by the Shona people, an offshoot of the Bantu tribe from Eastern Africa during the gradual expansion into the area in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. It is reported that, at its peak, the Great Zimbabwe housed between 20 000 and 30 000 people.

Historical evidence shows that the people in Zimbabwe had skills in agriculture, animal husbandry and metal smelting especially, iron, copper and gold (Mlambo, 2014). However, the Bantu people did not develop a form of writing, hence little is known of their history before the Great Zimbabwe era. Rather more is known of the period after their interaction with the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, the Munhumutapa, Torwa and Rozvi Empires, (Mudenge, 1988).

It should be noted that by the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the cave drawings and establishments of the Great Shona speaking Empires had disintegrated into numerous principalities and chiefdoms. At the same time, a powerful kingdom emerged in Kwazulu Natal (South Africa) under King Shaka. Upheavals in that region drove one of Shaka's generals, Mzilikazi, and his soldiers northwards until they settled in the western part of Zimbabwe about 1836 after subduing the local Shona chiefs. In 1860, Mzilikazi's son, Lobengula, became the second and last Ndebele king. He was deposed by British troops in 1893 (Michel, 2019).

It should be realised that European penetration into Zimbabwe began through Christian missionaries who befriended King Mzilikazi in 1858. They were followed by fortune hunters, soldiers, and land grabbing settlers.



Figure 2. King Mzilikazi 1868. [King Mzilikazi's Matebele were a predatory people, and established themselves in their new environment by subjugating the original inhabitants until they were firmly entrenched as rulers of the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers. Their Impis (soldiers) foraged far and wide across the land, looting cattle and capturing women and children].

Source: Richard Moffatt, *Mzilikazi and the Ndebele People*, 1867

## Characteristics of the Victorious Cecil John Rhodes over King Lobengula



Figure 3. Cecil John Rhodes 1800 [Cecil John Rhodes was an ardent believer in British colonialism; Cecil John Rhodes was the founder of the Southern African territory of Rhodesia, which was named after him in 1895]

Source: Martin Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War, The British, The Boers & the Making of South Africa*, 2009

Cecil John Rhodes and his British South African Company negotiated the Rudd Concession with King Lobengula ostensibly for mining purposes, but he brought an invading army from South Africa and settled at present day Harare in 1890. Thereafter, Rhodes declared war on Lobengula and overthrew him and named the country Rhodesia. But who was Cecil John Rhodes to overthrow Lobengula in the first place? According to Wendell Roelf of Reuters, Rhodes who was born in 1853, son of a Bishop's Stortford clergyman in England, "went to South Africa because of adolescent ill-health. Rhodes founded the De Beers diamond empire, became one of the world's wealthiest men and rose to be premier of the Cape Colony in 1890" (Roelf, 1897). He began the policy of enforced racial segregation in South Africa and allowed the newspapers he controlled to publish racist tracts. He

died in 1902, aged 49, and was buried in the country that bore his name, Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe (Ankomah, 2015).

According to Baffour Ankomah, Cecil Rhodes is credited to have started *“the policy of enforced racial segregation in South Africa”* (Ankomah, 2015). In the same newspaper, Martin Plaut, a white journalist, writing on 16 April 2015, noted that *“Cecil Rhodes (1856- 1902) was the supreme imperialist”*. He added that he was, *“A mining magnate who made a fortune from South Africa’s diamonds, and dreamt of a British empire from Cape to Cairo. It was from his private initiative that led to the conquest of Zimbabwe”* (New Statesman, 2013). After the defeat by the white settlers, the land was ruled literally by force of arms for white domination.

Racial discrimination, known then as ‘*colour bar*’, was enforced right across the country’s social, economic, cultural and political spectrums. Schools, hospitals, residential areas, churches, hotels, bus and passenger train services were all segregated. Employment and wages were handled racially in the commercial, industrial and civil service sectors (Ndlovu, 2015).

In urban areas, there were by and large, two racial residential areas – one for whites and the other for blacks. There were also small areas for Asians and Coloureds in large urban centres such as Salisbury and Bulawayo. Blacks were barred from owning property in urban areas, and the official areas where they could live, build and own anything were called *“native reserves”* (<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/dr-nkomos-greatest-wish/amp>).

In summary as a British colony, Rhodesia that was conquered by Cecil John Rhodes was characterized by:

- A massive land grab exercise, which drove thousands of Africans, often at gunpoint, from 50% of the country into reservations, formerly dubbed tribal trust lands, now called communal lands. Land was taken without compensation to the owner and given to Rhodesia’s soldiers, or later to veterans of the World War I and II of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, or it was given to any white settler, but not to black persons. This racial based land division was consolidated by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969, which prohibited blacks to own land in white areas (Land Apportionment Act, 1930).
- The exclusion of Africans from the political process: Africans were denied the right to vote or stand for parliament, or to hold high office

in the army, police or public service (Land Tenure Act, 1969).

- Africans were excluded from the best schools, residential areas, and other amenities, which were reserved for whites only. Rhodesia was a mirror image of the apartheid policy, which then prevailed in South Africa.
- From 1960 onwards, major contradictions developed between colonial policy in London, which now wanted change, and the Rhodesian administration, which opposed majority rule, resulting in the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 1965 by the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Douglas Smith. Despite judgments by the highest courts in Rhodesia and England that the rebellion was illegal and treasonous, the British government refused to send troops to quell the rebellion, but imposed economic sanctions, which were to last for fourteen years (Sutcliffe, 2008).
- Africans resisted British rule from the beginning of European settlement. Although King Lobengula was defeated in 1893, Africans in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland took up arms in the First Chimurenga War of 1896-97, which was led by the famous spirit mediums Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi (Beach, 1979). The uprising was suppressed by the use of unparalleled brutality and torture of the prisoners of war and civilians (Mararike, 2014). For the following 60 years there was no armed opposition to British minority rule. Political, labour protests and unrest continued.
- Following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by Smith, the Africans launched the Second Chimurenga liberation war with the Sinoa Battle in 1966. Up until 1970, freedom fighters fought sporadic battles with Rhodesian security forces (Meredith, 1987). Rhodesian Security Forces were largely supported by the South African Defence Forces SADF (Cilliers, 1984). This period was followed by sustained war led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) supported by the independent African states, especially Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Botswana, and also by China and the Soviet Union. The liberation war ended in December 1979, following the Lancaster House Conference, at which the Rhodesian regime and the British government conceded defeat and granted independence to Zimbabwe under an agreed constitution (Soames, 1980; also see Martin and Johnson, 1981). Zimbabwe emerged as an independent state on 18th April 1980 with Robert Gabriel Mugabe as Prime Minister and Canaan Banana as the ceremonial President.