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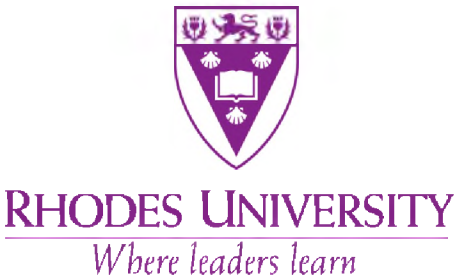

Beyond War, Violence, and Suffering: Everyday Life in the Honde Valley Borderland Communities during Zimbabwe's Liberation War and the RENAMO Insurgency, c.1960-2016.

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in African History by full thesis in the Department of History, Rhodes University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history of the Honde Valley area, in Mutasa District, along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border. It uses two historic developments: the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency to explore daily life and mundane experiences of the borderland communities, mainly from the late 1970s to 2016. Because earlier historians of these two historic developments have been much interested in studying the aspects of violence and suffering, this study extends the focus of analysis to the mundane experiences. I argue that in borderland areas, there are other wartime aspects of life worth investigating other than violence and suffering. In doing so, the thesis deploys the notions of conviviality and the everyday to understand the daily experiences of the Honde Valley communities during the disruptions caused to everyday life by these wars. Admittedly, twentieth century wars in Zimbabwe and Mozambique transformed the area that had previously remained at the fringes of colonial power from 1890-1950, into a new and bitterly contested 'sharp end' of the war. Nonetheless, peoples' experiences during these wars cannot be understood merely in relation to violence and suffering. Furthermore, I argue that although some families were forcibly moved into liberation war "Protected Villages", they innovatively designed new mechanisms and alternative lifestyles in response to the state's routinised control. The thesis concludes that beyond the confines of war-induced violence and suffering, Honde Valley communities used their borderland location to evade the pressures of war and continued with life.

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DEDICATION

For My Parents

For the resilience, undying Love and Support you gave me

And

Nicolette Matipaishe Nyachega

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BSACo	British South Africa Company
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
RENAMO/MNR	Mozambique National Resistance
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NC	Native Commissioner
PVs	Protected Villages
RSF	Rhodesian Security Forces
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African Nation Union-Patriotic Front
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
DA	District Administrator

GLOSSARY

Kachasu/ Nipa:	A strong home-brewed spirit made from berries or other wild fruits
Vakomana:	Guerrillas
Mujiba:	Errand boy /male war aid
Chimbwido:	Errand girl / female war aid
Situpa/ chitupa:	Registration certificate
***Nyika*:**	Land
Binde/chiradza:	Hunting trips
Matsanga:	Bandit
Pungwe:	Nightlong meeting
Mbende:	Marriage ceremony
Bira:	Rainmaking ceremony
Mabinga:	Burial shrines
Sabhuku:	Village head
Dunhu:	Kraal
***Sandunhu*:**	Kraal head
***Shumba*:**	Lion
Rukweza:	Finger millet

Mhunga:	Bulrush millet
Muguguda:	Homemade rifle
Mapfunde:	Sorghum
Magwere:	Maize
Nyemba:	Cowpeas
Mambure:	Snares
Vadzimba:	Expert hunters
Gona rehudzimba:	Hunting charm
Duvo:	Fish trap made of bamboos
Mahwe Masimike:	Big standing stones
Chitsuri:	Crest of the hut
Tsungo:	Accord
Bonde:	African mattress made of reeds
Madambo:	Wetlands
Bhinya:	One who kills for business rituals
Zviyerayera:	Taboos

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: BORDERLAND AND WAR HISTORIOGRAPHY IN ZIMBABWE

My interest in researching the history of the Honde Valley began in 2012 when I was an undergraduate student in the History department, University of Zimbabwe. I visited the area to conduct my research on the African Apostolic Church of Johane Marange. The research trips I made to the Honde Valley, however, reconnected me with the elders whose stories I had grown up listening to, including those of my late grandmother. Therefore, I should mention, that my interest in carrying out this research also emanated from my background as a 'son' of the Honde Valley. I grew up herding cattle and hunting in the Tangwena Mountain range in Mozambique. During the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe especially in 2005 and 2006, I also travelled further inland to the trading post in Msinzi area of Mozambique to trade maize for commodities such as cooking oil, soap and biscuits called *Mobisco*. Owing to my long history of contact with the Honde Valley communities, I managed to establish a rapport with a number of members in the area, mainly relatives and neigbours.

Moreover, while I was growing up in Honde Valley, I had conversations with many people, especially the elderly, who often shared stories of their experiences in the liberation war of Zimbabwe and the RENAMO insurgency. These were shared either during social gatherings such as night folk tales. I was privileged to be part of the audience, especially in the night gatherings. My grandmother used to sing for us a local song *Sabhuku vekuMadimbo* that taught how a local village head was killed in cold blood by RENAMO insurgents at his home. She also narrated how their beer brewing industry flourished on the Mozambican side, under the cover of the Nyamatondo River, and how guerrillas and Rhodesians were prosecuting the war. Interestingly, my father was given this giant brown dog, *Mbirinjako (*all the fame is yours), by 'Matsanga' (RENAMO insurgents) in exchange for the Kingsgate cigarettes he had offered. To him, the story of RENAMO in the Honde Valley goes beyond memories of war, but that of other relations like barter trade and smuggling. By 1987, Matsanga had established bases along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border, for instance in Mount Zeramera in Mandeya, Mount Tangwena

at Tepera and far north in mountains adjacent to Inyanga.[1] From these bases, RENAMO insurgents traded with the locals, especially Zimbabweans who lived along the border.

As a student of History at the University of Zimbabwe, I realised that the Zimbabwean war of liberation and RENAMO insurgency are popular areas of study and research of Zimbabwe's recent past. When commenting on any seminar and tutorial presentations on the war of liberation, one of my lecturers often referred to his thesis. He also argued that, the war of liberation was a history of suffering and violence, and that peasants were supportive of the war. To oppose this view was risky, especially for a younger student who was trying to find one's feet in academia. Very few of the students in our class attempted to write an essay or a dissertation that challenged the view that peasants supported the Zimbabwean war of liberation voluntarily, given the standpoint of my lecturer. Notwithstanding his findings in Chiweshe, I often asked if one case study resembles the history of the many areas, rural and urban, where the Zimbabwe liberation war was fought. Was the liberation war fought every day? Did peasants support the war voluntarily? How were people living during the war? I could hardly merge these conflicting accounts of war: the findings of a man who was my lecturer and the stories I heard from the people in the Honde Valley. Additionally, when I joined the UZ as a Teaching Assistant in 2015, I assigned students tutorial questions on the Zimbabwe liberation war to open the window for revisiting the war history. I therefore developed much interest in reading literature on the Zimbabwe liberation war and the RENAMO insurgencies that I enrolled for my Master's degree.

This thesis examines the borderland history[2] of the Honde Valley area, in Mutasa District, along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border. It seeks to go beyond earlier studies on borderland communities particularly war histories that have tended to focus on violence and suffering, by exploring everyday experiences of the borderland communities.[3] This study uses

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[1] Interview of the author with Mr Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga Village, Honde Valley, 07 August 2016.

[2]Borderlands are usually depicted as a region in one nation that are significantly affected by an international border See M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands', in *Journal of World History, Vol. 8, No. 2,* 1997, p.216.

[3] See H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A History of Suffering*, Woodbrigde, Suffolk, James Currey, 2013. See also G. Mafuranhunzi, *Guerrilla snuff*, Baobab Books, Harare, c1995.

two historic developments: the Zimbabwe liberation war and the post-1980 Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) insurgences to investigate people's wartime experiences.[4] It argues that Honde Valley villagers used their borderland location to elude, though not always with success, the pressures of war and incursions. Nonetheless, borderland communities are not exceptional because people living in war zones, wherever they might be located, are bound to evade the pressure of war. Located 98 kilometres north of Mutare and about 40 kilometres south of Nyafaru Farm,[5] Honde Valley became one of the hot spots during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgencies from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Because of its proximity to Mozambique and its topography, the Honde Valley provided both the ZANLA guerrillas and RENAMO insurgents with undetectable infiltration routes to Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. In order to understand the daily experiences of the Honde Valley communities during the said conflicts, this thesis also analyzes pre-war borderland dynamics such as religious practices, aesthetics of landscape, migration, and other political, social and economic activities. Research in the Honde Valley has shown that the Zimbabwean war of liberation and RENAMO incursions threatened people's everyday livelihoods and living conditions. Communal organizations and kinship ties were broken during the time when people moved to different areas. However, during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency, the Honde Valley villagers proved resilient and recast their pre-war ways of living through their social solidarities.

Admittedly, the research acknowledges the prevalence of violence and suffering during the war in the Honde Valley. While experiences of violence and suffering cannot be ignored, I argue that we cannot satisfactorily study wars solely through the lenses of violence and suffering. The lives of the Honde Valley villagers were not entirely defined by violence and suffering; they experienced much more besides. Thus, in studying the Zimbabwe war of liberation and RENAMO incursion, this study addresses fundamental questions that have not been of interest in

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[4]RENAMO is an abbreviation for *Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana,* meaning Mozambique National Resistance. This insurgent movement was named Matsanga after its leader Andre Matada Matsangaise in 1976.

[5]Under the leadership of Didymus Mutasa, Guy Clutton Brock and Moven Mahachi, Nyafaru Farm was a recruitment base for guerrillas in Chief Rekayi Tangwena's area, where Robert Mugabe and Edgar Tekere escaped the Rhodesian security forces into Mozambique in 1975.

preceding war histories of the borderlands (these histories will be discussed later). In doing so, this thesis offers an alternative history of wars which deviates from battle-centric narratives of former guerrillas,[6] and rehearsed arguments of nationalist leaders whose narratives and personal experiences[7] have influenced earlier accounts of these wars. This is important because over the years, members of the triumphant and ruling party, ZANU PF, have tended to manipulate war histories for political reasons. They use battle-centric narratives to celebrate nationalist accomplishments while undermining popular or mass agency and in the process creating patriotic history and manufacturing legitimacy for the regime.[8]

Therefore, this scenario calls for an appraisal that extends analytical gaze of war beyond violence and suffering, through capturing the narratives of the everyday experiences of the civilians. Ivan Marowa argues that some areas in Zimbabwe have remained unexamined and must be subjected to historical scrutiny since the war was never uniform in the different areas it was fought.[9] Although earlier historiographies, especially those produced soon after the war, are important in understanding the violent wartime experiences, this thesis seeks to include other aspects of wartime experiences. In this light, the study therefore argues that despite the episodic experiences of violence and suffering in the Honde Valley from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, the variegated experiences of war deserve historical attention. The fieldwork research that I conducted amongst Honde Valley borderland communities, has confirmed that there are other experiences of war apart from violence and suffering. During the war, communities in the Honde Valley engaged in various everyday activities, amongst which were beer brewing, farming, trading, hunting and nightlong meetings, which facilitated the functioning of society against the backdrop of war. These everyday activities were, however, an attempt to continue with the

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[6]See A. Mutambara, *The Rebel in me: a ZANLA guerrilla commander in Rhodesian bush war, 1975-1980*, Princeton, Helion and Company, c.2014. W. Mhanda, *Dzino: Memories of a freedom fighter*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2011.

[7] See E. Z Tekere, *A lifetime of struggle*, Sapes Books, Harare, 2007, R. G Mugabe, *Our war of liberation: speeches, articles, interviews, 1976-1979*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1983.

[8]On how politicians have manipulated history in Zimbabwe, see B Tendi, *Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media (Nationalisms across the globe)*, Peter Lang, 2010.

[9]*Ibid*, p.12.

community's pre-war life. Thus, everyday ordinary life becomes the communicative space within which the mundane and sense-making activities of people are undertaken.[10] Using these lived activities in the Honde Valley, this thesis provides an alternative history of borderland' communities' experiences during wars and not just a history of violence and suffering. Treating these experiences offers a counterpoint to the canonized nationalist interpretations of what has been dubbed the 'Chimurenga',[11] meaning Zimbabwe's war of liberation and RENAMO insurgencies.

This thesis is informed by, but not limited to an understanding of the notions of conviviality and the everyday. I use these concepts in reflecting upon the experiences of the people of Honde Valley from the 1960s to the post-independence era. Archaeologists, anthropologists and sociologists have employed conviviality to discuss local solidarities and conflicts born of habitual interaction in metropolitan societies'.[12] Achille Mbembe has also used conviviality in showing how, together with resistance and disorder, these were inherent features of the post-colonial order.[13] Thus, conviviality and conflicts at times co-exist.[14] This study, however, uses conviviality to inform an understanding of the mechanism of social coordination and networks in the borderland communities of Honde Valley in the wake of war. The concept of conviviality is used to refer to the wartime practices that made the society function against the backdrop of war. Broadly speaking, conviviality encompasses the dynamics of the everyday life,

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[10] P. Hannock and M. Tyler, Beyond the confines: Management, Colonization and the Everyday, *Critical Sociology, Vol. 34(1)*, Sage Publication, 2008, p.30.

[11]The use of the word 'Chimurenga' itself in naming the Zimbabwe liberation war is problematic, because when translated, it is associated with sacrifice, suffering and violence.

[12] See Gilroy, P., *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture?*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2004. ; Heil T., 'Are neighbours alike? Practices of conviviality in Catalonia and Casamance', *European Journal of Cultural Studies ; Vol 17*, University of Konstanz, Germany Centre of Excellence 'Cultural Foundations of Integration', University of Konstanz, 2014.

[13] A. Mbembe, *On the Post Colony*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 2001, p.128.

[14]C. Karner and D. Parker, Conviviality and Conflict: Pluralism, Resilience and Hope in Inner-City Birmingham, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies , Vol. 37, No. 3*, Routledge, 2011, p.357.

cross-cultural encounters, the small exchanges and experience of ordinary lives.[15] In Honde Valley, wartime forms of conviviality are manifest in the heterogeneous associations and social cohesions expressed at local shrines, beer-brewing spots such as *Munyawarara,*[16] nightlong meetings, hunting, and marriage ceremonies, among others, fostered associations and people's encounters during war. These interactions mainly worked as counter to the forces of war, and the dangers of violence. They were, in some ways, forms of coping with the disruptive nature of war in societies that had not previously been caught up in violent warfare.

This study also employs Michel de Certeau's theory of the "everyday" to investigate wartime experiences of the Honde Valley people. Michel de Certeau's work in particular, has been a key focus for people interested in the construction of space and power relations.[17] In his *The Practice of Everyday Life,* de Certeau focuses on everyday practices and acts of social reproduction in order to investigate the many ways in which people operate in their daily lives. Thus, in the Honde Valley, the 'everyday' aspects of life refers to the routine human practices or ways of operating which took place regardless of the interruptions induced by major occasions during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency.[18]

Importantly, for people living in border areas, boundaries are an essential part of the activities of daily life. African men and women living I these areas usually circumvent the colonially imposed boundaries.[19] During the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO

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[15] A. Bell, 'Decolonizing Conviviality and "belonging ordinary": Cross- cultural face-to-face encounters in Aotearoa', New Zealand, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2015, p. 14.

[16]*Munyawarara* is derived from a Shona word, *munya* (pap/sadza left overnight, therefore not fresh) and wa-rara (sleeping). This means that stayed sadza could spent yet another night before the person whom the meal was prepared for returned home. When their wives ask colleagues the whereabouts of their husbands, they would say they are not back yet, their food has stayed for days (*Munyawara*).The name became adopted and widely used in the 1970s.

[17]M. deCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984

[18] M. deCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984, p. 14.

[19]N. David and A, Paasi 'Fences and Neighbours in the Postmodern World, Boundary Narratives in Political Geography. *Progress in Human Geography 22.2*, 1998, p.198.

insurgency, *borderlanders* continued to circumvent the border for their own advantage.[20] In the Honde Valley, the war émigrés who circumvented the porous border and migrated to the Mozambican territory moved on with life as they engaged in distinct routine daily activities. However, these daily activities seemed threatened by the advent of the war in the 1970s. In essence, some of these activities were a continuation of their pre-war ways of life. These said interactions are trivial and went unnoticed by government officials who initially produced most war reports of the war. Yet they were the fundamental aspect of life not only during war but also to the very fabric of life whatever the circumstances.

Communal identities and belonging were important in determining people's interactions during the wartime. Peter Geschiere,[21] Frederick Cooper,[22] and Joseph Mujere,[23] among others, have dealt with the discourses of identity and belonging in colonial contexts. Identity is a category of analysis that conceptualises commonality, connectedness, and cohesion and denotes fundamental sameness among members of groups.[24] Identity is a product of marking difference and exclusion. However, it is ambiguous and torn between essentialist connotation and constructivist qualifiers.[25] In the Honde Valley area, however, identity construction is deeply rooted in communal understanding and determined by the local politics. Although both the colonial and post- colonial governments have used the political boundaries to define, identify and differentiate communities along the Zimbabwe- Mozambique border, people's straddling of

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[20] On how ordinary people circumvent borders, see also A. Daimon, 'Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 2016.

[21] P. Geschiere, *The perils of belonging: Autochthony, citizenship, and exclusion in Africa and Europe, Chicago*: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.

[22] F. Cooper and R. Brubaker, 'Identity' in F. Cooper, *Colonialism in question: Theory, knowledge, history*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005, p.59.

[23] J. Mujere, 'Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists, and Progressive Farmers: Basotho Struggles For Belonging In Zimbabwe 1930s-2008', PhD Thesis, Edinburgh University, 2012.

[24] R. Brubaker and F. Cooper, 'Beyond Identity', Cited in R. Jenkins, *Social Identity*, Routledge, London, 2014, p.2.

[25] *Ibid.*

relationships and connections across the imposed border worked in undermining these identities. Research has shown that the locals have a tendency of distancing themselves from the Zimbabwean and Mozambican centres of power, which tend to define people's identities, thereby by essentialising them. In so doing, they thus establish and maintain new relations of similarity and difference. Resultantly, some families identify themselves as both Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, having two national identities and dual homes. Given this, together with key theories mentioned above, identity and belonging are therefore crucial concepts in establishing a critical understanding of how borderlands societies in Honde Valley interacted and lived together, and continuously negotiated sense of belonging even as the war went by. In the Honde Valley, there is a coexistent nature of both aspects of essentialist and constructionist identities. This results in the shifting and crafting of identities by the people living in the border to suit their own needs.

Engaging borderland scholarship

This thesis contributes to two broad categories of literature, namely, borderland and war historiography in Zimbabwe. It is therefore imperative that attention is paid, firstly, to borderland scholarship and, secondly, to war historiography. Broadly speaking, borderland scholarship has initially concentrated on American and European borders, particularly in the much-studied Mexican-US border.[26] Frederick Jackson Turner pioneered the study that revolutionized American intellectual and historical thinking of the American frontier.[27] He suggested that a frontier is the meeting point between savagery and civilization.[28] However, Turner's suggestion undermines the fact that frontier zones have their own civilizations and regional patterns of

[26] N. Pophiwa, Mobile livelihoods- the players involved in smuggling of commodities across the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border, *Journal of Borderland Studies, Vol. 25, 2010*, p.67. (This footnote does not refer to anything about the US-Mexican border. Find a more relevant source)

[27] F.J. Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, American Historical Association, Chicago, 1893.

[28] *Ibid*,p.2

interactions. In this light, Igor Kopytoff suggested that frontiers were fluid "zones of interactions", economic, political, and social exchanges.[29] Kopytoff notes that:

> On frontiers, populations – ancestral linguistically, culturally, and predominantly biologically – were living in association and contact with one other kind of setting in which regional cultural syntheses and patterns are usually evolved. It is here that we assume that the 'incubation' of the ancestral pan-African culture patterns took place.[30]

However, it is important to note that a discussion of and about frontiers, borders and borderlands should seek to clarify and differentiate them. These clarifications and differentiations are necessary because scholars have used these terms interchangeably whilst the differences noted by others are not clear.[31] In 1959, Kristof stated that, frontiers were borderlands.[32] Following this, many scholars began to view borderlands as frontiers or frontiers as borderlands. In 1997, M Baud and Van Schendel suggested that academic discussions are often confused because of the lack of conceptual consensus and confusion emanating from differences in the use of the terms *frontier or frontera or fronteire*, border and boundary.[33] American scholars have a tendency of using the term frontier while British scholars preferably use border and boundary. However, O. Adejuyibe has argued that frontiers do not exist simultaneously with borderlands.[34] In support of Adejuyibe, I suggest that borderlands are land(s) that are close to the border/boundary and that frontiers cease to exist whenever an official

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[29] I. Kopytoff cited in A.M Howard and R.M. Shain, The Spatial factor in African History: The Relationship of Social, Material and Perceptual, Brill, Leiden, 2005, p.51.

[30] *Ibid*, p.9.

[31] O. Adejuyibe, "*Characteristics of borderlands"*, in A. I Asiwaju and P.O Adeniyi, *Borderlands in Africa: A Multidisciplinary and comparative focus*, University of Lagos Press, 1989, p.27.

[32] L K. D. Kristof, "The nature of frontiers and boundaries", *Annals Association of American Geographers, Vol 49*, 1959, Francis and Taylor, 2010, p.270.

[33] M. Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands", in *Journal of World History, Vol. 8, No. 2,* University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, p.216.

[34] O. Adejuyibe, "Characteristics of borderlands in Africa", in A.I. Asiwaju and P.O Adeniyi, Borderlands *in Africa*: *A Multidisciplinary and comparative focus* on Nigeria and West Africa, Lagos University Press, Lagos, 1990, p.28.

boundary is established. In this thesis, I refer to the Honde Valley borderland as a region which is significantly affected by an international border. [35]

Moreover, British, American and New Spanish historians such as, Herbert Bolton and Strassoldo have been at the forefront in studying the European borders.[36] These pioneering studies have focused on the demarcation of borders, showing how such developments culminated into conflicts and wars. This strand of scholarship has often depicted borderlands as war zones. Nevertheless, while literary writers, sociologists and anthropologists have largely undertaken these studies, John Chavez argued that Peter Sahlins was one of the first historians in Europe to take the borderland studies beyond the US–Mexico focus by studying Spanish borderlands. Sahlins examined the development of national sovereignty and the subjective aspect of identity in the Catalan area of Pyrenees.[37] The trend of casting borderlands as zones of dangers, or rather 'bloodlands' has continually existed even up to the 21st century. Undeniably, borderlands, apart from being zones of friendly interactions, have usually been battle zones. Thus, in his study of the Nazi- Soviet killings from 1933-44, Timothy Snyder presented Europe's Eastern borderlands of Ukraine as "Bloodlands".[38] Furthermore, borrowing from Nordstrom and Robben,[39] Laurie Lijnders also discussed the experiences and epistemology of violence on the Egypt-Israel border and its Sinai borderlands.[40] Lijnders argued that for decades, the Egypt-Israel border witnessed

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[35]See also M. Baud and Willem Van Schendel, "Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands", p.216.

[36] See Alderman J. and Aron S., 'From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-states and the peoples between North American History', in J. Canizares-esguerra, *Entangled Histories: Borderland Historiographies in New Clothes*, American Historical Review, 2007.

[37] J. R. Chávez, 'When Borders Cross Peoples: The Internal Colonial Challenge to Borderlands Theory', *Journal of Borderlands Studies, Vol 28:1, June 2013,* p. 40. See also P. Sahlins, Boundaries*: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.

[38] T. Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, Random House, Manhattan, 2011.

[39] C. Nordstrom and A. C.G.M. Robben, *Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival*, California, University of California Press, 1995.

[40] L. Lijnders, 'Caught in the Borderlands: Discursive, Bodily, and Collective Frontiers of violence and suffering experienced by Eritrean refugees in Israel', MA thesis, University of Utrecht, December 2011, p.8.

rampant acts of violence, war, terrorism, and illegal businesses.[41] Citing narratives of Eritrean refugees who were held as hostages in the Northern Sinai borderland torture camps, the author presents borderland as zones of inhuman suffering caused by trafficking.[42] Human trafficking in the borderlands of the Sinai desert thus presents a 'frontier' of violence where Eritrean refugees are inflicted torture by the traffickers who wanted to extort money.

The second half of the 20th century was the turning point in the scholarship of African borderlands. Africanist scholars began to use theories and explanations developed by the likes of Strassoldo,[43] to study African borders and African borderlands. The employment of such theories and explanations depicted the borders as entry points or zones of intense interactions rather than barriers or conduits of movements. Amongst the observations made was that colonial boundaries or borders cut not only land, but also cut through people or communities and borders are key sites of contestations and negotiations, which, in many ways, are central to the state-making process.[44] This approach to borderlands became increasingly popular in the borderland scholarship. However, post-Cold War scholars such as Martinez began to challenge orthodox approaches to borderlands by focussing on the 'border experience' in order to capture the various ways, which the common people exploited borders to their advantage.[45] The experience of the inhabitants became sites of focus rather than the histories of European border creations. Thus, with time, focus began to shift to the lived experiences and interactions on borderlands mainly

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[41] L. Lijnders, 'Caught in the Borderlands:' p.4.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] R. Strassoldo, 'Border Studies: The state of Art in Europe', 1989, in A. I Asiwaju and P.O Adeniyi (eds.) Borderlands *in Africa: A Multidisciplinary and Comparative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, Lagos, University of Lagos Press, p.393.

[44] B. Korf and T. Raeymaekers, *Violence on the margins: States, conflict and borderlands*,p.38

[45] O. J Martinez, *Border People: Life and Society in the US-Mexico Borderlands*, The University of Arizona Press, United States of America, 1994. (See also a section by F. Duri ,"Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands: A social history of informal socio-economic activities across the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border with particular reference to the City Of Umtali, 1900-1974", PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Republic of South Africa, 2012, pp.10-17.

because of the call by Martinez and the initiative and contribution of scholars such as A.I Asiwaju from the mid-1980s.[46]

A.I. Asiwaju thus became an important figure in African borderland scholarship, which concentrated mainly on Nigeria's borders. While undertaking his studies of the US-Mexico borderlands, O. J Martinez noted that, among the literature he had surveyed, the most insightful, for comparative purposes, has been the work of a borderland historian called A. I. Asiwaju.[47] Before Asiwaju and his counterparts such as P.O Adeniyi began to focus on border life, most writings on borderlands, beginning with the anthropological tradition and the idea of social boundaries, emphasized the ethnic divisions and relations within societies.[48] In such historical studies, borderlands are depicted as zones of interactions in which people are, in most instances, confronted with so many challenges. These range from colonial displacements and separations, wars, violence and suffering emanating from either the colonial state or post-colonial governments' attempts and efforts at policing the borders and controlling the borderlands. While the Honde Valley borderland remained a zone of intense interactions, the Zimbabwean war of liberation and RENAMO incursions presented the locals with challenges such as family dislocations. Nevertheless, the local Africans skirted the porous border to their advantage as many families migrated and established new homes in Mozambique.

In general, borderland studies in Africa and Zimbabwe, particularly the eastern parts of the country, have largely focused on wars, cross-border migrations, smuggling and the acts of criminality on the borderland. Apparently, violence and suffering have been, in most cases, used as the analytical lenses to mirror the experiences of borderland inhabitants during these historic developments. There is a need to offer alternative explanations that do not ignore violence but

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[46] A. I Asiwaju, *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries*, C Hurst and Company, London, 1985. See also T. Falola and A. Usman, (eds), *Movements, Borders, and Identities in Africa*, University of Rochester Press, Cloth, 2009.

[47] O. J Martinez, *Border People: Life and Society in the US-Mexico Borderlands,* p. 19.

[48] W. Zartman, *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and motion*, University of Georgia Press, Georgia, 2010 p.13.

take it as the very beginning of analysis. Do wars, violence and suffering epitomize the totality of people's experiences on the borderlands? Why has it been so important for historians to focus on such experiences of violence and suffering without paying attention to the everyday lives of borderland peoples? Nevertheless, how then can we appreciate these wars if we do not re-investigate them within the broader category of borderland studies? Do we need to emphasize the geographies of violence when accounting for wars? Are borderlands essentially bloodlands? These questions are of paramount importance in this thesis as it revisits the interpretations of the Zimbabwean liberation war and RENAMO insurgency (*Hondo yaMatsanga*). Against this background, this thesis therefore unsettles the dominant narratives of war that largely focus on war, violence, and suffering.

Unsurprisingly, many African borderlands are depicted as 'bloodlands'. This is largely because borderland citizens, like any other rural communities, have endured the most of wars in these zones. Decolonisation wars and insurgent movements affect borderland communities because border areas usually infiltration routes for illegal migrants such as liberation fighters, insurgents and war refugees. Decolonisation wars are always a violent phenomenon and a programme of complete disorder,[49] which turns borderlands into battlefields or bloodlands. Nonetheless, far from being barriers, borderlands are also conduits that connect people living on both sides of the border.[50] Focusing on Zimbabwean borderlands, D. McDermott Hughes reiterated that the borderland is a zone, a hinterland, lying outside the spatial core of a society because it 'opens as a territory or zone of interpenetration of two previously distinct societies.'[51] Most of the Zimbabwean-Mozambican borderland areas, such as Honde Valley, Penhalonga, Nyaronga, and Tangwena areas are zones of interpenetration. Historically, borderland inhabitants

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[49] F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Maspero editeur, Paris, 1961, pp.35-36.

[50] P. Nugent, and A.I.Asiwaju, (eds), *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and opportunities*, Centre of African Studies, British Library Cataloguing in Publication, 1996, p.1.

[51] D. Mcdermott Hughes, Enslavement *to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier,* University of Washington Press, In Association with Weaver Press, Harare, 2006., p.3.

or *borderlanders* in these areas usually traverse the border when the need arose. They engaged in several activities including smuggling of goods, farming and hunting.[52]

Similarly, in the Honde Valley areas such as Mandeya, Nyaronga, Katiyo, Sagambe, Chavhanga, people traverse the border. Based on claims that 'our ancestors used to farm and hunt beyond the Pungwe river and that they used to do their ceremonies as far as in the Zaramera mountain beyond Katiyo in Mozambique',[53] villagers often traversed the border whenever the need arose. Although war violence and suffering are an intrinsic part of the lived experiences in Honde Valley, not only were these Honde Valley borderlands marked by war and suffering. The Zimbabwe and Mozambique borderlands are also bridges and points of contact and corridors of opportunity.[54] Therefore, scholars need to engage the reality of the daily lives of the common people in the borderlands even during wars and crisis. Even though borders were primarily created to be restrictive mechanisms, various scholars illustrated how borderlands became vibrant spaces that common people exploited for opportunities. To the villagers in the borderlands, a border 'is not a fixed entity, but is always constructed on various levels of social orders and historically contested'.[55] Thus, borderlands are social processes. To put it clearly, William Zartman noted that:

> Borderlands are inhabited territories located on the margins of power centre, or between power centres, with power understood in the civilization as well as the politico-economic sense. But like the sea at the edge of the land (and the reverse), they are continually in movement, both fast and slow…Borderland need to be understood, not as places or even events, but as social process.[56]

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[52]N. Pophiwa, 'The Border Moves at Night': Experiences of Smuggling among the Penhalonga and Nyaronga Communities astride the Zimbabwe- Mozambique Border, Paper presented at the Department of Economic History Seminar Series, 2007.

[53] Interview of the author with Francis Dondo, Chikomba, Honde Valley, 21 September 2016.

[54]F. P.T. Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands:', p.27.

[55]*Ibid.*

[56] W. Zartman, *Understanding Life in the borderlands: Boundaries in depth and in motion*, University of Georgia Press, London, 2010, p.2

Similarly, in 1989 renowned sociologist of international boundaries Ramaindo Strassoldo asserted that:

> [Borders] divide and unite, bind the interior and link it with the exterior; (they) are barriers and junctions, walls and doors, organs of defence and attack. Frontier areas (borderlands) can be managed to maximize either of such functions. They can be militarized as bulwarks against neighbours, or made into areas of peaceful interchange.[57]

In the light of the above, this thesis therefore, presents the borderland communities as zones of strong political, economic and social interactions, where people established desired social orders, which are at the core of the everyday or ordinary. In Zimbabwe, borderland scholarship has focused on the aspects of displacement and wars, among other things. In most of these borderland histories, the Zimbabwean war of liberation and RENAMO insurgencies feature prominently in explaining the challenges that confronted the borderland inhabitants over time. Donald. S. Moore has focused on Zimbabwean-Mozambican border in the Tangwena area.[58] He uses ethnography to illuminate the geographies of violence in Kaerezi Resettlement Scheme in Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands, which were historically sedimented in landscapes of racialized dispossession. In his anthropological analyses of power and the state, Moore not only engages with both Foucauldian and Gramscian notions of power, but also moves beyond the existing literature by focusing on what he calls the 'spatiality of power relations and politics of positioning'.[59] Most critically, he probes the initiatives and reaction of villagers to local power relations by describing everyday social and economic practices to show villagers' determination for survival.[60] Moore's book inspired not only my methodology, but it has also widened my

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[57] R. Strassoldo, 'Border Studies: The state of Art in Europe', 1989, in A. I Asiwaju and P.O Adeniyi (eds.) *Borderlands in Africa: A Multidisciplinary and Comparative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, Lagos, University of Lagos Press, p.393.

[58]D.S Moore, *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place, and Power in Zimbabwe,* Weaver Press, Harare, 2005 p.185. See also D. Mcdermott Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier,* University Of Washington Press, in association with Weaver Press, Harare, 2006.

[59] J. Fontein, Book Review, University of Edinburgh, pp.1-2.

[60]D.S Moore, *Suffering for Territory: p.185.*

understanding and development of concepts of violence. In showing how villagers were resilient, Moore shows that violence was intrinsic to histories of everyday power relations in Kaerezi.

Zimbabwe Liberation War and the RENAMO Insurgency: Historiographical reflections

The history of Zimbabwe's liberation war and RENAMO insurgency require that readers understand who is producing the narrative, why and when. In most of these accounts, civilians are portrayed as vulnerable and passive recipients of violence meted out by the colonial, nationalist and insurgent groups. However, in some of the areas in the country, war did not epitomize people's experiences. Although violence threatened societies, civilians found ways to deal with their challenges, especially among borderland communities. David Martin and Phyllis Johnson,[61] David Lan,[62] Kenneth Manungo,[63] Norma Kriger,[64] Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger,[65] Fay Chung,[66] among many others, appraised the Zimbabwe liberation war. These accounts acknowledged that there was violence, suffering and sacrifice during the liberation war. As early as 1981, Martin and Johnson discussed the mobilization and recruitment of peasants by the nationalists in North-Eastern Zimbabwe noting violent experiences of the war.[67] This dominant narrative is important in exposing the violence and suffering that civilians endured

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[61]D. Martin and P. Johnson, *The struggle for Zimbabwe: the Second Chimurenga*, Faber and Faber, London, 1981.

[62]D. Lan, Guns *and Rain: Guerrillas and spirit mediums in Zimbabwe*, James Currey, London, 1985.

[63]K.D. Manungo, 'The role of the peasants in the Zimbabwe war of liberation with special emphasis on Chiweshe District, PhD Thesis, Ohio University, USA,1991.

[64] N. J. Kriger, *Zimbabwe Guerrilla War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

[65] N. Bhebe, and T. O. Ranger, *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's liberation War*, Volume One, University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, 1995.

[66] F. Chung, *Reliving the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe's liberation struggle*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2007.

[67]D Martin and P Johnson, *The struggle for Zimbabwe:*, p23. J. N Kriger also argued that peasants were coerced by the guerrillas, hence their participation was involuntary. See N. J. Kriger, *Zimbabwe Guerrilla War*,

during the war. Martin and Johnson laid bare the guerrilla atrocities in the war, noting guerrillas kidnapped people to go for guerrilla training, arguing that they were 'going for national service'. However, another school, whose chief exponents include T.O. Ranger, N. Bhebe and K.D Manungo, posited that because of a prevailing political consciousness, peasants voluntarily participated in the Liberation war.[68] Nonetheless, Ranger in particular, failed to demonstrate a unique Zimbabwean peasant political consciousness, which he claimed to have been common amongst rural farmers and entrepreneurs. Thus, N. Kriger rejected the notion that peasants and guerrillas had a common goal, arguing that the ZANLA forces used violence to force the rural population into supporting them and participating in the liberation war.[69] R. Werbner also explained the violent experiences and terror amongst the Kalanga people in South Western Zimbabwe during the liberation war.[70] Therefore, while this study benefited from these works and admits the prevalence of war atrocities and violence, it also widens the discourse by looking at the civilians perspectives of the war, particularly why they participated the war. In this thesis, I argue that ZANLA guerrillas and Rhodesians' use of violence forced civilians to participate in different ways. Furthermore, their exploitative relations with civilians in Honde Valley also shaped civilians' everyday experiences in many ways.

Zimbabwe liberation war literature also engages the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF)'s responses to guerrilla movements in many parts of the country, including the Eastern Highlands. J. Nhongo-Simbanegavi, for example, highlighted that the RSF resorted to Protected Villages (PVs) in the Gaza province, mainly in Chibgwedziwa, Chiteya, Chilonga, Boli and Chipanda.[71]

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[68] See N. Bhebe, and T. O. Ranger, *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War;* K.D. Manungo "The role of the peasants in the Zimbabwe war of Liberation:"

[69] See J. N Kriger, *Zimbabwe's guerrilla war* and The Zimbabwean War of liberation: Struggles within the Struggle *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol. 14, No. 2, Special Issue on Culture and Consciousness in Southern Africa (Jan., 1988), p.310.

[70] R. Werbner, *Tears of the Dead: The social Biography of an African Family*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1991.

[71] J. Nhongo-Simbanegavi, *For Better or Worse? Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's liberation Struggle*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2000, p. xvi.

Nhongo-Simbanegavi,[72] Tanya Lyons,[73] and Fay Chung[74] also discussed the experiences of women guerrillas and refugees who were exposed to considerable harassment by male commanders.[75] Nonetheless, unlike these scholars, this thesis argues that the attempts to control the borderland areas of Honde Valley by the RSF were not very effective as almost more than 60,000 people evaded war either by relocating to neighbouring Mozambique or Rhodesian towns.[76] Protected Villages were established in areas such as Sagambe, Zindi and Hauna but many people fled to the Mozambican side of the border, where they continued to live until the end of the war. Furthermore, this study also argues that the idea that women were ZANLA guerrillas' 'warm blankets' (euphemism for entertainment partners), must be understood within the context of the ordinary life and exploitative interaction between the guerrillas and civilians during the war.[77] Conversely, cases of war-related sexual abuses continued unabated as the victims had no one they could report and obtain redress. Although women were coerced, research has shown that in some cases some women had affairs with guerrillas to obtain protection and security from further violations during the war.

Despite the existence of a wide-ranging corpus of literature on the Zimbabwean war of liberation, the Honde Valley area has remained understudied. Earlier works on Honde Valley were largely on coffee and tea production,[78] memoirs and biographies of hunters and travellers

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[72] *Ibid.*

[73] T. Lyons, *Guns and guerrilla girls: women in the Zimbabwean national liberation struggle*, Africa World Press, Trenton, 2004.

[74] F. Chung, *Re-living the second Chimurenga: memories from the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe*: Weaver Press, 2006.

[75] F. Chung, *Re-living the Second Chimurenga,* p.9.

[76] See H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A History of Suffering,* p.182.

[77] See F. Chung, *Re-living the Second Chimurenga,* p.126

[78] J.P. Mtisi, *Green Harvest: The Out-grower Tea Leaf Collection System in the Honde Valley*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe Land Tenure Centre, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2003.

who were fascinated with the scenery of the area.[79] It was not until Heike Schmidt's influential work, particularly her 1996 doctoral thesis,[80] her chapter on forced communities in Zimbabwe's liberation war,[81] and her book[82] that historians began to express interest in researching war experiences in the area. Schmidt uses violence and suffering as analytical tools in her works, specifically in her book *Colonialism and Violence: A history of Suffering.* The book addresses many fundamental aspects such as culture and life on the border area, the nature of colonialism, identity and migration in Honde Valley, amongst other things. Schmidt's book inspired my interest in understanding how borderland cultures such as migration influenced the Honde Valley people's wartime experiences. Its strength also lies in methodological richness, for example, she conducted 177 interviews in Honde Valley, and consulted many other privately held papers from individual and businesspersons who operated in Honde Valley. Schmidt's argues that the Honde Valley's history from the colonial period to the 1990s was one of violence and suffering which required healing.[83] Although Schmidt's findings are important, this study extends analysis beyond violence and suffering. Arguably, against the backdrop of war violence and suffering, the Honde Valley borderland's cultural dynamics and the landscape offered so many opportunities to the locals during the war. Furthermore, because the Zimbabwe liberation war was very interactive in nature, the Honde Valley borderland thus became a zone of intense interactions. In this light, Schmidt's work is the starting point of my interest in researching the everyday practices of the borderlands. While Schmidt concentrated on discussing people's identities in PVs,[84] this thesis also examines the experiences of war émigrés who stayed out of PVs.

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[79]K. Thomas,*Shadows in an African Twilight: Game Ranger – Soldier – Hunte*r, Dennis and Thomas, Cape Town, 2008. See also D. Rogers's *The Last Resort: a Zimbabwe Memoir*; B. K. Pudaruth, *Back to Honde Valley.*

[80] Heike Schmidt, "The Social and economic impact of political violence in Zimbabwe, 1890-1990; A case study of Honde Valley", Oxford University, 1996.

[81] H. Schmidt, 'Love and Healing in Forced communities:'

[82]H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A History of Suffering*, Woodbrigde, Suffolk, James Currey, 2013.

[83] See H. Schmidt, 'Love and Healing in Forced communities:' p.184.

[84]H. Schmidt popularized the keep identity to refer to politics of identity and belonging, which emerged in the Protected Villages in Honde Valley, during the Zimbabwe liberation war.

Following Marowa,[85] this study contends that wars do not epitomize the totality of peoples' experiences, thus there is a need to understand other aspects of communities even in wartime.

Concerning the RENAMO war Margaret Hall,[86] Gerhard Seibert,[87] Baxter Tavuyanago,[88] Stephen Emerson,[89] and others,[90] have illuminated the causes and the impact of the war in Mozambique and its neighbours, concentrating on trauma and suffering. Two schools of thought have explained the origins of RENAMO in Mozambique. The first school propounded by Joseph Hanlon,[91] and Josiah Tungamirai,[92] argues that RENAMO was a Rhodesian creation, which served as an anti-insurgency proxy movement. In 1986, Johnson and Martin also supported this view by arguing that the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) formed RENAMO in 1976 to destabilize the activities of the ZANLA forces.[93] However, Chingono noted that this school tends to exaggerate the role of external forces to the extent of reducing Mozambicans to

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[85]I. Marowa, 'Landscape and Memory:' See also Marowa I, *Crossing the Boundary: Memories and Narratives of a River Valley Landscape during Zimbabwe's War of liberation, c. 1976–1980*, Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies, University of Bayreuth, Germany, 2014.

[86] M. Hall, 'The Mozambican National Resistance Movement (RENAMO): A study in the Destruction of an African Country', in *Journal of the International African Institute Vol. 60, No.1*, 1990, pp.39-68.

[87] G, Seibert, 'The vagaries of violence and power in post-colonial Mozambique', in J. Abbink, M.E.de Bruijn, and K.van Walraven, *Rethinking resistance: revolt and violence in African history*, Brill, Leiden, 2003.

[88] B. Tavuyanago, *The RENAMO War: Its Impact in South East Zimbabwe, 1982-1992*, VDM Verlag, Germany, 2011.

[89]S. A. Emerson, *The Battle for Mozambique: The FRELIMO–RENAMO Struggle, 1977–1992*, Helion and Company, England, 2014.

[90]See also J. M Weinstein and L. Francisco, "The Civil war in Mozambique: The balance between internal and external influences", in Paul Collier, *Understanding Civil War: Africa*, World Bank, Washington DC, 2005.

[91]J. Hanlon, *Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire*, London, Zed Books Ltd., 1984.

[92]J. Tungamirai, 'From Détente to Destabilization, South African Military Policy in Southern Africa, 1974-1987', Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1987. On external creation of RENAMO, see K. Flower, Serving Secretly. An Intelligent Chief on Record: Rhodesia into Zimbabwe, 1964 to 1981, John Murray, London, 1987.

[93]P. Johnson and D. Martin (eds.), *Destructive Engagement, Southern Africa at War, Harare*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1986, p. 6. See also, M.F Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development. The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, Avebury, 1996.

"mere passive victims of manipulations and machinations by powerful external forces".[94] For the same reason, B. Tavuyanago laments that the school does not address the question of why RENAMO was creatable, if it was created.[95]

The revisionist school of thought traces the origins of the RENAMO from within Mozambique itself. This school cites the FRELIMO government's introduction of flawed policies such as forced villagization as the root causes of civil conflict. The school ascribes blame to Mozambique's post-colonial government FRELIMO for the creation of the civil conflict that has continued to threaten peace in the country by destabilizing it since 1976. According to B. Tavuyanago, FRELIMO's heavy-handed attempt to displace existing social and economic institutions in the country without prompt and effective replacements caused the civil war.[96] Chingono also has it that the FRELIMO party and government's introduction of policies that were insensitive to peasant aspirations ignited the civil war.[97] Having said this, however, it appears that both internal and external factors played an influential role in the creation of the RENAMO insurgent movement in 1976. It may be argued, nonetheless, that an analysis which examines the Mozambican problem from within Mozambique itself appears however to be plausible. Ethnographic data collected in Honde Valley borderland communities shows that RENAMO insurgents infiltrated the Honde Valley to access resources and commodities that would aid and sustain them in their Mozambican civil war. Trade and commodity exchanges with the Zimbabweans enabled the RENAMO insurgents to sustain their war. However, in some instances, 'RENAMO insurgents raided and killed people, mainly because their trading partners could have failed to honour their trading agreements.'[98]

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[94]M.F Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development. The Political Economy of War in Mozambique:.*

[95]B. Tavuyanago, *The RENAMO War: It's Impact in South East Zimbabwe, 1982-1992*, VDM Vela, Germany, 2011 p.44.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97]M.F Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development:*

[98] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanevako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016. (these nuances are further pursued in chapter 5 of this thesis)

A survey of the scholarship of Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO reveals a tendency amongst scholars to concentrate much on why such resistance movements emerged, their prosecution and impact, and on the common themes of suffering and violence. This tends to ignore other aspects of war. Therefore, this has motivated me to look at these everyday or ordinary mundane activities beyond these categories. Such concrete everyday life experiences can be examined by looking at convivial activities such as the *pungwes*,[99] *mbende (*marriage ceremonies*)*, beer brewing and drinking, *kongonya* (dance), and other seemingly 'unimportant' lived experiences that have not been of interest to scholars in the mainstream war historiography of Zimbabwe. Since the war was not fought day in and day out in Honde Valley, people engaged in the convivial activities that undoubtedly promoted social interaction and cohesion. Therefore, for this reason, the thesis shows that people's everyday life experiences did not revolve around war violence and suffering.

Joost Fontein focuses on the role of the spirit mediums in the First, Second and Third Chimurenga, as well as the convivialities that were crafted among the Shona people of Masvingo.[100] Fontein's argument is both intriguing and provocative[101] and knits together the all-purpose solidarities and complex moral activities exhibited in *bira* rituals. Borrowing from Achille Mbembe's concept of conviviality,[102] Fontein observed what he termed 'moral conviviality' and 'convivial beer', arguing that during wars societies shared understandings, memories and experiences of the guidance of the spirit mediums, which far exceeds the often-hollow rhetoric of patriotic history.[103] Furthermore, Fontein notes that, 'moral conviviality of

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[99] The *pungwes* were nightlong cultural gatherings, which were very popular in rural Zimbabwe during the Zimbabwe liberation war. *Pungwes* did not end in 1980; they also became phenomenal in the rural communities after the war.

[100] J. Fontein, 'Shared Legacies of the War: Spirit mediums and the war veterans in Southern Zimbabwe', *Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol 36, No. 2,* 2006.

[101] Editorial, *Journal of Religion in Africa, Vo. 36, Fasc. 2, (2006),* accessed on Monday 12 March 2016., p.137.

[102] A. Mbembe, "Provisional notes on the Post Colony", *Journal of the International Africa Institute, Vol 62, No.1*, Edinburgh University press, 1992, p.10.

[103] J. Fontein, 'Shared Legacies of the War:' p.160.

war veterans and spirit mediums emerges more profoundly during the *bira* ceremonies organized in rural areas…people drink traditional beer and meat cooked from freshly-slaughtered sacrificed animals, they sing, dance drums and *hosho*…'.[104] Though Fontein's study was largely on the relationship between the spirit mediums in post-colonial Masvingo, from it, I drew insights and this has shaped my approach in exploring people's wartime daily life experiences in the Honde Valley. Wartime songs, dances, and beer brewing at night vigils made society functional against the backdrop of war. These are important in showing that during the Zimbabwe's liberation war and RENAMO insurgencies in the Honde Valley, people experienced much more besides.

Studying the imbrications between *Kongonya* dance and politics in Zimbabwe, J. Gonye explores some of the convivial experiences during the Zimbabwe's war of liberation. He argued that *Kongonya* is a dance that originated during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle of the 1970s. It was promoted and nurtured by the guerrillas and peasants as they executed what is called the Second Chimurenga.[105] Despite the debate surrounding the origins of Kongonya dance, my argument is that this type of dance has deep roots in African culture. It transcended ethnic boundaries and it played a pivotal role in establishing conviviality during the Second Chimurenga war. Honde Valley was no exception to this trend. Gonye's work has widened my knowledge on war dances. War dances were part of the mundane aspects of life amongst the Honde Valley borderland communities during the war in Zimbabwe.

Research methods, procedures and techniques

This thesis uses a wide range of historical sources. My research began when I visited the National Archives of Zimbabwe where I read a considerable amount of archival material including the ZANU newsletters and the colonial press. The files I utilized reflected on the

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[104]*Ibid*, p.180.

[105]J. Gonye, 'Mobilizing Dance/Traumatizing Dance: Kongonya and the Politics of Zimbabwe', *Congress on Research in Dance*, 2013.

operations of the nationalist movements specifically in the Eastern borderlands between the 1960s and the late 1970s. I travelled to Rhodes University during the early days of April 2015 where I had the opportunity to read archival material and published books at the Cory Library for Historical Research. Thus, I also utilized the Smith Papers and important publications, which I consulted in the Cory Library. When I returned to Zimbabwe, I spent more time in the National Archives of Zimbabwe, reading the *Native Commissioner's reports* and Colonial Newspapers such as *The Rhodesian Herald* and *Manicaland News*, among others. Native Commissioner's reports for example, are important in understanding African's colonial experience. In Southern Rhodesia, the men who administered Africans, mobilized them for employment, and kept them working were also the men who produced the authorized versions of the African past, of African customs and of African 'personality'.[106] However, the archival files I sifted through seemed too subjective in nature. Most of the files, especially on protected villages, gave a biased account, for instance that protected villages won the Honde Valley from the terrorists.

Furthermore, whenever war reports were made, it was that 'terrorists' were killing civilians and that the Rhodesians were effectively dealing with the terrorists to protect the civilians. Not only that, but also these official reports simply presented civilians as passive victims. However, I remained conscious of this and read it critically in the context it was produced.[107] The archival reports barely spoke to and about the critical experiences of the war. However, my research in the Jesuit Archives of Zimbabwe provided me with a different account of people's wartime experiences. Most of the reports in their repository, mainly the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia, were scathing of the Rhodesian regime. Most of their publications exposed the grim experiences of the war and deliberate attacks of civilians mainly by Rhodesians Security Forces. I therefore decided to 'temporarily quit' the archive and spent a few months researching at the University of Zimbabwe.

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[106] T.O. Ranger, 'The Mobilization of Labour and the Production of Knowledge: The Antiquarian Tradition in Rhodesia', *The Journal of African History, Vol. 20, No. 4*, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p.507.

[107] A.N. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, Princeton University Press, 2010, p.17.

On June 3, I left Harare for Honde Valley for a second round of fieldwork. Upon arrival, my father helped identify a number of informants who witnessed the Zimbabwe liberation war and the RENAMO incursions in the area. I conducted in-depth interviews with individuals, whom I identified through the snowballing method.[108] I conducted a few focus group interviews in order to pursue and ascertain some of the narratives and encounters that had been shared by individuals whom I had interviewed. Some of the people I interviewed contributed directly to the war while some were direct victims of the RENAMO raids. Because these interviews were carried out more than three decades after the war and by a local person who was familiar to many of them, villagers were keen to share with me their life histories. Bearing in mind that wartime life histories have serious contestations and are bound to manipulations, I therefore seriously considered the politics of memory in assessing the interviews I conducted. The politics of (war) memory is precisely the struggle of different people, groups, or individuals, to give public articulation to, and hence gain recognition for, certain memories and the narratives with which they are structured.[109] Timothy G. Ashplant (et al) noted that as 'memory studies' emerged across a wide disciplinary spectrum in the 1980s and 1990s, war has proved to be one of its most productive and compelling subjects.[110] The use of oral histories to recollect war memories has been an established element in Zimbabwe's nationalist historiographies that sought to achieve centrality in the process of nation building. However, the challenge that usually confronts historians is that there is an unequal struggle to install and reflect on particular memories at the expense of others that are marginalised and forgotten. In most cases, it is likely that

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[108] For detailed explanation of the Snowball approach see P. Biernacki and Waldorf D, *Snowball Sampling: Problems, Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling, Sociological Methods And Research*, Vol 10, No 2,1981,pp141-143. On social histories and oral traditions. See also E. Tonkin, *Narrating our Pasts:* The Social construction of Oral history, Cambridge University Press, London, 1992. J. Vansina, Oral tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1961.

[109] T. C, Ashplant, G. Dawson and M. Roper, (eds), *The politics of memory: Commemorating war*, Routledge, New York, 2000. p. 16

[110] Ibid, p.6. See also J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T. O. Ranger, *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*, John Currey, Oxford, 2000. These scholars critically used oral testimonies to show the various forms of violence committed and the differing moral judgments attached hitherto the evictions and deportations of Africans to the Shangani Reserve.

interviewees' perspectives of war are colored and influenced not just by their war experiences, but by post-colonial experiences as well. For example, post-war poverty may influence an informant to suggest that ZANLA guerrillas slaughtered all their cattle during the war. Although war memories present unique sets of challenges to researchers, they are undeniably important in recalling the experiences of particular social groups' and individuals' courses of everyday life.

In this light, this thesis relies heavily on an ethnographic approach in which I utilized personal reminiscences or life histories.[111] In this study, the life histories of the Honde Valley people are important in exploring their lived experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency. As a research method, the life history approach allows the unique experiences of individuals to inform the broader history of the community whilst allowing the nuances that would otherwise not be found in the official document.[112] Although the life history approach tends to centre on the individual at the expense of the broader historical narrative, the connectedness of the narratives, however, help build a broader and nuanced history of the borderland community.[113] During my stay in Honde Valley, I crossed the Rwera River,[114] and stayed in Mozambique for three days (the atmosphere there was not quite conducive to conduct interviews because RENAMO insurgents were wreaking havoc in the Honde area in Mozambique). I was lucky to obtain lengthy interviews with Tafirenyika Rutope, Bezel Mujangu and Moffat Kumadzi (who was a FRELIMO militia). Their narratives were quite refreshing and reflected their daily experiences during RENAMO insurgent operations.

This study also benefited tremendously from *The Umtali Post* covering the period from 1970-77 which I read in the Turner Memorial Library in Mutare. These newspapers gave me an official account of 'terrorist' activities in the Eastern border area. These reports helped me to

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[111] On ethnographic approaches, see M. Angrosino, *Doing ethnographic and observational research*, Thousand Oak, Sage, 2007.

[112] J. Mujere, 'Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists:' p.33.

[113] *Ibid.*

[114] Although people cross it whenever they wish, this river is accepted as the marker of the border in the northern part of the Honde Valley.

reconcile the narratives I had captured from my informants. However, due to the context in which these accounts were produced and their tone (not quite different from the colonial archive material), I prioritize the life histories of the peoples I interviewed in Honde Valley. Resultantly, life histories became the backbone of this thesis.

Organisation of the thesis

This thesis has six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the thesis. This chapter deals with the background or research context. It introduces the theoretical framework. Overall, the chapter engages and problematizes borderland and war historiography in Zimbabwe. It also addresses the research methods, procedures and techniques. The second chapter examines the Honde Valley borderland cultural dynamics. These cultural dynamics are fundamental in explaining people's perception, practices of ideologies and aesthetics of landscape in the area. These are also important in engaging the discourses of identity and belonging on the borderland even as the war went by. Additionally, the chapter focuses on the creation of borders and the emergence of borderland identities (borderland citizenship) and people that I call 'borderlanders' in the thesis. Importantly, however, the chapter problematizes the borderland discourse by examining how the colonial state's 'control' over the border area and its inhabitants remained limited until the 1950s when white-owned companies began to operate in the area. The chapter also discusses the nexus between the nature of colonialism and the coming of anti-colonial struggles in the area. This is vital because the impact of colonialism in a society often determined people's perception, attitude and their participation in the liberation movements. The third chapter discusses borderland life, especially everyday experiences during Zimbabwe's liberation war during the mid-1970s to 1980. The purpose of the chapter, among other things, is to analyze the mundane activities of the borderlanders for example beer brewing, night long meetings, hunting, fishing and many other lived experiences during the war. These everyday life experiences are vital aspects in achieving the key aim of the study, which is to decentre the history of wars from 'battle centric' narratives of violence and suffering. The main aim of this chapter is to establish a clear picture of how the borderlanders interacted with external forces (ZANLA guerrillas, Rhodesians and FRELIMO). These interactions are important because they will help this study to revisit the debates on the role of peasants during the Zimbabwe liberation

war. The chapter also underlines the central role played by family and kinship networks in the development of everyday life activities during the war.

The fourth chapter analyses how the Honde Valley villagers negotiated and manipulated the border for their own ends in the wake of war. The fifth chapter investigates other mundane aspects of everyday life during the post-1980 RENAMO insurgencies in Honde Valley. Contrary to the generally accepted views about the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency, this chapter shows that these were merely episodic raids on the various Zimbabwean villages that straddled the border area. Thus, the chapter trace these raids and depict them as emanating from friendly trading ties between the Honde Valley people, which however turned out to be violent. The sixth chapter is a conclusion that presents the findings and central arguments of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

HONDE VALLEY BORDERLANDS, HISTORY AND THEIR CULTURAL DYNAMICS

Introduction

This chapter discusses the nature of the Honde Valley borderlands. It provides a background to the pre- colonial and colonial experiences of the area, which are important in shaping people's attitude to, and experiences during war. It examines Africans' practices and ideologies, including their economic, social and political experiences before the coming of the Europeans. These practices and ideologies, for example, migratory movements and landscape aesthetics are important in shaping peoples' everyday experiences even in the face of colonial intrusions and decolonisation wars. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the contestations of the border creation between the British and the Portuguese. These are important also because the boundary disputes also influenced the political experiences of both the Europeans and Africans in the eastern borderlands. More importantly, the chapter discusses how Africans influenced the border disputes and how they challenged the colonial state. It also argues that Honde Valley remained ~~at~~ on the fringes of the colonial state, and this determined their experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation War. This must not be construed to mean that Honde Valley remained 'undisturbed' by the colonial projects. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, Europeans came into the area as hunters, geographers and travellers whose interests were not targeted to developing that part of the colony. However, the mid-century witnessed the development of colonial institutions such as tea estates, missions, roads, etc. These developments are depicted in this chapter as the very beginning of the Honde Valley inhabitants' direct contact with colonial power. Nevertheless, the presence of the whites in the area neither destroyed nor regulated pre-colonial patterns of interactions, ideologies and practices, although they were threatened.

Honde Valley and Manyika pre-colonial socio-political and economic dynamics

The Honde Valley communities were severely affected by the broad socio- political and economic developments in the Manyika territory. Given this, it is important to discuss the pre-colonial dynamics of the Manyika area, with special reference to Honde Valley. This will help in understanding the socio-political developments that took place during the colonial era.

At the time of the arrival of the British in Mashonaland, the Honde Valley was under Chief Tendai Mutasa (c.1870-1902), who secured the throne through a civil war.[1] Little is known of the Manyika internal politics from the Portuguese documents from the 17th to the 18th century.[2] However, H.K. Bhila established that that there were endemic wars in the Manyika from at least 1795 to the end of the 19th century.[3] Mutasa, who ruled for thirty years, was however viewed by Colonel Paiva de Andrade, the Portuguese explorer and Administrator of the Mozambique Company, as rather less charitable, an untrustworthy leader who was always drunk.[4] The name Honde Valley was given to the people living in the Valley of the then Hondi River by colonial officials. The name was given because these people lived along the Honde River.[5]

During the pre-colonial period, the people inhabiting most parts of Eastern Zimbabwe were traders. Trade was a common practice among various African polities on the Zambesian plateau, including the Manyika, who engaged in long distance trade.[6] For the Manyika, trading

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[1] D.N. Beach, 'The Origins of Zimbabwe and Mozambique', p.45. See also H. K Bhila, *Trade and Politics*, Chapter Five, pp145-163, where he discusses the 18th and early 19th century Manyika reigns and the civil wars.

[2] D. N Beach, The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1980, p.167.

[3] H.K Bhila, *Trade and Politics in the Manyika Kingdom*, p.168.

[4] J. Paiva de Andrade, *Manica*, G. Philip, London, 1891, p.50.

[5] Interview of the author with Headman Mandeya, Mandeya II, Honde Valley, 20 August 2016.

[6] See for example H.K Bhila, *Trade and Politics in the Manyika Kingdom*.

activities brought in wealth from the sale of foreign luxury goods that were obtained mainly from the Portuguese on the Coast and on the Zambezi escarpment. They also engaged in mining along the Nyamukwarara, Rebvuwe, Mutari and Munene rivers. Cattle rearing, weapon manufacturing, basket making, weaving and pottery were also additional economic activities.[7] Munene and Nyamukwarara mines are still operating by many individual firms in present day Honde Valley. At the banks of these rivers, the Manyika engaged in alluvial gold mining, which was relatively important in the absence of other profitable economic opportunities. Most importantly, trade played a significant role in bringing about regular contact among people within and between polities and societies in pre-colonial southern Africa. Admittedly, as was the case of the Great Zimbabwe and Mutapa states, trade brought the Manyika into contact with the Portuguese whose trading stations flourished in Uteve.[8] During the Nguni raids in the 1830s, Portuguese Manyika agents continued to operate at temporarily shifting Manyika trading posts from Masekesa to Sena.[9] A critical analysis of these kinds of interactions reveals that despite the cash economy and trade penetrating a pre-colonial, primarily subsistence economy, people adjusted to such changes to survive and continue with their everyday aspects of life. This trend was even more prevalent in Honde Valley during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO incursions later in the 20th century, which will be discussed in the third and fourth chapters of this thesis. It must be noted, however, that the Mutasa kings whose territory included Honde Valley, monopolized trade. A Mutasa king (Gowera III), for example mediated and monopolized the trade. As one Portuguese traveller put it:

> ...he (Gowera), by...his policy, manages to keep his subjects obedient and his law firm, that being the reason why his kingdom has a numerous population not only of natives of the region but also strangers… there must be in the whole kingdom around nine thousand who generally engage in mining and a little farming.[10]

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[7] D.N Beach, 'The Origins of Zimbabwe and Mozambique', p.29.

[8] H. K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in the Manyika Kingdom*, p.99.

[9] D. N. Beach, 'The Zimbabwe plateau and its peoples,' p.22.

[10] H. K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in the Manyika Kingdom*, p.36.

H.K. Bhila also observed that the Manyika people of Honde Valley were also pastoralists and agriculturalists who did subsistence farming.[11] In the Shona-dominated region of south-east Africa, agriculture was the mainstay of the family economy as this provided food to sustain growing populations.[12] As a form of peasant occupation, they grew (*rukweza*) finger millet, (*mhunga*) bulrush millet, (*mapfunde*) sorghum, (*magwere*) maize, (*nyemba*) cowpeas among other crops.[13] In the Honde Valley, these crops were grown during the rainy season in the fertile valleys of the Nyamukwarara, Honde, Ruera, and Pungwe rivers. There were also gender dynamics in agriculture as was the case in mining too. Manyika men usually cleared the ground for planting after which virtually all agricultural tasks such as planting, weeding and harvesting were done by women.[14] Yet gender division of labour in the economic sector was skewed by restricting women largely to the household and its immediate surroundings while men ventured everywhere in activities that had great potential to generate wealth such as hunting, pastoralism and long-distance trade.[15] Cattle keeping was important among the Manyikas.

Hunting was also an important mode of production among the Manyikas. Beach noted that before the transition to agricultural production, the Shona had hunting techniques that accounted for the edible rat to elephant.[16] Hunting coexisted with agriculture and supplemented each other. For years, the Shona used nets called *mambure* to catch animals of up to medium size. However, with the introduction of firearms in the 19th century, hunting grew in importance,

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[11] *Ibid.*

[12] F.T.P. Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands:' p.65, see R. Summers, *Inyanga prehistoric settlements in Southern Rhodesia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1958, p.175.

[13] See D. N. Beach, 'The Shona Economy: Branches of Production" in R. Palmer and N. Parsons,(eds.) *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, Heinemann Educational Books, Ibadan, 1977, p.41 ; H.K Bhila, Trade and Politics, p.30.

[14] D.N., Beach, 'The Shona Economy:' p.41.

[15] F.T.P. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands, p.65.

[16] D.N. Beach, 'The Shona Economy': p.39.

involving ivory hunting.[17] In this way, compared to other economic activities, hunting could produce highly valuable products mainly ivory and animal skins. Consequently, Manyika traders sought ivory from the Manyika elephant hunters in Honde Valley.[18] Elephant hunting, which formed the basis of trade during the pre-colonial era, was a laborious and precarious undertaking.[19] Thus, people heavily relied on group hunting expeditions. In Honde Valley for example, these group-hunting expeditions are known as *binde* and *chiradza*.[20] People could travel as far as Munene and Nyahangare (now in Mozambique) from Honde Valley in search of big game. Apart from being an important economic activity, hunting also had a social value. It was a rendezvous where people could socialize and train the young boys for adulthood and military service. Furthermore, those who were known as *vadzimba* (expert hunters) could attract women. Thus, the Manyikas could go as far as Barwe and Gaza to get hunting charm (*gona rehudzimba*). The charm had to be appeased through brewing of beer known as *doro remudzimba*, usually brewed from millet. The hunter, for whom the beer was brewed, would eat raw meat and animal blood to exhibit his love for meat.[21]

Episodic wars and raids were prevalent in pre-colonial Manyika. The works of Machiwenyika and the Portuguese records revealed that there were political and resource conflicts in the Manyika from at least 1795 to the end of the 19th century.[22] The Manyika people of Honde Valley suffered raids from neigbouring polities such as Makombe and Nguni under Zwangendaba and Gungunyana. Bhila noted that Mozambique's Gunguro Makombe raided the

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[17] *Ibid*, p.40.

[18] H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics*: p.36.

[19] F.T. P. Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands:' p.84.

[20] *Binde and Chiradza were* hunting expeditions where a group of people usually from the same village would leave home for several days, mostly one to two weeks. The only difference is that while *chiradza* could be done only by men and boys for individual families, *binde* had a high profile meaning. It was called and organised by the king, with all sexes, male and female involved. (H.K Bhila, Trade and Politics: p. 34)

[21] Interview of the author with Headman Mandeya, Mandeya II, Honde Valley, 20 August 2016.

[22] F.T. P. Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands', p.168.

Manyika in the latter half of the 18th century and disrupted Portuguese-Manyika trade.[23] Makombe invaded Honde in 1916 via Nyamukwarara and Pungwe Rivers, ending the war when he escaped to Maungwe.[24] Due to these raids, the Manyika also had poor relations with the neigbouring Maungwe confederacy. However, despite these hostile relations the Manyika people usually relied on grain supplies from Maungwe during times of drought especially during the 19th century.[25] Furthermore, the most significant intrusion into Shona territory during the pre-colonial period was by the Nguni. During the 19th century, Nguni invaders threatened the Manyika with their first attacks being in the Muparutsa district of present day Honde Valley. [26] Another Mutasa vassal Samanga was killed by Gungunyana's raiding parties.[27] However, the locals identified the Nguni invaders as '*Madzviti*', probably because of their military paraphernalia which looked similar to those of the Matabele warriors. The *Madzviti* of Zwangendaba launched disastrous attacks on various Manyika polities, killing people and taking some as war captives.[28] Furthermore, Gungunyana's *Madzviti* came to settle under Mutasa vassals Zindi and Ngorima in Honde.[29] Later on, they conspired to kill Manyika king Matida, because they wanted to conquer the whole land. Nonetheless, in the face of attacks by these said invaders, people took refuge in caves mountains for example in the Zeramira, Mahwe Masimike, Chidahuyu, and Mutasa's Bingaguru stronghold.[30] However, despite these raids, some Gaza-Nguni lived at Manyika royal courts as advisers to rulers, while others lived scattered in areas

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[23] H.K Bhila, *Trade and Politics,* p.124.

[24] NAZ, MA 14/1/1 Jason Machiwenyika, 'A history and customs of the Manyika'.

[25] NAZ, N1/1/11, NC Umtali to CNC Mashonaland, Correspondence, 21 December, 1896.

[26]H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics*, p.175.

[27] NAZ, MA 14/1/1, Jason Machiwenyika. 'A history and customs of the Manyika'.

[28] NAZ, MA 14/1/1, Jason Machiwenyika. 'A history and customs of the Manyika'.

[29] NAZ, MA 14/1/1, Jason Machiwenyika. 'A history and customs of the Manyika'.

[30] NAZ Files, MA14/1/1, Historical Manuscripts Collection, J. Machiwenyika, The History and Customs of the Manyika people. See also R.D. S. Gwatkin, 'The ancient forts of Penhalonga Southern Rhodesia', Rhodesian Mining Journal, Vol. 6, 1932, p.693-5.

such as Zindi and Murahwa, marrying Manyika women and settled down.[31] Such attacks also signalled the waves of migration movements during the pre-colonial period usually known as the Difaqane or Mfecane.[32]

The coming of the British in 1890 presented a political and socio-economic watershed in the history of the Manyika people. As the Europeans began to engage in various activities, mainly agricultural, land alienation became commonplace in the first half of the 20th century. The presence of the Europeans in the Honde Valley part of Manyika brought with it new aspects of life, especially the capitalist economy, but some practices stated above continued. The Honde Valley was settled and controlled by colonial administrators and colonial structures much later than some parts of the country. Thus, it remained closed off from systematic state social engineering that had started earlier elsewhere. Resultantly, aspects of life engaged in above played a very important role in determining people's everyday aspects of life during the colonial period, and during wars and incursions. A very strong continuity exists between the pre-colonial and colonial ways of life among the communities straddled across the now Zimbabwe-Mozambique border.

The making of the Anglo-Portuguese boundary: Borderland politics and contestations, 1888-1912

The Manyika territory had remained isolated from its neighbours following a long period of souring relations with its neigbours such as the Maungwe. The Portuguese had also distanced themselves from Manyika, shifting trading posts because of wars. However, by the second half of the 19th century, Portuguese representatives Paiva de Andrade, Baron de Rezende, and Ribeiro De Souza began to moot a re-establishment and reinforcement of their old ties with the Manyika.

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[31] H.K. Bhila, 'Manyika's relationship with the Portuguese and the Gaza-Nguni from 1832 to 1890', *Rhodesian History, Vol. 7*, 1976, pp.35-6.

[32] On Difance or Mfecane wars and migrations, see J. Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *The Journal of African History, Vol. 29, No. 3*, University of Cambridge, 1988.

However, they alarmed Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSACo) pioneers who were in the process of annexing the Manyika territory. Beach noted that by 1890, the *Companhia de Mocambique*, which was allied to *prazo*-holders such as Sousa and Ribeiro, had actually started to exploit gold in Manyika, way ahead of the BSACo arrival.[33] Chartered by the Portuguese government to extend its hegemony, de Andrade's claims were premised on historical business relationship between the Portuguese traders and the Manyika.[34] Unavoidably, by 1888, the British and the Portuguese had become competitors, making several claims to the Manyika territory. Yet it seemed that initially the Portuguese had an advantage because of their friendship ties with the Manyika rulers. Bhila noted that *prazo* holder de Souza and his compatriots had advantage because upon the arrival of British South Africa Company (BSACo) in 1890, Mutasa, Sawunyama, Katerere, Chiwesere, Dore, Rupire and Gurupira were paying tribute to de Souza.[35] Payment of tribute was an act of vassalage and submission to the Portuguese authorities.

Well aware of the British interest in the Manyika, the *Companhia* made a move to secure allegiance from the Shona peoples of Manyika. They used means such as handing out free flags and guns to whoever would take them. In an attempt to press further inland, the Portuguese Company hoisted the Portuguese flag at Bingaguru (big garden), the Manyika capital of Chief Mutasa in 1890.[36] Nevertheless, this proved counter-productive. In fact, this actually increased Rhodes' interest to move into the Manyika kingdom and elbow de Andrade's entourage. Conflict between the Portuguese and the British representatives became highly unavoidable because they were both pressing for the Manyika territory.

Lured by the presence of gold in the Manyika area, an offshoot of the BSACo expedition of 1890 reached Manyika in September. British representative Colquhoun instructed the arresting of Paiva de Andrada and his counterparts for imposing themselves upon the Manyika. They

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[33] D.N. Beach, *Zimbabwe before 1900*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1984 p.63.

[34] H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics, p.175*. See also D.N Beach, 'The Origins of Zimbabwe and Mozambique.'

[35] H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics*, p.225.

[36] J.C. Barnes, 'The battle of Massi Kessi', in *Rhodesiana*, Number 32, March 1975, p.2.

eventually forced Chief Mutasa to sign a treaty that committed him never to cede part of his territory without their consent.[37] British representative, Colquhoun, celebrated the securing of the treaty noting that which their most important aim.[38] A conflict was thus staged between the two competing European forces. This eventually culminated into a war in 1891. On 11 May 1891, the Portuguese were defeated by the British in a battle at Chua Hills close to Masekesa area south of Honde Valley. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 3 July 1891 'resolved' the border war and dispute. The boundary between the Portuguese Mozambique and the BSACo territory was vaguely defined as the 'crest of slope of the Manica plateau as far as the confluence of the Sabi and Lundi.'[39] Nonetheless, it can be argued that the treaty was only temporary as conflict continued for a considerable time. It must also be noted here that when the colonial actors fought for space in this part of Africa, the Africans were hardly passive as they also influenced the initial demarcations.[40] Beach for instance, argued that, the Manyika played off the Portuguese and the British.[41] Although Manyika finally succumbed to colonial invasion, their playing of the two colonisers brought the British and the Portuguese into prolonged conflicts. This scenario counters the commonly held view that African leaders cheaply sold out their territories as often thought to have been the case of Lobengula in Matabeleland.

Importantly, however, the Rhodesia-Mozambique or Anglo-Portuguese boundary, apart from the said conflicts, occasioned many other contestations and disputes that lasted for close to ten years after the BSACo won the war at Chua Hills. Consequently, the arbitrariness of the Anglo-Portuguese border defined by the Treaty of 1891 presented a political challenge to both

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[37] D. N. Beach, The Origins of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, p.1. See also Captain P W. Forbes' correspondence to General Paiva D. Andrada, on November 5th 1890, in J Paiva de Andrada, *MANICA: Being a report to the minister of the Marine and the colonies of Portugal,* London, George Philip and Sons, Liverpool, 1891, p34-35.

[38] NAZ, DT 8/5/1-3 Manyika Treaty, Colquhoun to CNC, Correspondence, 17 November 1890. Colquhoun also indicated that the Portuguese were showing signs of increased activity generally; they were apparently already established at Massi-Kessi and no time was to be lost at all.

[39] F.T.P. Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands: p.88.

[40] P. Nugent, and A.I.Asiwaju, (eds), *African Boundaries: Barriers*, Conduits and opportunities, pp.48-50.

[41] D. N. Beach, *Zimbabwe before 1900*, p. 65.

the BSACo officials and the Portuguese officials who operated from the east. As part of the colonial policy, Europeans taxed Africans to assert their political control over them as subjects and to financially maintain the colonial system. Thus, in this Anglo-Portuguese borderland, the issue of tax collection brought the Portuguese and the BSACo to loggerheads. In 1895, June 24th, the Native Commissioner (hereafter NC) of Umtali (present day Mutare), Nesbitt wrote to the Chief Native Commissioner (hereafter CNC) in Salisbury (now Harare) expressing his concerns over the tendencies of tax evasion, noting that:

> Sir, I have the honour to report that I left his place on the Friday the 21st inst, ...I slept at the Kraal of Sub Chief Rakabopa of Umtassas having counted his huts and collected most of his tax....Next morning....I started counting the huts of the Sub Chief Janas of Umtassas I found most of the kraal deserted. Janas people spoke with me from the hills and I informed them I had come to collect the tax...they positively refused... The natives there informed me that the Portuguese had collected tax from them and produced receipt which I enclose...They have paid the Portuguese they have no money ready to pay me. I told them that in my opinion the Portuguese had robbed them and that I should report the matter to the Government.[42]

In response, the CNC H.M. Taberer reminded the NC on 5th April 1897 that the BSACo and Portuguese border was defined by arbitration and ran along the watershed from the Nyankarara (Nyamukwarara) River, Chua, Revue, Zambusi (Musambidzi) and Manini (Munene) Rivers.[43] Taberer, however, feared that this cut off from Umtassa a large number of Africans under chief Mutasa and placing them under Portuguese Territory hence causing a very great deal of trouble.[44] This caused problems which went unresolved to the extent that its effects are still noticeable today. In the Honde Valley, some families who are 'originally' Zimbabweans from the Mutasa territory are living in Mozambique. Some have dual national identities from both Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These 'Zimbabweans', for example, informants Kumadzi Moffat and Arnold Mukambachaza, carry identity cards from both Zimbabwe and Mozambique.[45]

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[42] NAZ, DT1/10/4, NC, Umtali to the Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury, 24th June 1895.

[43] NAZ, DT1/10/4, Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury.

[44] NAZ, DT1/10/4, Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury.

[45] Interview of the author with Mr. Moffat Kumadzi, Tepera, Mozambique, 12 August 2016.

Furthermore, recent RENAMO insurgents' attacks on Zimbabwean villages along the border are also emanating from these colonial boundaries. RENAMO claim that their territory ends in present day Rusape and their border is Rusape River, wishing to reoccupy the land and extract minerals in the zone.[46] RENAMO claim that the area was under Portuguese influence before the border was created in 1891. However, Zimbabwean armed forces have stopped their attempts to press further into Zimbabwe.

However, with regards to this long standing border problem, the Surveyor General, Sd. Joseph M. Orpen advised Captain Turner, Civil Commissioner of Umtali, on 6th June 1898 that 'beacons should be so placed along the line that they become visible from each other by the naked eye'.[47] In support of the boundary marking project, in 1898 Assistant Native Commissioner of Inyanga, J. W Gray wrote, to the CNC in Salisbury, that the Africans in the Eastern part of the District were anxious to have the boundary defined as the Portuguese are causing a deal of trouble.[48] Similarly, the NC of Inyanga wrote to the CNC that the 'natives' seemed to be very pleased that the boundary question was to be definitely settled at last.[49] This, however, shows that the British officials were bent on portraying Africans as supportive and beholden to the colonial projects but this was clearly not the case as will be shown when we examine the frequency with which the Honde community ignored the colonially imposed boundaries.

There were several actions by Africans which prove that they were not supportive of the BSACo regime. Chief of these was tax evasion, which became a very important form of economic and political resistance. Tax evasions were common patterns among the borderlands

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[46] Interview of the author with Headman Mandeya, Mandeya II, Honde Valley, 20 August 2016.

[47] NAZ, DT1/10/4, The Surveyor General to Civil Commissioner of Umtali, of 6th June 1898. Previously, on 21st January, 1896, the BSAC Acting Administrator wrote to His Excellency, Colonel Machado, Beira, in a Telegram that the uncertainty of or boundary line continued to present troubles. On boundary disputes, see also NAZ A1/1/1-3 Boundaries: Umtali-Portuguese.

[48] NAZ, S1428/32/5 Assistant NC Inyanga to CNC, Quarterly Report, Correspondence, December 1898.

[49] NAZ, NUA 2/1/3 Native Commissioner, Umtali Annual Report 14th July 1898.

communities especially in the Masekekesa area among the Manyika peoples. While evasions were officially presented as emanating from the Anglo-Portuguese border disputes, when analyzed these show at its best that the state was not always effective in ascertaining its control of Africans. The Portuguese took advantage of the absence of well-defined border and boundary markers such as beacons to collect tax in Manyika territory that was under the BSACo's jurisdiction. This was yet another problem for both the British and the Portuguese. On January 13th, 1896 for example, Nesbitt, the NC of Umtali, wrote to the CNC in Salisbury that: 'Portuguese have been collecting hut tax from the natives in this district about the heads of Chua and Revue rivers. What step am I to take?'[50] The NC of Umtali reasoned that had it not been that the Portuguese were collecting tax among the Manyika, the 'natives' might have agreed to pay tax because they had long expressed their willingness to be part of the Rhodesian society. However, this view ignores the fact that the local people could have also resented paying the taxes for other reasons not known by the NC. This is in light of the fact that Africans were far from being always willing and passive recipients of European domination.

Linked to the above, it may also be argued that the status of the border and the landscape provided the Africans with an opportunity to evade taxes and other forms of colonial domination. In 1906, the BSACo Barue (now spelt as Barwe) Boundary Commissioner, Sawerthal, reported to his superiors that Africans crossed the border annually to avoid tax and census.[51] In the Honde Valley, tax evasions were also made successful by the arbitrariness of the border and the landscape that had impregnable hiding places. Chief Chikomba was said to be evading taxes in Honde Valley. The NC reported that Tshikomba (Chikomba) and twelve of the Heads of Kraals under him, with their people, moved into Portuguese territory in consequence of the warning given that he and his people would either have to pay rent to the Company, on whose land he was living, or move.[52] Furthermore, Marevangepo of Chief Muparutsa noted that during the late

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[50] NAZ, DT1/10/4, Telegram NC Umtali to C.N.C Salisbury, 13 January 1896.

[51] H. Schmidt, 'Love and Healing in Forced Communities: Borderlands in Zimbabwe's War of Liberation', in P. Nugent, *African Boundaries*, p.185.

[52] NAZ, NUC2/31 Native Commissioner Inyanga to CNC Salisbury 16th November 1904.

1940s when the Portuguese were collecting taxes, people fled into the Inyangani Mountains and *Mahwe Masimike*[53] caves, while others took refuge in impregnable Mozambique mountain ranges, only to return home when the tax collectors had vacated.[54] In Honde Valley, the NC of Inyanga reported irrecoverable tax outstanding by 27th April 1906 as: Mandeya I £16.0, Mparutsa £ 21.10, Tshikomba £87.0 Zindi £49.10, Sanyanga £15.10 and Samanga £20, 10.[55]The grand total of irrecoverable or uncollected tax for Inyanga district was £413.[56] Furthermore, Africans also resorted to office breaking and destruction of evidence. On the 10th February 1904 for example, NC Inyanga reported to the CNC that Africans had broken into his office, stealing stamping pads, an office knife, and a book of used hut tax counterfoils.[57] Tax evasions in Honde Valley, like in many other areas such as the Tangwena area, can be seen as part of Africans' resistance to colonial economic and political impositions such as taxation. More importantly, these acts were a way of disregarding and manipulating the colonial borders. A villager from Honde Valley argued that although the border was imposed on them it did not significantly change their way of life and they continue to view it as artificial.[58]

Another fundamental borderland trait that exposes the colonial state's apparatuses in regulating Africans' political, social and economic autonomy is migration. Joris Schapendonk has argued that, migration-related research has traditionally focused on the ending sides of

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[53] Mahwemasimike or Mabgwe Masimike meaning literally, 'The big Standing Stones'. The Mabgwe Masimike area is also used as a local shrine by the people of chief Muparutsa. See also NAZ, 21437Katiyo.

[54] Interview of the author with Mr. Sydney Marevangepo, Muparutsa shopping centre, Honde Valley, 17 June 2016.

[55] NAZ, NUC2/31 Native Commissioner Inyanga to CNC Salisbury, 27 April 1906.

[56] NAZ, NUC2/31 Native Commissioner Inyanga to CNC Salisbury, 27 April 1906.

[57] NAZ, NUC2/31 Native Commissioner Inyanga to CNC Salisbury, 10th February 1904.

[58] Interview of the author with Mr. Sydney Marevangepo, Muparutsa shopping centre, Honde Valley, 17 June, 2016.See also S.J Ndlovu-Gatsheni and B. Mhlanga, *Bondage of Boundaries and Identity Politics in Post-colonial Africa: The 'Northern Problem' and Ethno- Futures, Africa Institute of South Africa*, Pretoria, 2013, p.2. A. Daimon, 'Commuter Migration Across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities Along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border'.

migration, and paradoxically, migration as a process of moving has been understudied.[59] Much of the research on borderlands draws upon the assumption that *borderlanders* are different from mainlanders because the border-crossings can be a part of everyday life to the former.[60] However, migration in Africa specifically, has been determined and largely influenced by the nature of colonial boundaries. It challenges the existence and effectiveness of colonial boundaries. Even the Europeans themselves, as makers of the borders, were ignorant of the many dimensions of the African borders and the borderlands. Pre-occupied mostly with the geographical, legal and geopolitical questions of the borders and on the borderlands, Europeans, according to Ranger, viewed Africa's borders as sifters of labour rather than barriers of its movements.[61] Even though Europeans thought that borders/boundaries would be barriers to African movement, this was not so, especially in porous border areas such as Honde Valley. According to Heike Schmidt, in Honde Valley, there was a constant process of border crossing, waves of emigration and immigration, smuggling and trade activities as well as gatherings.[62] People continued to move from one place to another regardless of the presence of borders.

By 1965, it was established that several clans migrated to and from Honde Valley. In Mandeya II, for example, from Mutasa chiefdom, came the Amudikuwanda (now Hamudikuwanda), Pimayi who settled in the Pimayi area, Fenga, Macheka and the Sharambuya families. The Kuwanyangepi, Makwara, Sipeyo, Matambo, Mbare, Zawara and Chiko families came from Portuguese East Africa. From Mandeya, people migrated to Muparutsa and these are Nyandoro, Mukupe, Musewe, China, Manyumwa and Tafamombe.[63] Furthermore, in Headman

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[59] J. Schapendok, 'Staying put in moving sands: The stepwise migration process of Sub-Saharan African Migrants heading north', in U. Engel and P. Nugent, *Respacing Africa*, p.114.

[60]A. Pfoser, 'Borderland memories. The remaking of the Russian-Estonian frontier', p.78.

[61] T.O Ranger cited in F. Dube, "Colonialism, cross-border movements, and epidemiology: a history of public health in the Manica region of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe and the African response, 1890-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p.221.

[62] H. Schmidt, 'Love and Healing in Forced Communities: Borderlands in Zimbabwe's War of Liberation', in P. Nugent, *African Boundaries:* p.185.

[63] NAZ, S2929/1/3 Delineation Report Inyanga District, 1965, p.38.

Chikomba's area Sakuchocha came from Matere, Samuhata from Sawunyama, Magwende from Tangwena, Satombo from Sawunyama, Mukambachaza (now Mushamaenza) from Makombe (Portuguese East Africa).[64] In headman Zindi's area, there were two migration movements: Nyakuruwa (Nyakunhuwa), Mugayi, Ndarowa, from the Tangwena and Marimhita (now Marimbita) from the Portuguese East Africa.[65]

Widespread migratory patterns of the Honde Valley are also linked to totems. Arguably, there are strong connections between migration, totemism and tabooisation of the spiritual landscape in the Honde Valley. In Headmen Muparutsa and Chikomba areas, there are Nyachega families of the Mheta (Python) totem are said to have migrated from Chief Sawunyama's area north of Honde Valley (the author belongs to this clan).[66] Thus, the Sawunyama totem traces the Nyachega family from the Sawunyama chiefdom in Katerere area. However, under Headman Tafangehama Nyamawende in Honde Valley's Mutasa North "Tribal Trust Lands", there existed a Nyachega village of the Shumba totem.[67] What emerges here is that naming remains a social process that depended on the challenges faced and blessings received by individuals. Furthermore, the Zuze people of the *Humba* (Pig) totem are said to have migrated from Mozambique. Their totemic extension, *Makombe vakabva Barwe* (Pig who came from Barwe) traces and historicises the origins of this family from the Barwe region of Mozambique. The members of these totems fear, respect and protect their totem animals, hence tabooisation. In his anthropological study totemism among the Shona, C. Bullock noted that totems serves a social bond between members of a clan, and sometimes as a collective designation of the clan.[68] Sigmund Freud also noted that members of a totem often believe that they are connected with the

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[64] NAZ, S2929/1/3 Delineation Report Inyanga District, 1965, p.47.

[65] NAZ, S2929/1/3 Delineation Report Inyanga District, 1965, p.45.

[66] Family tradition.

[67] NAZ, S2929/1/8 Delineation Report, Umtali District, p.157.

[68] C. Bullock, 'Totemism among the Mashona Tribes', *MAN Vol. 31*, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1931, p.185

totem animal by the bond of common origin.[69] A taboo is therefore attached to the animal and there are magical sanctions enforcing such a taboo for instance the loss of the taboo-breakers' teeth.[70]

Migratory movements in the Honde Valley are, however, traceable to the pre-colonial times. People migrated from Mozambique into Zimbabwe from the provinces of Gaza, Barwe among others, penetrating through the Honde Valley area. As indicated earlier, migrations were largely caused by civil and ethnic wars, especially in the 19th century. During the colonial, period, a wave of labour migration from the Malawi region and Mozambique took place. These migrants, mainly Malawians and Mozambicans preferred to settle in the Aberfoyle Tea Estates and Eastern Highlands Plantation Limited in Honde Valley during the 1950s. Colonial boundaries therefore become creations and constructions that were routinely transgressed rather than being regarded as the natural order of things.

Furthermore, borderlands are by nature porous and they always pose a challenge to state institutions to control and maintain their hold in the areas. Illegal cross-border movements, cross-border trading migration, smuggling, violence, inter alia, are dominant modes of subsistence and survival on the maximal borderlands of the Honde Valley. In a comparative study of the borderland of Egypt and Libya, Thomas Husken observed that the international border between Egypt and Libya offers opportunities for smuggling and labour migration, illegal transactions. In both cases, the borderlands present specific forms of mobility that allows the Auladi Ali people to escape the domination of the state by crossing the border.[71] However, people living in the borderlands do not view their movements as illegal, nor do they think that their exchange of goods is smuggling. In the Honde Valley border area, as observed by B. Korf and T.

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[69] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo, Resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics*, New York, Moffat, Yard and Co., 1918, p.7.

[70] C. Bullock, 'Totemism among the Mashona Tribes', p.185

[71] T. Husken, 'The Neo- Tribal competitive order in the borderland of Egypt and Libya', in U. Engel and P. Nugent, *Respacing Africa*, p. 174.

Raeymaekers,[72] concrete realities of everyday life in the borderlands shows that borders do not practically demarcate social and political space. For the inhabitants of the Honde Valley, borders offer so many opportunities for social and economic exchange. Similarly, in their comparative study of borderlands, Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel, for example, aptly summarized the creativity of the borderlanders noting that:

> No matter how clearly borders are drawn on official maps, how many customs officials are appointed, or how many watchtowers are built, people will always ignore borders whenever it suits them...People also take advantage of borders in ways that are not intended or anticipated by their creators. Revolutionaries hide behind them; local inhabitants cross them whenever services or products are cheaper or more attractive on the other side; and traders are quick to take advantage of price and tax differentials. Because of such unintended and often subversive consequences, border regions have their own social dynamics and historical development.[73]

Migrations have resulted in cultural overlaps and hybridity in the Honde Valley borderlands. Other societies across Africa and Europe share these features. These range from cultural practices, language similarities, housing styles and many others. Stanley Ross, for example stressed that in the US-Mexican border region or borderland, two different civilizations face each other and overlap.[74] Similarly, in Honde Valley, Mozambican and Zimbabwean cultures are always in overlap. These cultures are either a blend of the Portuguese-Ndau or Barwe and British-Manyika or Shona. However, the Shona cultures are dominant in the area. Thus many of the people in Honde Valley speak Shona (specifically Manyika and Ndau dialects), while others are also able to speak, English, Portuguese, and *chiBarwe* (language of the Barwe District of Mozambique). Similar house styles are also common in the Honde Valley area. Unlike the Ndau who did not adorn their homes in a decorative manner,[75] the Honde Valley villagers were more

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[72] B. Korf and T. Raeymaekers, *Violence on the margins: States, conflict, and borderlands*, p 66.

[73]M. Baud and W Van Schendel, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands:' pp.211-212.

[74] S. Ross cited in M. Baud and Van Schendel, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands', p.215.

[75] E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, 2007, p. 77. In A(typo) chapter title (typo) keeping up appearances, MacGonagle explores various ways in which the Ndau people of Eastern Highlands keep up their appearances and identities for example hairstyles, houses and granaries Round (capitalization) houses were made out of wooden poles and covered with thatch. (Edit this footnote and eliminate typos – if you want to submit a clean thesis, please take care of these careless mistakes.)

particular about the appearance of their homes.[76] During the colonial period, thatched houses (*mbava* or *daratsi* grass was often used) had porcupine furs erected on the *chitsuri* (crest of the hut) decorating and scaring away owls. Thus, it may be argued here that what borders divided; cultural overlaps could provide ties on borderlands, which are even cemented by physical proximity and cultural intimacy. These cultural overlaps are vital in explaining identity and belonging on the borderlands. In 1987, Gloria Anzaldúa noted that "I am a border woman. I grew up between two cultures, the Mexican (with a heavy Indian influence) and the Anglo (as a member of a colonized people in our own territory)."[77] Such sentiments are shared among the Honde Valley borderland communities as villagers of Mozambican and Zimbabwean origin live together and are only separated by their national identity cards. Villagers in the border area can borrow household goods such as matchsticks, sugar and other things from each other in cases of emergency and within a few minutes of 'cross-border' walks.[78] It is not surprising that the people in areas such as Chavhanga, Sagambe, Tetavako, Katiyo, Mandeya, Fenga, Makwara, Nyandiro, among others, live between two cultures or hybrid cultures.

However, in spite of pre-existing and continued co-existence, the creation of the colonial borders also resulted in the splitting of families, clans and chiefdoms. The Anglo-Portuguese border for example saw the splitting of some Shona speaking groups, with some remaining on the Rhodesian side while others became 'Mozambicans'. Among the many Shona-speaking groups who were separated by the border are the Manyika, Barwe, Teve, Zezuru and Ndau.[79] The chiefdom of Tangwena (Tavangwena) in the North-Eastern part of present day Manicaland, North of Honde Valley, for example, was separated by what was known to its people as 'an unknown line on the map'. In 1902 their chief Dzeka Chigumira, successfully sought permission

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[76] Interview of the author with Mr. Sydney Marevangepo, Muparutsa shopping centre, Honde Valley, 17 June 2016.

[77] G. Anzaldúa, Gloria, *Preface to Borderlands/La Frontera*: 1987, cited in John R. Chávez, 'When Borders Cross Peoples: The Internal Colonial Challenge to Borderlands Theory', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 28:1, 2013, p.40.

[78] Interview of the author with Mr. Sydney Marevangepo, Muparutsa shopping centre, Honde Valley,17 June, 2016 , See also A. Daimon, 'Commuter Migration Across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities Along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border', *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 2016.

[79] F.T.P Duri, 'Antecedents and Adaptations in the Borderlands:' p.89.

from colonial officials to repatriate Tangwena families from Portuguese territory and join the rest of the group across the border in Rhodesia.[80] In addition, with the Mutasa chiefdom split by the arbitrary border, Bvumbi, a son of Chief Mutasa, approached Portuguese authorities, in October 1903, to claim authority over part of the polity that now lay inside Mozambique. Thus, the British-Portuguese boundary in the Eastern Highlands involved very stiff contestations between the locals and the two colonial states. Furthermore, Mandeya, a headman of Chief Mutasa in the Honde Valley, also had his ward split by the border and today the Mandeya people are still in the Mozambican side of the artificial border, yet they continue to identify themselves as Zimbabweans. They claimed that, although the border separated them, they did not owe allegiance to any Mozambican authorities in whatever circumstances.[81] Consequently, despite the fact that the greater part of the Honde Valley remained on the Rhodesian side, there is another area also known as Honde, on the Mozambican side whose majority of its inhabitants are Shona speaking. Thus, the inhabitants who were separated by the border continue to manipulate it to their own ends. These acts challenge the statist approaches to borderlands that views borderland inhabitants as passive recipients of the state's initiatives. Similarly, in his study of the French-Spanish border, Peter Sahlins observed that even after the border was created, the state's power in the borderland could remain restricted and unstable as members of the local society tried to use the institutions to their own ends and sometimes played off one state against another.[82]

Nonetheless, despite all these evolving contestations and borderland politics, by October 1911, the Southern Rhodesian-Mozambican border was now clearly defined. In the section covering Honde Valley, it was defined as starting from the highest point of Mount Inyanga, following the channel of the Ruera River until it reached the junction of the Ruera River.[83]

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[80] *Ibid.*

[81] Interview of the author with Mr. Sydney Marevangepo, Muparutsa shopping centre, Honde Valley, 17 June 2016.

[82] P. Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, see also in M. Baud and van Schendel, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands', p.215.

[83] NAZ A3/4/1/1 Boundaries: General and Disputes Delimitation of the Barue Boundary (Ruera River now Rwera River which flows from Chavhanga area, down to Mukambachaza village at the foot of Tangwena Mountain into

Furthermore, it was established that from the Ruera-Pungwe junction, the boundary ran southwards along the spur of Mount Zararamira (now Mount Zeramira) and southward to Mount Panga, locally called Huku, proceeding westerly following the channel of the Honde River and terminated at junction with River Garara (now Ngarura).[84]

Mozambique is used by the locals as a boundary marker today. It is believed that once you cross the river, you are in the Mozambican territory. I crossed it during my fieldwork.

[84] NAZ A3/4/1/1 Boundaries: General and Disputes Delimitation of the Barue Boundary, Sir Edward Grey's description of the Boundary to Mr. Hugh Gaisford, October 16, 1911. Augusto de Vasconcellos of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lisbon described the Anglo-Portuguese Boundary in 1912 as 'from the River Mazoe to Parallel 18^{0} 30^{1} South'.

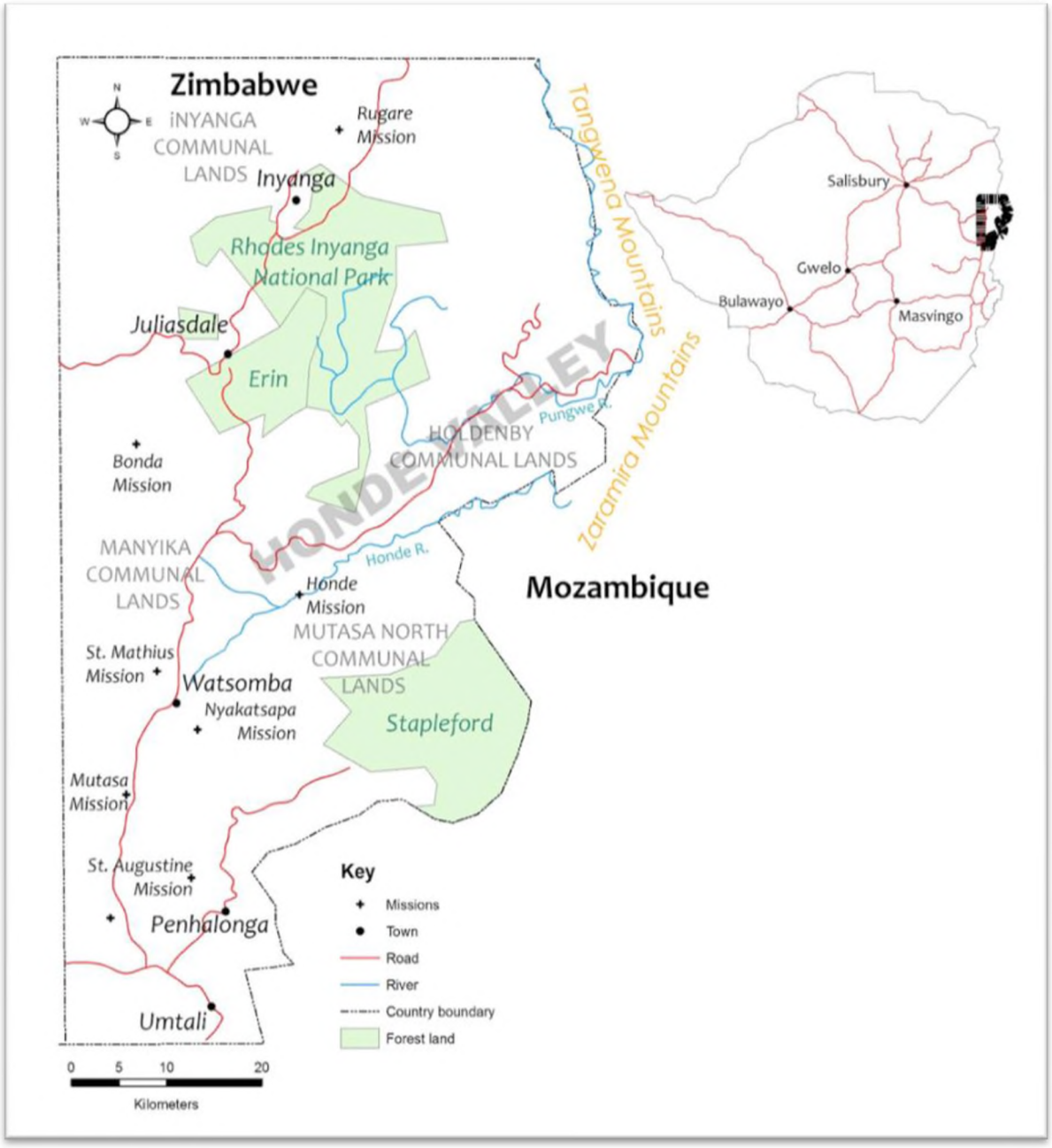

Figure 1: A colonial map of Honde Valley, showing its borders with Mozambique. (Map drawn by Russell Kapumha)

On the fringes of The State: Honde Valley and the colonial state

Since the British occupation of Mashonaland in 1890, the Honde Valley area remained on the fringes of the colonial state. Its inhabitants' interactions with the state remained minimal and this resulted in the prolonged existence of 'undisturbed African autonomous traditions.' The notion of 'undisturbed African autonomous traditions' is however highly debatable. This notion problematically depicts the colonized as bounded locals, or hermetically-sealed communities – which they obviously were not having been in contact with traders and other 'outsiders' since time immemorial. Craig P. Lockard observed that in some areas of Africa, for example, in Hausa-Fulani in West Africa, the British left Africa's social structures undisturbed although they governed these areas indirectly.[85] In the Honde Valley, although the Aberfoyle Company (a settler institution) was involved in various land conflicts with the local headmen Zindi and Chikomba, they did not change the social structures in the area. Arguably, because the Honde Valley borderland remained on the fringes of the colonial state, various autonomous traditions continued to exist during the colonial period.

The Native Commissioners of Umtali and Inyanga (and the Portuguese) of course collected tax from, and reported the affairs of, the communities straddling the highly contested Anglo-Portuguese border. Although collection of tax and many other activities of colonial officials are emblematic of the very intrusion and presence of the colonial institution, Africans often challenged them. The foregoing thus shows Honde Valley as practically unknown and on the margins. The area, then known as Holdenby, was initially under the control of multinational companies and concerns until it was surveyed in 1951 and 1952.[86] The two companies and multinational concerns had little influence in the area mainly because the valley's topography did not allow them to engage particularly in trendy agricultural activities in Rhodesia. The Hanmer

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[85] C. P. Lockard, *Societies, Networks, and Transitions: A Global History*, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, 2011, p582.

[86] Interview of the author with C. Ushamba, Hauna Growth Point, Honde Valley, 17 June 2016.

brothers (William and Charles), for example owned the Northern part of Honde Valley, which was approximately 90,000 acres, yet they were more interested in the fertile Gaerezi Ranch which brought them into conflict with Chief Tangwena in the 1960s. Furthermore, Lonrho, a London based company with rubber and sugar plantations in Malaysia and Mozambique owned the southern part of the Valley.[87] However, the Valley seemed incompatible with the kind of businesses that they had primarily committed to, thus they sold it in 1948. For a period of close to 50 years, there was insignificant European administration of the Honde Valley area. It was not until the 1950s that the Europeans began to develop interest in the area and eventually began to construct roads, and many other infrastructures such as Christian mission schools. In 1952, W.A.K Igoe bought approximately, 48,000 acres of land for 30,000 pounds on behalf of Aberfoyle Plantation Ltd, at that time a London based company with rubber and sugar plantations in Malaysia and Mozambique.[88] In the Northern part, however, the Hanmer brothers did not risk selling their land, until they came into conflict with Chief Rekayi Tangwena in the 1960s.[89]

Local authorities who felt undermined by the company officials resisted the presence of the Aberfoyle Company. Nonetheless, only a few villagers had direct confrontation with the whites. These include the two villages under Headmen Zindi and Chikomba. Headman Chikomba resisted eviction from his ancestral land when tea planting commenced in the Aberfoyle Tea Estates in the early 1960s. The Chikomba people had their own accord (*tsungo*) from Mutasa qualifying them to be autochthons of this land. However, a settler owned Aberfoyle Company took over in 1952 and named it Aberfoyle.[90] Headman Chikomba reached a compromise with the Company because Chikomba and his people wanted to have unfettered

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[87]H. Schmidt, *'Penetrating' Foreign Lands*, p.124.

[88]*Ibid.*

[89] Chief Tangwena's heroic resistance to land eviction is well documented elsewhere. See D.S. Moore, *Suffering for Territory: Race, Place, and Power in Zimbabwe,* Weaver Press, Harare, 2005. D. Mutasa, Black Behind Bars, Rhodesia 1959-1974, Longman, Harare, 1983 and H. Moyana, *The Victory of Chief Rekayi Tangwena*, Longman, Harare, 1987.

[90] NAZ, S2929/1/3 Delineation Report Nyanga District, 1965, p.47.

access to their local religious and burial shrine (*mabinga*) at *Mbuya Mushande* near Aberfoyle factory. The agreement is still being honoured even to the present day as the people from Mapokana, Sagambe, Pachije and Chavhanga, all under headman Chikomba, still have access to the shrine where they perform their annual rainmaking ceremonies. Nonetheless, the affected families in Mapokana were also compensated through the establishment of tea plots at their homesteads. Chikomba was seen by his neigbours such as Headmen Zindi and Chief Tangwena as a 'sell-out'. He is even depicted as one Headman who was so keen to work with Europeans, that even as the war was under way, he applied for the opening of the Sanganza Tea Estate in 1976.[91]

The case of Headman Fezayi Lambert Zindi in Honde Valley exemplifies the process of land alienation. Zindi, a local Headman of Mutasa ancestry in Honde Valley, was confronted with racialized land dispossessions which were harnessed through the enactment of land acts such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and Land Husbandry Act of 1951, the subsequent creation of reserves and naming of area. Zindi defied the authorities of the Aberfoyle Plantations, thus he was the most hated of the local authorities in Honde Valley. Heike Schmidt argued that during the 1950s, Zindi acquired the reputation of being rebellious and, later during the liberation struggle, he was detained by the Rhodesian Front regime for supporting guerrillas' operations in the area.[92] Central to Headman Zindi's reasons for refusing removal was that eviction would disconnect him from his ancestors who were resting at Mabinga in the Inyangani rainforest.[93] Thus, he had an obligation to protect his land from foreign intrusion. He understood himself as the official keeper of the sacred Nyangani Mountain, his ancestors resting place.[94] When tea planting commenced in 1954, Zindi had been forcibly moved to the Holdenby Reserve.

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[91] NAZ S3700/20, Holdenby Tribal Trust Land, Tea Estates, April 1973- April 1976.

[92] H. Schmidt, 'Penetrating' Foreign Lands, p.137.

[93] For comparative purposes and a detailed study of *evictions and resistance to* T.O. Ranger has produced an important study on the Matopos. See T. O Ranger, Voices from the Rocks Nature, Culture, and History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe, *Bloomington: Indiana University Press* 1999.

[94] H. Schmidt, 'Penetrating' Foreign Lands, p.136.

Predictably, he abandoned the land and decided to return to his old home. With 14 villages under his authority,[95] Zindi felt that the forced removals isolated him and his people from their ancestors. The connectedness of the land and ancestral graves were also central to the neigbouring Tangwena people's resistance to forced removals in the Kaerezi area.[96] However, Zindi as was the case with his neighbouring headman Chikomba, lost out. Upon his return to his area, the whites gave him choice between labour agreement and eviction.[97] The labour that he was to provide was for land clearance, and the cutting down of the rainforest, where his ancestors were lying. Zindi and his people's local landscape ideologies, beliefs and practices, preservation clashed with those of the new foreign intruders.[98] Thus, the Headman refused to provide labour and abandoned the land. Nonetheless, without permission of the white authorities in the area, Zindi and his people continued to visit the local shrines in the tea estate and they buried their Chiefs and Headmen in the traditional graveyards.

The development of Honde Valley was quite difficult because of the absence of road network and the topography of the landscape. It was also very far away from the capital city of the country, almost on the fringes of the state's developmental interests. The NC of Umtali reported in December of 1957 that, there 'are [were] no roads at all in that portion of Holdenby, North of the Pungwe river'.[99] He expressed that the absence of a road was a handicap to the development of this area, but it was hoped that funds would be available for the construction of a road into the area next year.[100] In 1957, there were only two native owned bus services operating

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[95]NAZ, S2929/1/3 Delineation Report, Nyanga District, 1965, p. 38 (Zindi's Villages namely Nyakunhuwa, Zindi, Chapinduka, Pfumanyi, Makabvepi, Sanganza, Madzitire did their annual rain making ceremonies at their local shrines (mabinga) in Madzitire area.

[96] See for example H. V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, Mambo Press, 1984, p.170 D.S Moore, *Suffering for Territory*: , and *The Rhodesian Herald Saturday*, September 27, 1969 'Rekayi Determined to fight', p. 1.

[97] H. Schmidt, 'Penetrating' Foreign Lands, p.136.

[98] *Ibid*

[99]NAZ, s2827/2/2/5/2 Internal Affairs, Annual District Reports, 1957, p.8.

[100] NAZ, s2827/2/2/5/2 Internal Affairs, Annual District Reports, 1957, p.8.

on the Umtali-Honde Valley route.[101] A few years later, the Honde road was constructed and another mission school of St Columbas. Furthermore, missionaries were also vital to the establishment of and development of colonial space and marginalization of the Africans. Apart from being used as a Catholic Church, St Columbas Mission was also used as a school while Honde Mission was used as a hospital and training centre for carpentry and building.[102] By 1952, 58 babies had been delivered in the Honde Mission maternity sections, while the hospital treated 3,771 outpatients and 249 inpatients.[103] Locals such as Fati Kanyerere (carpentry), Jonathan Katsidzira (building) and many other volunteers like Trace Matyayisa helped in the development of the Mission.[104] These, together with the presence of the other colonial representatives in the Tea Estates became a vehicle for the social, political, economic transformation of the Valley. However, their attempts to develop the Honde Valley remained minimal, as the colonial state was reluctant to develop an area that was largely owned by individual multinational companies. Linked to the above, A.M Howard made a very critical observation when he noted that in the process of the creation of colonial space:

> Europeans sought to shape African landscapes by erecting administrative headquarters and missionary stations, silencing certain local histories while privileging others, creating ethnic and racial segregation, charting terrains through surveying and map making, and intervening in African spatial institutions. Administrators (and missionaries) sought to change rural places at the village level, particularly households, through taxes, agricultural and food policies and other means.[105]

The colonizers also erected buildings such as district headquarters and police camps to cement their control over colonized spaces. Larger buildings such as cathedrals in towns, and plazas in

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[101] NAZ, s2827/2/2/5/2, Internal Affairs, Annual District Reports, 1957, p.8.

[102] *Interview, Mrs. Makoni*, Deputy Head of St Columbus Mission School, conducted on 01 August 2012 (interviewed by the author during my initial research in Honde Valley)

[103] W. Menzies, *An African Samuel Smiles*, Glasgow, 1953, p.14.

[104] *Ibid.*

[105] A. M. Howard, 'Actors, places, regions and global forces: an essay o the spatial history of Africa since 1700', in Ulf Engel and Paul Nugent (eds.) *Respacing Africa*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, p.22.

districts, were intended to incite awe, respect and even fear through their size, unique designs, and strategic locations.[106] In the Honde Valley, there were not many such developments, except the opening up of few institutions, including satellite clinics. The geographical marginality of Honde Valley rendered it peripheral to state control until the 1950s. Despite evidence of widespread colonial developments and interactions among and with African societies in Rhodesia, it can be argued that for so many years, since occupation in 1890, the area under study here was on the fringes of colonial power. With only two missions established in the late 1950s, a tiny road, two tea estates,[107] and one police camp, unlike many other areas in Rhodesia, for example Salisbury, Umtali, Sinoia, Inyanga, the Honde Valley had remained isolated and practically unknown. In 1958, for example, the NC of Umtali expressed the need to develop Honde Valley. He reported that Holdenby, North of the Pungwe, was roadless, hilly, covered with tropical vegetation, and particularly unknown to state officials.[108] In this light, M. Thomas observed that, as late as the 1950s the Honde Valley could hardly be described as part of white-ruled Rhodesia.[109] Even though the British had demarcated Rhodesia and Mozambique in 1891 making the Eastern part of their Zambesian plateau, including Honde Valley, part of their sphere of influence, the area remained on the fringes of state power. Of course colonial disturbances occurred, but to a very minimal extent. Although the Europeans claimed to have political authority over the Honde Valley, the core of African lives and values that were rooted on and attached to their Nyika (land) remained strong and unchallenged.

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[106]*Ibid.*

[107] See also NAZ S1088/15. On Inyanga Farms in Holdenby (now Honde Valley).

[108] NAZ, s2827/2/2/5/2, Internal Affairs, Annual District Reports, 1957, p.8.

[109]M. Thomas, Review: Colonialism and Violence: A History of Suffering, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, Vol 42*, p.4.

The Honde Valley as Spiritual Landscape

Honde Valley borderlands cultures remained stronger largely because of the aesthetics, practices and ideologies of landscapes. Recent scholarship in African history has paid significant attention to the discourses of African landscapes. This study extends these ongoing scholarly conversations. Among other works, Joost Fontein,[110] Joan McGregor,[111] William Wolmer[112] and Heike Schmidt are important.[113] There are complexities surrounding the term landscape, and its various strands of meaning (which I do not intend to engage or repeat).[114] Nevertheless, using examples from Honde Valley, I argue that landscapes are an integral part in dealing with African societies, especially in the wake of global change caused by colonialism and decolonization.[115] In the Honde Valley borderlands, despite the intrusion of colonial forces particularly in the mid-twentieth century the immanence of diverse 'traditional' practices continued to revolve around cultural and natural landscapes. In this way, African literary writers such as Ngugi wa Thiongo for example, have treated landscape as a fundamental phenomenon.[116] Wa Thiongo embraces and adroitly uses an ecological theory of landscape aesthetics in his quest to reconcile his society

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[110] J. Fontein, 'The power of water: Landscape, water and the state in southern and eastern Africa: An introduction', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 34, No.4, (2008), See also J. Fontein, *Remaking Mutirikwi: Landscape, Water and Belonging in Southern Zimbabwe*, James Currey, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2015.

[111] J. McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier*, Oxford, James Currey, 2009.

[112] W. Wolmer, *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions: Conservation and Development in Zimbabwe's South-East Lowveld*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2007.

[113] H. Schmidt, *Penetrating Foreign Lands*: See also P. Shipton, *Mortgaging the ancestors: Ideologies of attachment in Africa*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2009 and. D. McDermott Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier*, University of Washington Press, United States of America, 2009.

[114] On complexities of landscapes, see W. Wolmer's *From Wilderness to Farm invasions:*, where he has brilliantly dealt with these different strands of landscapes, deriving it from various etymological meanings.

[115] See W. Wolmer, *From Wilderness to Farm invasion: pp.6-12.*

[116] R. Binder and G.W Burrett, 'Ngugi was Thiong'o and the search for a Populist Landscape Aesthetics', in S. Johnson, Landscapes, Themes in Environmental History series, The White Horse Press, Cambridge, 2010 p.111.

to landscapes transformed by imperialism and neo-imperialism.[117] This view sees many of Africa's colonial problems emanating from widespread alienation from land. Thus, groups often exercise control of their land in order to protect their stability and identity. In light of this, R Binder and G.W Burrett argued that:

> Landscape is, consequently, heritage to be shared with future generations as a cultural resource. It contains the material symbol of culture. People, as a result, inherit a responsibility to maintain control over their landscapes, thus making the future a serious part of their lives and thinking…Ultimately, landscapes deserve serious attention. They are conserved not because they are beautiful, pretty and quaint but because they contain the symbols that define civilization. To destroy the landscape is to destroy society and to control the landscape is to control society.[118]

Upon arrival in Honde Valley, the Europeans tried to exercise political hold by demarcating land and alienating Africans from their land. They did this for example by the creation of the Inyanga national parks, and rendering natural beautiful scenes such as Mutarazi Falls, Pungwe gorges and Kapunga Falls inaccessible to Africans. Across Rhodesia, many Africans encountered such experiences. In light of this, Wolmer argued that the creation of national parks in Africa were symbolically important for the construction of racial and national identity for European settlers and legitimating conquest.[119] Yet the 'Europeanisation' of Honde Valley landscapes was not equivalent to altering their ways of life mainly because African landscapes were not obliterated by colonialism. Joost Fontein's study on Mutirikwi reflected that though Europeans tried to change the Mutirikwi landscapes in Masvingo through the construction of Lake Kyle, they did not obliterate the concrete African landscapes, which remained active and effective.[120] This is so because landscape is an intrinsic part of culture, practice and ideology. Cultural and spiritual landscapes in Honde Valley are associated with religious beliefs and practices. Given this, it can

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[117] See N. wa Thiongo, *A grain of wheat,* Heinemann Educational Book, 1986 and *Petals of Blood,* Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1977.

[118] R. Binder and G.W Burrett, 'Ngugi was Thiong'o and the search for a Populist Landscape Aesthetics,' p.113.

[119] W. Wolmer, From Wilderness to Farm invasions: p.12.

[120] J. Fontein, *Remaking Mutirikwi: Landscape, Water and Belonging in Southern Zimbabwe*, James Currey, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2015, p.1.

be well maintained that the landscape is important in shaping people's relations and interactions among African communities. Each *dunhu* (village) has local or village shrines which have been functional since pre-colonial times. The shrines such as *Mahwemasimike*, *Mbuya Mushande* and *Mabinga ekwa Madzitire* (shrines in the Madzitire area) were pivotal in strengthening ties, allegiance to the traditional authorities, and establishment of connectedness to the guardians of the land.[121] People thus annually visited these shrines for various purposes including annual ceremonies and burials of chiefs.

In the Honde Valley, there was a very strong relationship between traditional religious observance, worship and the landscape. Given this, people value their landscape and all have an obligation to protect it. *Nyika*/land became a spiritual landscape. In Africa, and in so many discourses in African studies, *Nyika* is depicted as home, and a spiritual landscape, a heritage and a place for which people are determined sacrifice.[122] According to J., F. Holleman *Nyika* is the chiefdom and the chief is its guardian/protector.[123] Moreover, *Nyika* is life, and to deprive the African of his land is tantamount to provoke the African ancestors. *Nyika* means Land, but the Land, is the people and the Chief.[124] The land and its landscape, religion, and graves have also been at the centre of the belonging and identity matrix.[125] Thus, landscape becomes a vital component in people's construction of belonging. Joseph Mujere opines that land is central in the politics of belonging and the scarcity of land has increased the need to identify those who 'really belong' to the area and those who are 'late-comers' and therefore have limited rights to the

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[121] For comparative purposes and detailed study of the guardians of lands, see M. Schoffeleers, *Guardians of the Land: Essays on Central African Territorial cults*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1979.

[122] S. Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, c1990. See Chapter titled 'Healing the Land and Harming the Land', p.69.

[123] J. F. Holleman, *Chief, Council and Commissioner*, Royal Vangorcum Ltd, Assen, Holland, 1969, p.83.

[124]C.J. K .Latham, 'The social organisation of the Mashona', *NADA, Vol XI*, 1974, p.96.

[125]See J. Mujere, 'Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists, and Progressive Farmers:' pp7- 20.

land.[126] In the Honde Valley, as usually done among the Shona, later comers seek authority and permission to settle in new areas from the 'originals' of the land, living and dead (headmen and ancestors). In his Frontier thesis, Kopytoff notes that 'first comers' claim land ancestry over the late comers. Borrowing from Kopytoff, Mujere argues that in Zimbabwe, groups of people often find themselves in new areas where they are identified and have to negotiate their belonging.[127] Nonetheless, *nyika* (land) scarcity increase the need to identify who 'really belong' to the area and those who are 'late-comers', and therefore, have limited access to land. In the Honde Valley, people always negotiate their belonging and craft identities by way of negotiating with local chiefs and headmen to be accepted into their communities. If accepted, the 'late-comer' pay money, male goat and chicken to the headman, who will have a *hoko* (peg) raised on the ground of the new member.[128]

In addition, within the *Nyika*, the various headmen are the delegated land authorities whose mandate, among other things, is to defend the land from foreign intrusion.[129] As shown in the case of headman Zindi and Chikomba, chiefs and headmen defend their land and the shrines and cults in their land. To the living, they become custodians of the heritage and land, endowed with the powers to communicate with the spirit guardians of the land. Unsurprisingly, land alienation has been at the centre of the causes of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe particularly with the guerrillas identifying themselves as 'sons and daughters of the soil' in the various districts they operated. As we will find out in subsequent chapters, the inhabitants of the Honde valley continued to undertake their everyday practices on the land at the height of the liberation war.

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[126]J. Mujere, 'Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists, And Progressive Farmers:' p.11, See also C. Lentz, 'Land and the politics of belonging in Africa' in P. Chabal, U. Engel and L. de Haan (eds.) *African Alternatives,* Leiden, Brill, 2007, p.37.

[127] *Ibid*, p7. See also C. Lentz, "First-Comers and Late-Comers: The role of narratives in Land claims", in S. Evers, etal, *Competing Jurisdiction. Setting Land Claims in Africa*, Brill, Leiden, 2005.

[128]Interview of the author with Mr Clever Mutenha, Zindi Village, Honde Valley, 5 August 2012.

[129] R. Binder and G.W Burrett, "Ngugi was Thiong'o and the search for a Populist Landscape Aesthetics", p.104.

In his study of the Dzivaguru and Karuva cults in North-eastern Zimbabwe, M. F.C Bourdillon observed the existence of spirit guardians of the land and noted these are the spirits of important persons from the past, normally early members of the chiefly family, called *Mhondoro*.[130] These spirits are also believed to exist in Honde Valley and they are thought to be wandering around the *mabinga* (local shrines which are usually burial places of chiefs and kings). There is not quite a clear-cut date of when these shrines were influential, but one of my informants pointed out that, tradition has it that *Mahwemasimike*, *Mbuya Mushande*, *Zaramira*, and the *Madzitire* shrines were important especially when people began to settle as villages.[131] However, as an honour to these local spirits custodians of the Mutasa such as Sahumani, among others, also performed rituals as long as these were performed with the king's express permission.[132] With time, during the early 20th century, shrines became highly localised with local headmen Zindi, Muparutsa, Chikomba, Mandeya II, Sahumani, Samaringa, Mpotedzi and Samanga having influence in their own areas and obliged to do annual ceremonies. These headmen had the obligation to carry out rituals. During annual ritual and rainmaking ceremonies, people will be celebrating the lives of their great heroes and heroines, supplicating for protection and coming for rain, good yields and other fortunes. According to Bourdillon:

> Each spirit has a forest shrine by a large tree where people resident in the domain honour the spirit at an annual ceremony in which amid libations of millet beer and drinking, singing and dancing, the people ask the spirit guardian to provide all that is necessary for good crops and harangue the spirit over the past failures.[133]

Furthermore, the land and its resources, including rainforest and rivers are therefore viewed as spiritual landscapes. These spiritual landscapes are expressed through taboos (*zviyerayera)*

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[130] M.F.C. Bourdillon, 'The Cults of Dzivaguru and Karuva amongst the North-Eastern Shona Peoples', in J. M Schoffeleers, *Guardians of the Land: Essays on Central African Territorial cults*, Mambo Press, Gweru, 1979 p. 238.

[131] Interview of the author with Mr Clever Mutenha, Zindi Village, Honde Valley, 5 August 2012.

[132] H.K. Bhila, Trade and Politics, p.24.

[133] M.F.C., Bourdillon, 'The Cults of Dzivaguru and Karuva amongst the North-Eastern Shona Peoples': p.238. See also M. Gelfand, The Mhondoro cult among the Manyika peoples of the Eastern region of Mashonaland, NADA, VOL XI, NO1, 1974.

which are accepted in the various chiefdoms in Honde Valley. Since taboos are inseparable from the land, they become important in the preservation and protection of the landscapes from foreign forces such as colonialism or even deforestation. Thus, it follows that the 'tabooisation' of the rainforest serves to protect environmental resources by constructing forests as spiritual landscapes.[134] The rainforests of Honde Valley are also believed to be inhabited by spirits and people therefore hesitate to walk in these thick forests unless on a special occasion. For example, it is believed that the jungle at the foot of the Mutarazi falls are part of the *Chimanyika* spirit world and elders insist that in the early morning, sound of ghostly activities- cocks crowing, children crying and the rattle of pots can be clearly heard.[135] Schmidt also observed that the locals of Honde Valley believe in the forest spirits and when people walk into the forest they may be teased by spirits that appear in form of beautiful women with breasts. Should anyone pay attention to the woman, showing sexual interests, they are likely to "disappear".[136]

During the Zimbabwe war of liberation, guerrillas respected these taboos and often consulted the locals on what to do when they faced challenges. However, the Rhodesian Security forces did not respect these taboos of a 'foreign landscape'. Consequently, in 1978 for example, a helicopter of the Rhodesian security forces is said to have crushed in at Mabinga in the Tangwena Mountains. Leonard Kairo noted that Rhodesian security forces came to attack families who were living in the mountains were covered by a mysterious cloud which resulted in the crushing of their helicopter.[137] More recently, two children disappeared in the 1990s and

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[134] H. Schmidt, 'Penetrating foreign Lands', p.132.

[135]NAZ, 21437 Katiyo See also 'The incomparable Hondi Gorge', in *The Rhodesian Annua*l, 1932, p.91. It notes that at M'tarazi Falls, there are thunderous groans and gulps issue from the haunt of the N'zuzu (water spirit) in the swirling pool at the foot of the fall.

[136] H. Schmidt, 'Penetrating Foreign Lands', p.130.

[137]Interview of the author with Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga Village, 16 August 2016.

more recently Indians who also disappeared in 2013.[138] Members of the Honde Valley believe that the spirits devoured these people.[139]

In the Honde Valley, people also believe in the existence of female water spirits (*njuzu)* for instance in the Pungwe, Honde, Mutarazi, Chipote, Nyamhingura, Rwera, Nyamukombe perennial rivers. These beliefs protect the rivers from any forms of environmental degradation caused by human agents. Cases have been reported of people who tried to tamper with these rivers. We may cite cases here which are said to have happened in the 1970s and 1990s. While growing up in Honde Valley, my grandmother used to tell us a story about a water spirit called *Chirikuutsi* (literally meaning where the smoke was seen). Today, there is an area called *Chirikuutsi*, at the mouth of the Pungwe River in the Inyangani Mountain. At *Chirikuutsi*, the story went; a water spirit displayed bar of gold on *bonde* (African mattress made of reeds) in a pool. It is said that whites tried to take the bar of gold and many of them perished there.[140] In 1992, efforts by the government to construct the Pungwe pipeline from Inyangani Mountains to Mutare were stopped until there were consultations with Headman Zindi who was believed to be the keeper of Nyangani Mountain from whence the Pungwe River flows. My informants from Zindi claimed that the water spirit Nyangani had been provoked and he only settled when rituals were duly performed, culminating in the success of the Pungwe pipeline.[141] To the locals, these shared myths are important in preserving their natural environment and local shrines. More importantly, as a form of orally transmitted traditions, these myths are important sources of historical reconstruction despite their various limitations. N. U. Martins suggested that as orally

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[138] See The Standard, 'Mystery over disappearance of tourist in Nyanga deepens' 12 January 2014, https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2014/01/12/mystery-disappearance-tourist-nyanga-deepens

[139] Interview of the author with Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga Village, 16 August, 2016.

[140] Story told by my late grandmother, Enita Nyachega. Prisca Samhere of Zindi Village also confirmed this narrative when I interviewed her in 2013 at her Zindi home.

[141] Interview of the author with Mrs. Prisca Samhere, Zindi, Honde Valley, 09 August 2016. A similar incidence also happened in 2013. Hydro Electricity generating company known as also lost about 150 bags of cement and a wall, which they had constructed without consulting the local chief Muparutsa. However, the project only became a success when they had done rituals under the guidance of *Muzvare* Muparutsa.

transmitted traditions among various peoples, myths are hardly invented and form an important part of people's social histories.[142]

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the cultural dynamics of the Honde Valley borderland. Central to the observations made is that borderlands are zones of intense interactions. Pre-colonial networks, kinship ties, practices and many other social, political and economic interactions, undeniably determine these interactions. It has also provided a general history of the region before the liberation war. Their pre-war experiences formed the core of the aspects of everyday life in Honde Valley. Such aspects are central in explaining people's interactions and everyday experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgencies in the following chapters. Additionally, the chapter observes that since 1891, the Honde Valley inhabitant's interaction with the colonial state remained minimal. Neither did the late presence of colonial administration institutions radically change the everyday lives of the Honde Valley communities. The arbitrariness of the border in Honde Valley provided so many opportunities to the locals, including tax evasions and unmonitored pre-war voluntary migrations. Despite the paradoxes surrounding the nature of cultures on borderlands, it can be argued that the existence of a border, which in essence is a colonial political apparatus to control and police their spheres of influence, did not eliminate peoples' cultures in the area. To the contrary, when the Honde Valley became a borderland in 1891, these cultures were nurtured into borderland cultures. For example, although there was a culture of migrations before the creation of the border, these occurred in a more skilful and clandestine manner when the Honde Valley became a borderland. Furthermore, the conventional political borders of nation states, as with the case of the Honde Valley, did not correspond with peoples' cultural boundaries. Accordingly, the analysis of borderland identities

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[142] N. U. Martins, 'The position of Oral Traditions (myths, mythology and legends) in historical records', Imo State University Owerri, Nigeria, 2006, p.160. See also B. Andah, *The Nature of African Oral Tradition, Vol. 8*, London, Oxford University Press, 1984.

can proceed from an articulation of notions of territory and identity. Although colonialism brought with it new changes, realities and structures, it did not immediately threaten the existence of the traditional cultures and interactions in the area. Given this, it can be argued that when dealing with borderland societies, which naturally lie at the fringes of the state, researchers should seek to engage with concrete aspects of everyday life and interactions between communities straddling the borders. These aspects of daily life and interactions of communities help us to understand African agency in the wake of the intrusion of colonialism and capitalism.

CHAPTER 3

BOTHERED BORDERLANDERS: HONDE VALLEY VILLAGERS AND THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION WAR

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the cultural dynamics of the Honde Valley borderlands, depicting the area as a zone of intense interactions and an area where migratory habits and cross-border interactions and movements were common during the pre-colonial and colonial period. The chapter also discussed other fundamental socio-political and economic interactions, which determined the people's experiences, and interactions overtime. This chapter explores the link between these pre-colonial and colonial experiences and peoples' everyday experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation war in the Honde Valley. The coming of the war, specifically in 1976, brought with it violence which disturbed many families. Many families were forcibly removed from their homes into confined settlement areas known as Protected Villages or PVs. This chapter discusses peoples' grim experiences of war, inside and outside the PVs. More importantly, the chapter investigates the tactics, which Africans used in the PVs to subvert the routinised controls and other forms of coercive control. Some families manipulated the porous nature of the Zimbabwe-Mozambican border and the proximity of their homelands to Mozambique to evade war. Given this, the foregoing chapter lays bare the lived experiences of the people who escaped war and migrated to Mozambique. It argues that war violence was episodic and it did not epitomize the totality of people's experiences. Central to its task, it examines the lived experiences and daily interactions of civilians, focusing on aspects such as farming, beer brewing and hunting. Beyond the confines of war, people moved on with their lives, engaging in various activities and mundane aspects of life which are at the core of this discussion. The chapter briefly discusses early guerrilla activities in Rhodesia, showing how these activities transformed the Honde Valley into a war zone. The chapter also investigates the

varying interactions and contestations between the Rhodesian Security Forces, guerrillas, civilians and Christian churches in Honde Valley during the war.

Rhodesians, Churches and Civilians during the Zimbabwe war of liberation in Honde Valley, 1975-1980

This section discusses the varying contestations between Rhodesians Security Forces (RSF), Catholic and Apostolic Churches during the war in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe liberation War) with special reference to Honde Valley. Although many scholars have carried out studies of the war in Zimbabwe which focused on the varying contestations between the Rhodesians, Churches and Civilians, little has been said about the Honde Valley.[1] This is largely because scholars chose to use different case studies. Given this, the task of this section is to discuss the everyday experiences and interactions of the Rhodesians Security Forces (RSF), Catholic and Apostolic Churches and civilians during the war in Rhodesia, particularly focusing on Honde Valley.

Zimbabwe experienced a protracted war that was ignited by Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. In 1966, the first well-publicized battle was drawn at Chinhoyi. This was followed by a lull in guerrilla activities until 21 December 1972 when guerrillas attacked the isolated Altena farm.[2] The attack on Altena farm, which is located in Centenary, transformed Rhodesia's borderlands into contested war zones. Because of the aid that the nationalist movement obtained from its neigbouring countries, generally known as Frontline States, Rhodesian Security Forces attempted to prevent guerrilla infiltration into Rhodesia. Following the close co-operational links forged between the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) in the early 1970s, Rhodesia's border with Mozambique became highly contested. Fears were expressed that

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[1] See N Bhebe and T.O Ranger (Eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe's liberation War, London*, James Currey, 1996

[2]Y. Henkin, 'Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia', *Journal of Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 36:6, 2013, p.505.

FRELIMO's controls of the border areas of Mozambique were likely to affect Rhodesia both directly and adversely.[3] This was especially the case since 1975 when Mozambique became independent from Portuguese colonialism. The intensity of guerrilla militancy in Rhodesia coincided with the release of ZANU and ZAPU leaders from detention during the Détente period in 1974 and their subsequent crossing into Mozambique. Furthermore, the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique was an added advantage to guerrilla operations in Rhodesia. Simbi Mubako noted that operational links between ZANU and FRELIMO resulted in the opening up of a guerrilla camp in Tete district.[4] This development enabled ZANLA guerrillas to cross into Rhodesia and back within a day's walk. Before the opening up of the Tete base and before FRELIMO came into power, guerrillas almost inevitably had to walk dozens of kilometres, often in inhospitable areas, before reaching Rhodesia.[5]

Increasing guerrilla incursions into Rhodesia specifically from 1972 worried Smith's regime. Mobilisation, recruitment, attacks on several white institutions across the country, among other operations, escalated with gravity. However, in the Honde Valley, the first open act of violence during the Zimbabwe liberation war took place on March 17, 1976, a year after Mozambique obtained independence. Here, insurgents set a Tea Estate bus on fire at Chinaka.[6] This was followed by the blowing up of a bakery van from Mutare, explosions near St Columbas Mission on March 23, 1976 and the burning of council offices in Sahumani and on April 9, the Heyes sugar depot in Hauna on April 9, 1976.[7] This made the area generally ungovernable. The immediate objective of the guerrilla war in Rhodesia was not to defend or conquer cities and vast

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[3] Cory Library for Historical Research, *Rhodesia Cabinet Memoranda, 1-55, 1974* RC (S) (74) 14, Memorandum from the Minister of Law and order, 18th January, 1974 D.W Lardner- Burke, p1.

[4] S. V. Mubako, Aspects of the Zimbabwe liberation Movement 1966-1976- Part 1, *Journal of Southern African Historical Studies, Vol II*, National University of Lesotho, 1978, p.46.

[5]Y. Henkin, 'Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia, p.507 See also K.D Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War, with special emphasis on Chiweshe District', 1991.

[6]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.12.

[7]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.12.

stretches of land, but to gain control of the people.[8] In theory, ZANLA guerrillas were supposed to win peasant support through their persuasive socialist ideology lectures. Wilfred Mhanda notes that the strategic role of guerrilla warfare lay in mobilization and organization of the masses to support the liberation war.[9] Thus, the interactions of guerrillas and civilians eventually culminated in rivalry between the former and the Rhodesians to control the latter.

Faced with escalating guerrilla operations in the Honde Valley borderlands, the Rhodesian government used several means to demonise and deprive ZANLA guerrillas' access to the civilian population. In several cases, Rhodesian propaganda portrayed these guerrilla operations as 'terrorist atrocities' directed mainly against the innocent and defenceless Africans.[10] Reports of incidents in the Honde Valley would attribute attacks to 'terrorists',[11] even when there was no evidence to qualify these as guerrilla attacks. A regional newspaper, *The Times*, for example, also noted that in Honde Valley, both the Rhodesians and guerrillas killed civilians in broad light.[12] Propaganda leaflets with labels such as 'terrorist pet-dogs', 'murderers of innocent people', 'kidnappers of children', and others, were circulated in villages.[13] As a result, the propaganda also tried to legitimate the Rhodesian Protected Village programme. The propaganda myths argued that the PVs were to afford protection to a local population that was subjected to terrible atrocities at the hands of the marauding guerrillas.[14] Unsurprisingly,

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[8]Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP in Rhodesia, Civil War in Rhodesia, Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-insurgency Campaign, August 1976.

[9] W. Mhanda, *Dzino: Memories of a freedom fighter*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2011, p.52.

[10] Rhodesia Herald, 1976, Manicaland News, November 1973 and June 1975. See also J. Frederikse, None But ourselves: Masses vs Media in the making of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1982.

[11] Rhodesia Herald, 1976, The Umtali Post, Monday June 15, 1977. The Sunday Mail, Salisbury, April 10, 1977.

[12]*The Times,* Tuesday May 13 1975.

[13] NAZ, Protected Villages, see also CCJP, 1975, p.10. See also Rhodesia Cabinet Memoranda 56-109, 1974, RC(S)(74) 105 Speech by the President in the Fifth Session, Twelfth Parliament, 4th June, 1974, file accessed in the Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University,p.1.

[14]Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-8, Press statement by Mr. G. Feltoe, Lawyer, Executive member of the Justice and Peace Commission, on Rhodesia: The Propaganda War., p.2.

Rhodesia's Minister of Law and Order, Lardner Burke, expressed his gratitude to the civilians for "their fortitude in the face of insidious intimidation and cowardly attacks."[15] It was also noted in a cabinet session in 1974 that the roles played by the civilian populations as a whole and the courage shown by men and women living in these areas affected by terrorism, merited gratitude and admiration.[16] Little did the government know that the activities of the guerrillas in this area would escalate and that the relationship between guerrillas and civilians was much more complex than the government appreciated. Worried about desertion by children from mission schools such as St Augustine, Regina Coeli, Bonda, Mt Selinda, St Columbas who were often crossing the border into Mozambique, the Government expressed the need to curb guerrilla operations in the borderland area.[17] Most of the students crossed the border to join the war out of their own accord. Consequently, curfews were imposed. Schools enlisted for curfews included St David's School, Bonda Mission, St Mary's Magdelene, Emmanuel School, Elim Mission, Regina Coeli Mission, St Columbas Mission, St Augustine Mission, Old Umtali Mission, and Honde Mission.[18] All these were church-owned schools and were the biggest schools in the area. From 1975 onwards, the Rhodesian government imposed curfews and embarked on forced villagizations due to escalating guerrilla operations in the Eastern Highlands such as Chipinge.

Having said this, it is important to discuss the role of Christian Churches in Honde Valley during the liberation war. This will deepen our understanding of why these schools contributed much to the war of liberation. In the Honde Valley, Catholics, and African led denominations such as Zionists and the African Apostolic Church of Johane Marange (AACJM) sympathized with the nationalist cause. Existing literature on churches and the liberation struggle has already

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[15]Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University Rhodesia, Cabinet Memoranda, 1-55, 1974 RC (S) (74) 14, Memorandum from the Minister of Law and order, 18th January, 1974 D.W Lardner- Burke. 'Tangwena Squatters.

[16]Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Rhodesia Cabinet Memoranda 56-109, 1974, RC(S) (74) 105 Speech by the President in the Fifth Session, Twelfth Parliament, 4th June 1974.

[17] The Rhodesia Herald, Thursday 24 July 1975, Salisbury 130 More Pupils Vanish from School near Border, p.1.

[18] See also a report in the Rhodesian Herald, Saturday 26 July 1975 'Curfew is intended to prevent defections.' p.1. It noted that the night curfew imposed on the entire Eastern border.

proved the critical role of churches in general in the anti-colonial struggle.[19] The churches have continued to play a critical role in challenging the state's atrocities and other human rights abuses. In Namibia for example, the Lutheran Church supported the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) during Namibia's struggle for independence.[20] During the Zimbabwe War of liberation mission stations in the eastern border area, for example Honde Mission and Avila Mission (North of Honde Valley) had a very close alliance with the guerrillas and rendered support to the war effort.[21] J. McLaughlin sees these relationships as emblematic of a new and close alliance between guerrillas and Catholicism in the Eastern Highlands.[22] Nonetheless, D. Maxwell dismissed the importance of Christian institutions arguing that Avila Mission for example, was a new society, which had failed to create a deep popular Christianity.[23] This argument is quite unconvincing, especially considering that some Catholic leaders in the Eastern Highlands, for example Bishop Lamont faced criticism for supporting guerrillas in the then Umtali region. Furthermore, St Columbus provided support to both civilians and ZANLA guerrillas in the area because they had worked with these communities for years.[24] Ellert argued that that for many years, missionaries, especially Catholics, had worked among the African people.[25] When the war broke out, guerrillas seeking medical supplies and other forms of

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[19] See for example N. Bhebe, The *ZAPU and ZANU guerrilla warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe*, Gweru, Mambo Press, 1999. His work showed how churches in the 'Eastern Deanery' cooperated with the guerrillas in fighting the white. However, the also observed that Musume school, church and hospital appeared quiet and normal amidst ferocious fighting, p.219.

[20] On the role of the various Lutheran denominations in Namibia, see R.A Mcleer, SWAPO, the Church, and the role of accompaniment in Namibia's Liberation, Wartburg Theological Seminary, IOWA, 2011.

[21] J. McLaughlin, 'Avila Mission: a Turning Point in Church Relations with the State and with the liberation Forces', in N Bhebe and T.O Ranger (Eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe's liberation War, London*, James Currey, 1996.

[22] N. Bhebe and T. O. Ranger, (Eds.), *Society in Zimbabwe's liberation War,* p.13.

[23] *Ibid*, p.14.

[24] See H. Ellert, *Rhodesian Front War: Counter-insurgency and Guerrilla Warfare, 1962-1980*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1989, p117.

[25] *Ibid.*

assistance regularly visited outlying mission stations. The Rhodesian government punished some clerics who gave guerrillas and civilians support.

On July 21, 1976, for example, when a homestead of the Mandiopera people was burnt to ashes, Fr. Galvin and Fr. Hender prepared shelter for the 25 of the victims' children.[26] Consequently, the Smith regime's soldiers fired live ammunition at the mission school from Muroyi hill, nearby the Mission.[27] In 1977, Father Galvin prevented the District Commissioner, Mr Biggs and soldiers who had come to St Columbas from showing pupils a 'dead terrorist'.[28] Despite rendering this assistance, St Columbas Mission still faced several threats from guerrillas who demanded more support from these institutions. In 1977, for example, gang of guerrillas led by Bob Keeler allegedly attacked a Catholic Priest at St Columbas mission.[29] *The Umtali Post* of 1977 reported that:

> The Priest in Charge at St Columbas Roman Catholic mission in the Holdenby Tribal Trust Land, Inyanga, was wounded and a terrorist killed in robbery and kidnap attempt at the mission...A gang of four terrorists went to the mission and demanded money from Father Galvin…[30]

One of my oral informants stated that St Columbas mission worked together with the guerrillas all along, but things changed when a PV was constructed in Hauna centre, a few kilometres from the mission.[31] This meant that the members of the Rhodesian Security Forces constantly harassed Father Galvin, who was in charge of the mission, together with Consolato Guta, Alfred Sambaza,

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[26]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p. 15.

[27]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.15.

[28]*Ibid*, p.24.

[29]*Ibid,* p.13.

[30] The Umtali Post, Priest is hurt, terrorist killed at mission, Wednesday, June 1, 1977, p1, see full story in The Umtali Post, Friday, June 3, 1977, Mission heroes tell the story, p.1 and p.5. All had been drinking and he was half singing and half chanting a song, and dancing.

[31] Interview of the author with Mr. Matende Matahwa, Murara, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. See also Fr. M Hender O. Carm's report on his experiences in Honde Valley during the liberation war in, Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone.

Imelda Manuhwa and Lucy Magadzaweta.[32] Despite the harassment and attacks, the Priest at St Columbas mission continued to support the villagers and guerrillas. Given this, it has been widely established that many Catholic missions were considered openly anti-government and pro-nationalists. Rhodesian Police and Special Branch officials decried that the Roman Catholic Church in particular was actively involved in supporting terrorism in every aspect, including the provision of safe houses, volunteering confidential information, and supplying food and medicine to the guerrillas. Furthermore, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) became notoriously known in white Rhodesian circles for highlighting the Smith regime's deliberate atrocities on civilians and other human rights abuses. The commission was worried about Africans who were tortured by both the Rhodesian security forces and guerrillas in an attempt to glean vital security information.[33] The Commission exposed the security forces' human rights abuses, yet at the same time deliberately remaining silent on the atrocities committed by guerrillas.[34] Mr. Lamont denounced the RSF's brutality noting:

> the loyalty of the man in the middle will not be won by beating, torturing and maiming him, by shattering his home with bombs from the air, by destroying his crops and driving off his cattle, but by restoring and respecting his dignity and by jealously guarding the rule of law based on those Christian principles which the Rhodesia publicly claims to respect and professes to maintain.[35]

Furthermore, there is also evidence that African independent churches, mainly apostolic churches, also supported the war in Honde Valley. Daneel noted that the ZCC congregations and the Johane Maranke / Marange Apostolic sects gave close assistance to the guerrilla fighters.[36] Christopher Mukwinya, a member of the AACJM in Chavhanga area (Honde Valley) said that

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[32]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone.

[33] See CCJP's booklet, *The Man in the Middle.*

[34]Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-8, Press statement by Mr. G. Feltoe, Lawyer, Executive member of the Justice and Peace Commission, on Rhodesia: The Propaganda War.

[35] N. Ashford, 'Rhodesian Police accused of Torture', *The Times*, Tuesday May 13 1975.

[36]M.L.Daneel, Healing the Earth: Traditional and Christian Initiatives in Southern Africa, *Journal for the Study of Religion, Vol 6, No.1*, 1993, p17-18.

although their church doctrine forbade them to meddle in politics they supported the ZANLA guerrillas operating in their villages.[37] He added that civilians lived in fear due to guerrilla intimidation and killing (he referred to the Aberfoyle Massacre of 1976) and was important to support the guerrillas at individual level and abide by their demands.[38]

In the light of the above, it can be argued that there were so many contestations between the Rhodesian Security Forces and Christian Churches, namely Catholics and Apostolic sects in Honde Valley during the Zimbabwe liberation war. Because the Rhodesian Security Forces target villagers to deprive the ZANLA guerrillas of the war support, Catholic Missions such as St Columbas provide their support to the villagers. Furthermore, although some form of guerrilla coercion and violence existed the Catholics supported the guerrillas providing safe houses, supplying food and medicine, among other things. Furthermore, the Catholic Commission Justice and Peace led by Bishop Lamont openly criticised the counter-insurgency operations in many areas of the country. Consequently, the Rhodesian Security Forces targeted the Christian Churches across the country. In the Honde Valley St Columbus Catholic Mission and Honde Mission were openly attacked the Rhodesian Security Forces. In the next section, I discuss how both the ZANLA guerrilla and Rhodesian Security Forces' operation affected the Honde Valley communities. The section also elaborates upon the guerrilla-peasant war interactions, showing how these interactions determined civilians' daily experiences.

Violence in the Honde Valley, 1976-1980

Both the ZANLA guerrillas and the RSF who operated in the Honde Valley used violent acts to defeat the understanding of the ordinary men and demoralized the civilians. Because the civilians suffered at the hands of both the ZANLA guerrillas and the RSF, the Catholic Commission for

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[37] Interview of the author with Mr. Christopher Mukwinya, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

[38] Interview of the author with Mr. Christopher Mukwinya, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016. On Marange Church and their approach to politics see N. Nyachega, 'Responses of the African Apostolic Church of Johane Marange to HIV/AIDS in Honde Valley: 1985-2013', BA Honours Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2013.

Justice and Peace labelled them as 'the men in the middle'.[39] Thus, the majority of the peasants preferably 'supported' their black 'counterparts' while others collaborated with the Rhodesian regime. However, ZANLA guerrillas' sway in Honde Valley was largely a result of a combination of propaganda and the use of violence to force villagers to support them. Thus, the support that the civilians gave the guerrillas cannot be satisfactorily explained by the idea of winning the hearts and minds through good deeds. However, African nationalists' anti-colonial propaganda appealed to the rural populace because it resonated with what the rural folks had always wanted to hear. Noah George Chapinduka noted that when guerrillas came to Zindi area in Honde Valley, they notified the local authorities about their operations and when people seemed not very cooperative, continuing to work in the Eastern Highlands Plantation Limited, they turned to torture and killing of Africans.[40] His wife, Agnes Chapinduka also noted that everyone had an obligation to send their daughters and food to 'Mafatcook' base and people 'sold out' each other to win the protection of guerrillas.[41] Those who continued to work in the tea estates were seen as 'sell-outs', regardless of the fact that the Companies demanded their services and that tendering their labour was an important livelihood strategy in an economically neglected borderland.[42] Such people were punished mainly through brutal killing, for example, in the incidences of Rumbizi attack and Aberfoyle Massacre (1976) which will be discussed later.

Schools also became theatres for guerrilla atrocities. In 1976, insurgents gave a severe beating to the Headmaster of St Peters Mandeya II, in front of his pupils and people and they

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[39] See the CCJP Report, 'Man in the middle'.

[40] Interview of the author with Mr Noah George Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016.

[41] Interview of the author with Mrs Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. When I asked her why the base was called, Mafatcook she said that it was given that name because it was the largest guerrilla base in Zindi were guerrillas were fed with high quality food. 'Fatcook' is a fat fried bun which had a prestigious value to the extent that families without this kind of food at Christmas celebrations and other gatherings like marriage ceremonies were regarded as 'poor'.

[42] Interview of the author with Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. (In 1976, the Aberfoyle Tea Estate had an advertisement for vacancies in the company for tea pickers, a sign which shows their desperation for more tea workers in the face of desertion)

promised to do the same for the Anglican Priest there, Rev. Gabriel Mashingaidze.[43] As a result, people began to cooperate with guerrillas in fear of guerrilla victimization. Hence, the form of 'support' rendered by civilians in Honde Valley cannot be merely explained as emanating from the fact that peasants and guerrillas harboured the same grievances against successive settler regimes in the country. Even if they shared the same concerns, the guerrillas were dictating the methods by which the struggle would be shaped. Contrary to Manungo's findings in Chiweshe, and in support of Kriger's observations, there is evidence to suggest that a system of guerrilla injustice and violence was prevalent in the Honde Valley, and was central to guerrilla mobilization.[44]

While it was officially held that guerrilla units were supposed to win their peasant support through their lectures and good deeds among the civilians, guerrillas systematically used intimidation, violence and torture to obtain support in the Honde Valley. In this light, Wilfred Mhanda notes that the strategic role of guerrilla warfare lay in mobilization and organization of the masses to support the liberation war.[45] Given this, inquiry into the nature of interactions between rural societies and guerrillas has been a central theme among scholars.[46] Briefly, T. O Ranger popularized the notion of peasant consciousness, which influenced K. D Manungo to argue that peasants supported the war because they had given up any hopes of a better future under the settler regime as early as the 1960s.[47] Many revisionist scholars, however, hold that coercion was an integral and unavoidable part of the armed struggle.[48] Others still believe that

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[43]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.22.

[44]Interview of the author with Mr. Mathew Zindi, Zindi, Honde Valley 16 August 2016. Similarly, Y. Henkin, 'Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia', p.505 observed that in reality, support was gained by a spectrum of means, from propaganda to traditional religion to violence.

[45] W. Mhanda, *Dzino: Memories of a freedom fighter*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2011, p.52.

[46]D. J. Maxwell, 'Local Politics and the War of liberation in North-east Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 19, No. 3*, September 1993, p.361

[47] K. D. Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War', p.132.

[48] N. J. Kriger, *Zimbabwe Guerrilla War,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.

the situation varied so much between areas and periods that one cannot generalize on the subject.[49] This view seems to hold much water. Even though ZANU and ZAPU were officially opposed to coercive methods of winning support, this research establishes that guerrilla coercion and violence against the African population was deliberate and a central part of ZANLA guerrillas' tactics in the Honde Valley borderlands.

When guerrillas infiltrated the Honde Valley in the 1970s, they faced a different situation to what they had envisaged. Although there were protracted land struggles between Headmen Zindi, Chikomba and Company owners in the Valley, many families were still keen to work as Outgrower tea farmers as late as in 1976.[50] Arguably, by the time the war broke out, unlike their Tangwena neigbours, the Honde people had not been much affected by colonialism.[51] Muomba who lived in Chief Tangwena's area, noted that unlike the Hanmer brothers in Inyanga Block, white owned Companies in Honde Valley worked well with the locals. As a result, he decided to go and live in the Tea Estate compounds as a tea worker.[52] He also indicated that Chief Tangwena openly criticized his neighbour Headman Chikomba for being a white collaborator who worked with the Aberfoyle Company.[53]

In fact, by the time the ZANLA guerrillas began to operate in the area from 1976 onwards colonial oppression had not yet been acutely felt in the area.[54] Until about the 1950s, the Honde Valley had remained undeveloped with limited public infrastructure, such as roads and other amenities. As a borderland, the Honde Valley remained on the fringes of the colonial state. Therefore, by the time guerrillas began to operate in the area they had to deal with the challenge

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[49] Henkin, 'Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia', p.504.

[50] NAZ S3700/20, Holdenby Tribal Trust Lands, Tea Estates Vol IV, April 1973-April 1976. Headman Chikomba for example, applied to a tea estate to be opened in his village in 1976.

[51] Interview of the author with Mr Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[52]Interview of the author with Mr Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[53]Interview of the author with Mr Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[54] Interview of the author with Mr Mathew Zindi, Zindi, Honde Valley 16 August 2016.

of having to attain popular legitimacy and acceptance in these communities. In Honde Valley, it became notoriously difficult for the guerrilla propaganda lectures to transform the understanding of village men and women. This was largely because of the Honde Valley villagers' colonial experiences. Although there was colonial oppression through taxation and labour exploitation, the locals had not developed a very strong anti-colonial political consciousness as was in the Tangwena case. Furthermore, as observed by Maxwell in the Katerere area, North of Honde Valley, peasant ideologies and interests often conflicted. This resulted in guerrillas' failure to institute a political programme that would bring about concrete change in the structures of rural society.[55] Thus, to argue that when they began operating in rural areas, guerrillas found the peasantry ready to be politicized is to miss the point because the situation varied from area to area. Although A. J. McGregor and T.O. Ranger argue that nationalism was 'made in the rural areas',[56] the Honde Valley was a unique case. The Honde peasants, unlike their Tangwena neigbours who had already exhibited a unique peasant consciousness due to displacements in the Gaerezi, were made ready for participating in the war by violence and coercion. In fact, during the Zimbabwe liberation war, Chief Rekayi Tangwena viewed most Honde Valley headmen such as Chikomba as traitors and white settlers' collaborators.

Guerrillas threatened the livelihoods of the ordinary citizen in Honde Valley by closing down schools and clinics, destroying dip tanks and other symbols of colonial power. Furthermore, guerrillas began to run their own clinics and issued their own registration certificates.[57] These acts greatly undermined the morale of the security forces and made guerrillas more legitimate and acceptable authorities. Following the Rambanayi Hotel attack of 1976, Zindi clinic and Zindi primary school were closed down. St Columbas Mission School followed suit in 1977, fearing guerrilla attacks and the desertion from school by pupils who went

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[55] J. D. Maxwell, *Local Politics and the War of liberation in North-east Zimbabwe*, p.362. On what preoccupied Rhodesia's rural communities see P. Godwin and I. Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die: The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia C.1970-1980*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993, p.21.

[56] See J. Alexander, J. McGregor and T.O. Ranger, *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*, Oxford, James Currey, 2000.

[57] Interview of the author with Mr. Mathew Zindi, Zindi, Honde Valley 16 August 2016.

to join war.[58] Students from St Columbas Secondary School, namely Ben Chanaiwa, Charles Matimati, Tukai Chiromba, Farai Jeyacheya, Mollyn Mutseekwa, Olivia Mupambo, Ruth Mwadiwa, Sara Terera, Prisca Tiriwepi and others, absconded to Mozambique, a distance of only one kilometre from the mission.[59] Admittedly, in the Honde Valley, civilians supported ZANLA guerrillas because of coercion and violence. Civilians rendered support to ZANLA guerrillas because they feared being maimed and sexually harassed. Furthermore, civilians feared being labelled a white man's collaborator by guerrillas who had presented and imposed themselves as representatives of black rule. An informant noted that:

> Life was very difficult here especially from 1976 to early 1977. Both the Smith's Forces [referring to the RSF] and *vakomana* (guerrillas) came to us. They asked us about their enemies' whereabouts. If you said you had not seen anyone, you could receive a bit of punishment. If you said, you had seen them you could be severely punished as a collaborator. But with time, things changed when we escaped war into Mozambique. We were only left with the *vakomana*.[60]

Guerrilla violence threatened various forms of rural livelihood in the Honde Valley. The tea industry had previously provided the locals with some employment but guerrilla activities threatened it. Guerrillas ambushed white-owned tea estates especially from 1976 and instructed the locals to stop working for whites.[61] Thus, the area became known as an 'Ambush Valley'.[62] Consequently, there was conflict between guerrillas and the RSF, to control the civilians in Honde Valley. While the former ardently believed that peasants would win them the war, the latter held that depriving their opponents' access to the populations would 'lay the fish dry'. A campaign of bush burning and road mining forced the Aberfoyle and the Eastern Highlands

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[58] Interview of the author with Mr. Hudson Rori, Rori Village, St Columbas area, Honde Valley, 08 January 2015.

[59]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.21.

[60] Interview of the author with Mr. Girima Nheredzo at Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 02 February 2015. See also N. Ashford, 'Rhodesian Police accused of Torture', The times, Tuesday, May 13, 1975.

[61] Rhodesia Herald, 1976.

[62]NAZ, S/II53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978, Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley, pp8-9 Vol 11, No.4.

Plantation Limited, Katiyo, and Rumbizi tea estates to curtail the processing of raw tea because of the near impossibility of transporting labour from the Tribal Trust Lands.[63] Because of these attacks, some local families deserted work and crossed to Mozambique seeking refuge. However, the estates had the option of hiring migrant labour instead.[64] The Rambanayi Hotel attack and surprise attacks on guesthouses in the Aberfoyle Tea estate in 1976 specifically worried the whites in Honde Valley as it crippled the tea industry. The Monthly Zanu Newsletter of 1976 also reported that:

> In less than 3 months, guerrillas have scored astounding victories in the Honde Valley Tea Estates. Guerrilla operations began there on 29 February 1976, and since that time have managed to make the area a war zone thus crippling the Industry. 1600 employees were no longer prepared to work for the benefit of their white masters.[65]

Another incident that became known as the Aberfoyle Massacre took place in December of 1976 also worried the whites. Employers from Number 6 compound of Aberfoyle were lined up against a wall and machine-gunned after being rounded up in their compound.[66] These included nine migrant workers who were Mozambique nationals, eight Malawi nationals, ten Rhodesians.[67] One of my informants, Tafirenyika Rutope recalled the incident noting that:

> When we were driven into Sagambe PVs in 1977, the war had become very hot. We used to go to work at Aberfoyle Factory. But the killing of 27 civilians at Number 6 factory, in December of 1976 made us insecure. The *vakomana* had told people to stop working so that we support them. When they saw that people were continuing to work, they invaded

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[63]Chimurenga, The Monthly Zanu Newsletter, Vol 1, No.7 30 June 1976.

[64]NAZ, S/I153 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978 Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley, pp.8-9 Vol 11, No.4.

[65] Chimurenga, The Monthly Zanu Newsletter, Vol 1, NO 6, 31 MAY 1976 Guerrilla Control Honde Valley Tea Estates, 24 May 1976, p.8.

[66] The Umtali Post, Monday, December 20, 1976, Against-the-wall execution after abduction from homes, Terrorist Massacre 26 workers at tea estate, p.1. See also CCJP, "Civil War in Rhodesia, Mozambique Nationals among the victims, Terrorist Massacre Workers, Wives, Children watch 27 die", Honde Valley, Eastern Rhodesia. (cite properly)

[67] Jesuit Archives, "CCJP, Civil War in Rhodesia, Mozambique Nationals among the victims, Terrorist Massacre Workers, Wives, Children watch 27 die", Honde Valley, Eastern Rhodesia, p.28. (cite properly)

> the compound during the night. They frog marched more than 40 people, men, women and children. Only 27 of the men were killed using machine gun under the floodlight at Number 6 near Nyawamba Factory. The women were told to go back to their homes. The Mozambicans were told to go back to Mozambique, the Malawians to Malawi. From that day, I stopped working in the tea estate until 1982.[68]

Although similar incidents took place in the Eastern Highlands, guerrillas reported the attack on tea estate workers as one of the most brutal attacks.[69] The mass killings were described as the most callous in the 'terrorist war' - if not the country's history.[70] However, there was denial of responsibility and counter-accusations by the Rhodesia Security Forces and the guerrillas over the attack. ZANLA claimed that the Selous Scouts, a notorious elite unit of the RSF that used pseudo guerrilla tactics, was responsible.[71] In 1977, Robert Mugabe also denied the possibility of guerrillas killing citizens saying that ZANLA were not responsible for such inhumanity.[72] On the other hand, the Rhodesians described the attack on tea workers has been seen as part of brutal guerrilla methods of forcing the civilians to support them.[73] Earlier studies acknowledged that ZANLA guerrillas were responsible for massacre of 1976, which claimed lives of 27 African workers, most of them from neighbouring countries, in front of their families.[74] This is corroborated by the Rhodesian newspaper reports, CCJP reports, and interviews with former tea workers. Interviews with Tafirenyika Rutope, Agnes Chapinduka and Mathias Joseph noted that

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[68] Interview of the author with Mr. Tafirenyika Rutope, Nyaungozva, Mozambique 08 June 2016.

[69] In the Elim Mission massacre or 'Vumba massacre' of 1978, in the eastern highlands, 13 Europeans were massacred, including five women (three of them were raped) and four children. When the massacre attracted worldwide condemnation, ZANU argued that Rhodesian pseudo-guerrilla unit, the Selous Scouts, did it to discredit ZANLA.

[70]Jesuit Archives, CCJP, Civil War in Rhodesia, Mozambique Nationals among the victims, Terrorist Massacre Workers, Wives, Children watch 27 dies, Honde Valley, Eastern Rhodesia.

[71] H. Schmidt, Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe, p. 168.

[72]A. Daimon, 'Mabhurandaya': The Malawian Diaspora in Zimbabwe: 1895 to 2008, PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p140.

[73] Rhodesian Herald, 1976.

[74] Y. Henkin, 'Stoning the Dogs: Guerrilla Mobilization and Violence in Rhodesia', p.513.

guerrillas were responsible for killing the people in Aberfoyle because tea workers had continued to work with the whites despite the instruction by guerrillas to 'leave their jobs for war'.[75] In support of this view, it has been revealed that ZANLA guerrillas had been frequenting the labour compounds at the Aberfoyle and Eastern Highlands Plantations Limited (EHPL) since early 1976 encouraging workers to desert employment in defiance of their employers.[76] Additionally, a CCJP report of 1976 noted that eyewitnesses of the incident, mainly Zambians, said that the perpetrators of the massacre referred to each other as comrade.[77] Furthermore, Superintendent Brian Thomas also said that he found a tremendous amount of ammunition at the scene.[78] Despite the mention of the amount of weapons which were thought to be of the East Bloc origin, this is hardly reliable evidence to identify the perpetrators. Nonetheless, Mr. Deary, an executive member of the Roman Catholic Justice and Peace Commission said that his findings were that ZANLA guerrillas were responsible for the massacre of 27 tea workers.[79]

Apart from showing the violent part of the war and the contestations between the RSF and ZANLA guerrillas to control the civilian populations, the incident is a testimony to the civilians' resilience and need for income even under the threat of violence. It shows that the war did not put to an end to the routine aspects of life in the Honde Valley. Although some families migrated to Mozambique, and quitted their jobs in the tea estate, migrant families remained in the Compounds, working for the Aberfoyle Company. Nonetheless, the locals who had been moved into protected villages also continued to work in the tea estates to raise money for the

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[75] Interviews of the author with Mr. Tafirenyika Rutope at Nyaungozva, Mozambique 08 June 2016; Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka at Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016 and Mr. Mathias Joseph at No. 3 Compound, Eastern Highlands Plantation Limited, 17 August, 2016. Joseph Chapinduka who claimed to have come from Balimbi in Malawi and settled in the Company as a tea worker said that the company tried hard to protect labour. As a result, most migrant workers who lived in the compounds were not put behind the fence.

[76] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, The Aberfoyle Massacre: Events Preceding the Massacre', in CCJP, Civil War in Rhodesia: Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-Insurgency Campaign, London: CCJP, 1976.

[77] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, Civil War in Rhodesia, Mozambique Nationals among the victims, Terrorist Massacre Workers, Wives, Children watch 27 dies, Honde Valley, Eastern Rhodesia, 1976, p.28.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*

payment of tax and for family sustenance. With the Tea Estate being a source of employment for migrants from Mozambique and Malawi, they continued to go to work.[80] In return, the Rhodesian Security Forces promised them maximum support and security again future attacks. Despite the efforts by the RSF, tea workers continued to work in the estates with fear. In the next section, we examine the nature of everyday practices by those who were driven by the Rhodesian regime into 'Protected Villages'.

Everyday life behind the fence: Civilians and Protected Villages (PVs) in Honde Valley

The years 1976-7 were a turning point in the political, social and economic history of the borderland villagers in the Honde Valley. There were more incidents of guerrilla military activities in Honde Valley in 1976 than in any other war zone of the country.[81] Due to escalating guerrilla operations and counter insurgency operations, civilians were caught in the middle and suffered the consequences of being in the war zone between1976 and 1978. One of the victims from the area, who talked to journalist Ashton, of *The Times* newspaper, explained the predicament of being in that conflict zone:

> If we report to the police, the terrorists kill us. If we do not report, the police torture us. Even if we do not report to the police, we are beaten all the same and accused of trying to lead the soldiers into a trap. We just do not know what to do.[82]

Among other developments, counter-insurgency operations resulted in the creation of Protected Villages (PVs) across the country. Father M. Hender O'Carm, who was at St Columbas mission during the war years, noted that "in early September 1976, the people of Honde Valley were told by the government that they would be forcibly driven into newly created PVs if they did not stop

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[80]Interview of the author with Mr. Tafirenyika Rutope, See also J. Mtisi, M. Nyakudya ad T Barnes, 'War in Rhodesia', *Becoming Zimbabwe*, p.155.

[81]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.12.

[82] N. Ashton, 'Rhodesian Police accused of Torture', *The Times*, Tuesday, May 13, 1975.

supporting the terrorists."[83] The government acted on its threats and by the end of 1976, many villagers were moved into PVs in the Honde Valley. Previous studies of life in PVs have tended to focus on the panoply of deteriorating living conditions and inhuman treatment in the protected villages during the Zimbabwe liberation war.[84] While I acknowledge these deteriorating living conditions and grim experiences of life in PVs, the contribution of this section is to extend the debates beyond these said categories by focusing on other aspects of their everyday experiences.

As a counter-insurgency measure, the creation of PVs was not unique to Rhodesia. It was derived from the *aldeamentos* or similar military strategy that was employed in the British anti-insurgency campaign in Malaya after the World War II in 1948.[85] The French and (later) the Americans also employed the same methods in Vietnam, while the Portuguese used it in Angola and Mozambique as military strategies.[86] According to A.K.H Weinrich, the PVs were created because of the Rhodesians' late realization of the gravity of guerrilla incursions in Rhodesia.[87] Minister of Law and Order in Rhodesia, W. de Kock first launched Protected Villages in the Zambezi Valley in 1973. By mid-1974, the Government had announced the implementation of the programme in Chiweshe and Madziwa Tribal Trust Lands.[88] Militarily, PVs 'laid the fish

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[83]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, S11, Our 1970s in Zimbabwe, Fr. M Hender, O'Carm, Honde Valley War Zone, p.21.

[84] See I. Mazambani and T.M Mashingaidze, 'The Creation of Protected Villages in Southern Rhodesia: Colonial mythologies and the official mind, 1972-1980', See also H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe*, P. Chimusisi, Women and Protected Villages: An Examination of the Socio-Economic implications of Protected Villages on African Women: A case of Mt Darwin, 1973-1980, B.A Honours (History), University of Zimbabwe, 2008.

[85]NAZ- Gen/Bra, Coenraad Brand, From compound to PVs: on the nature of settler control in Southern Rhodesia, The Research Committee on Ethnic, Race and Minority relations, 9th World Congress of Sociology, 14-19 August, 1978, Uppsala, Sweden. For a detailed analysis of Protected Villages see M. Burleigh, *Small Wars, Far Away Places*: the Genesis of the Modern World, 1945-65, Penguin, New York, 2013.

[86] A.K. H. Weinrich, 'Strategic Resettlement in Rhodesia', Journal *of Southern African Studies, Vol 3, No. 2*, 1977, p.207.

[87]*Ibid.*

[88]CCJP, 'The man in the middle: torture, resettlement & eviction', Rhodesia 1975. For list of Protected Villages see NAZ RG-P/INT, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and NAZ- Gen/Bra, Coenraad Brand, From compound to PVs:

dry': it cut insurgent forces off from their rural support base during the liberation war.[89] Accordingly, scholars have therefore focused on examining the military value to the implementation of protected villages, arguing that their principal aim was to isolate the guerrillas from the civilian populations.[90] This was the view that was initially popularized by Rhodesian Front Government itself. The government argued that PVs were introduced to protect civilians from ZANLA 'terrorists' groups who were preying upon them. Thus, the principal justification for the concept of the protected villages has been that it was essential to protect the local population from attacks and intimidation from the insurgents.[91]

In the Honde Valley, there were 9 PVs created in Sagambe (PV 1), Sachisuka (2), Zindi (3), Rumbizi (Pungwe) (4), Pimayi (5), Mandeya (7), Ruda (8), Hauna (9) and Gatsi (10).[92] Rhodesia African Rifles (RAR) Commander Fawcett coordinated this programme. In the whole area, more than 20 000 people were driven into PVs.[93] J.K. Cilliers, a former Artillery Officer noted that by early 1977 the entire population was put in PVs in the Honde Valley.[94] This is an exaggeration, as there were some people who did not go into PVs at all. Throughout the country, however, more than 100 000 people were driven into protected villages with each PVs accommodating between 2000 and 5000 people.[95] In Honde Valley, these protected villages were established near major roads leading to the major four tea estates in Honde, perhaps for ease of access. In the process of implementing the PVs programme, the Rhodesians used brutal and violent methods to drive people into protected villages. In her narrative of the war experience Mrs. Constance Chidza of Chavhanga area said that:

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[89]H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe*, p.189.

[90]I. Mazambani and T. Mashingaidze, 'The Creation of Protected Villages in Southern Rhodesia:'

[91] Jesuit Archives, CCJP, 'The man in the middle: torture, resettlement & eviction', Rhodesia 1975. p.7.

[92]NAZ, RG-P/INT, Ministry of Internal Affairs, List of Protected Villages.

[93] See NAZ, RG-P/INT, Ministry of Internal Affairs, List of Protected Villages.

[94]J.K. Cilliers, *Counter-Insurgency in Rhodesia*, Croom Helm Ltd, Sydney, 1985, p.89.

[95] Jesuit Archives, CCJP, 'The man in the middle: torture, resettlement & eviction', Rhodesia 1975. p.7.

> Smith's soldiers started burning people's houses in the Mapokana area in December of 1976. Rhodesian soldiers flew around during the day with loud speakers telling people to go to PVs 1 in Sagambe. Those who resisted lost their lives, grain and their houses. In February of 1977, we saw three corpses hanged on the helicopters. The following day they returned bombing our homes, we ran without clothes, food and some even left their children behind unknowingly, only to realize that they are missing upon arrival in Mozambique.[96]

Forced removals of rural people from their villages, burning of homesteads and beatings destroyed the normal way of life. However, research has shown that people adapted and forged alternative lifestyle to deal with the challenges of war. Because civilians were subjected to these abuses such evictions and burning of homesteads the Rhodesians were accused by the CCJP of deliberately destroying villagers' houses, property and crops to force the 'angry and resentful' villagers into protected villages.[97] A CCJP official, Mr. Donald Lamont, pointed to the 'moral dilemma' facing the civilians who were caught between the brutality of the 'terrorists' on one side, and the assaults by the security forces, on the other.[98] However, government reports were one sided, emphasizing that only the 'terrorists' were responsible for committing crimes against innocent civilians.[99] In contrast, most of the people I interviewed in Honde Valley noted that the Rhodesians committed the most serious of violent acts to force people to enter into the protected villages.[100] Because of these atrocities, the CCJP published a lengthy dossier in 1976 that set out to show 'the suffering of blacks at the hands of Government forces'.[101] Given CCJP evidence, the argument that the Rhodesians implemented PVs to protect civilians is far from convincing. It

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[96] Interview of the author with Mrs. Constance, Chidza at Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley 06 August 2016.

[97] CCJP, 'The man in the middle: torture, resettlement & eviction', Rhodesia 1975. P.7. See also N. Ashford, 'Rhodesian Police accused of Torture', The times, Tuesday May 13 1975.

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] See Rhodesian Herald, 1976.

[100] Interview of the author with Mr. Peterson Nyakabambo at Nyaundindi, Mozambique, 08 June 2016 Mrs. Constance Chidza shared these sentiments noting that the RSF killed paraded corpses, burnt houses, grain, and many belongings.

[101] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, Civil War in Rhodesia, October 1976. See also *The Rhodesia Herald*, 1st October 1976 See also E. Msindo, 'Winning Hearts and Minds: Crisis and Propaganda in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1962–1970', *Journal of Southern African Studies, 35 (no. 3)* 2009.

blurs the real picture of these acts of crime involved. It also trivializes the Rhodesians' brutality. Events from the end of 1976 on (for example the Rambanayi Hotel and the Aberfoyle Tea Estate attacks of 1976) raised the awareness and desperation of the Rhodesians. Because of escalating guerrilla attacks in the area, the Rhodesians called the Honde Valley an 'Ambush Valley' that needed protected villages as part of the 'Defence Plan' to protect the defenceless Africans. In view of this, it can be maintained that although PVs protected the civilians from guerrilla injustices and forms of violence, they had much military value to the Rhodesians. Unsurprisingly, in 1978 Chris Ashton, a Rhodesian reporter, claimed that the Protected Village programme won the Honde Valley back from the guerrillas.[102] However, this statist view/report does not tell the true picture of what happened in the protected villages. It ignores the fact that although Africans were living in confined settlements, they continued to work with guerrillas and the migrant families who were living in Mozambique.

[102]NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978, Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley Pp8-9 Vol 11, No.4.

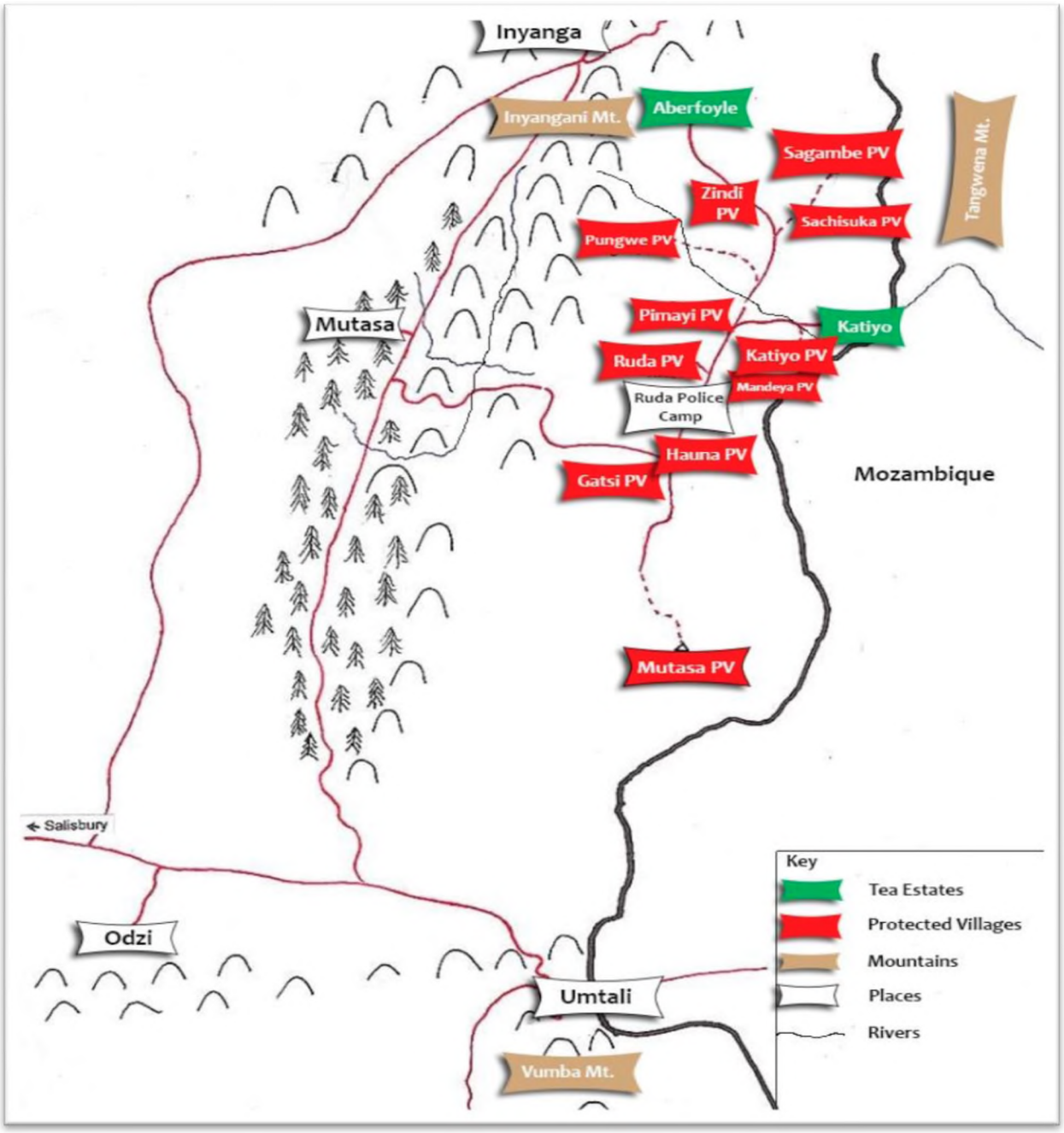

Figure 2: This map shows the Protected Villages which were established in the Honde Valley during the Zimbabwe War of liberation under the Rhodesia Counter Insurgency operations. (By Russell Kapumha)

By its very nature, the pattern of life for people living in PVs was traumatic and emotionally and physically draining. In most cases, it involved radical changes from their previous experience.[103] Africans' living conditions deteriorated in the PVs. Against this background, most researchers were previously pre-occupied with exposing these experiences of suffering and violence as a result.[104] Similar to life in Rhodesian mining compounds, these experiences involved floggings, among other coercive forms of administration.[105] The government officials in the PVs used mass coercion and torture as a tool to enforce obedience.[106] Without doubt, the most effective of these was the curfews. For peasants who needed to cultivate their fields, collect firewood, and tend their cattle outside the PVs, such acts were unpalatable as it interfered with their everyday social and economic activities, and even made it difficult for Africans to communicate with and provide guerrillas with their everyday needs in the bush. Africans who went to work in the fields were regularly searched. Protected Villages regulations stipulated that anybody who wished to transport food, groceries, utensils or other goods in or out of the PVs be required to have the necessary permit(s) for the purpose.[107] Another device used 'to bring villagers round' was the control of beer brewing and distilling of *kachasu/nipa* (a spirit made from berries or other wild fruits). Beer brewing required a permit and *kachasu* distilling was illegal, meriting a fine or jail sentence upon conviction of such activities.[108] Rhodesians regulated beer brewing in PVs

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[103]CCJP, The man in the middle, A report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia and by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1975, 'Day to day life in the Protected Villages' p.11.

[104] See I. Mazambani, and T.M Mashingaidze, 'The Creation of Protected Villages in Southern Rhodesia:'

[105]NAZ- Gen/Bra, Coenraad Brand, From compound to PVs: on the nature of settler control in Southern Rhodesia, The Research Committee on Ethnic, Race and Minority relations, 9th World Congress of Sociology, 14-19 August, 1978, Uppsala, Sweden, p.4.

[106]Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-1978, Justice and Peace Reports On Protected Villages.

[107]NAZ- Gen/Bra, Coenraad Brand, From compound to PVs: on the nature of settler control in Southern Rhodesia, The Research Committee on Ethnic, Race and Minority relations, 9th World Congress of Sociology, 14-19 August, 1978, Uppsala, Sweden, p5.

[108]*Ibid*, p.6.

because they feared that Africans would turn *kachasu* brewing and drinking gatherings into political gatherings.[109]

As more people continued to be driven into PVs, they became overcrowded. Consequently, people in PVs became vulnerable to the rapid spread of diseases mainly due to overcrowding, inadequate water supplies, and a dearth of basic sanitary facilities. In 1975, for example, Bishop Lamont reported in 1975 that in Chiweshe PVs health was in great danger due to overcrowding, and these were signs of the disruption of the normal rhythm of life.[110] Such experiences were also common in Honde Valley PVs where venereal diseases became a serious challenge. Unsurprisingly (as it would have been consistent with the regime's propaganda claims), government was quick to blame the spread of such diseases on the Guard Forces and the so-called 'loose women' in the PVs.[111] In most cases, people's daily lives involved radical changes from their previous experiences.

Furthermore, there were some disquieting reports of some District Assistants (DAs) who abused their authority to elicit favours, including sexual favours from women. The CCJP report of 1975 noted that such behaviours were rampant because most of these were not properly trained professionals, having gone through a crash-training course of six weeks, and they were either single or not accompanied by their wives and usually came from other districts.[112] In Honde Valley PVs for example in PVs 4 (Rumbizi), immorality grew to its worst point as DAs were sexually abusing women.[113] Agnes Chapinduka noted that DAs and Guard Forces could

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[109] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[110] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, The Man In The Middle, A report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia and by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1975, p.9.

[111] Interview of the author with Mr. Matende Matahwa, Murara, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. Mr Chitauro Chairman Chiweshe Residents Association noted that venerable disease, initially blamed on the guerrillas, spread rapidly in PVs. See report in Jesuit Archives Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-1978, Justice and Peace Reports on Protected Villages.

[112] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, The Man In The Middle, A report by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Rhodesia and by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1975, p.11.

[113] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-1978, Justice and Peace Reports on Protected Villages.

take your *situpa* (identity card) and tell you that they wanted to see you privately.[114] Tabatsi Muomba, who was in Sagambe PV, noted that Guard Forces did not want to see men walking with beautiful women and wearing suits.[115] He recalled an altercation he had with a Guard Force over his friend's wife noting that:

> One Guard Force saw us walking with Evaristo Musvipa and his beautiful wife. The wife was from Bulawayo and spoke fluent Ndebele. He asked Evaristo how he got married to a Ndebele woman to which he responded that he married her in Bulawayo where he worked. The person threatened to beat Evaristo, arguing that they had a forced marriage with the woman. I testified and justified their marriage and an altercation broke out. Evaristo was severely beaten and we reported the issue to the Chief Administrator who did not take the issue further.[116]

Yet in spite of all this, there is evidence from most of Honde Valley PVs that the administration totally failed to gain the active cooperation of the PVs communities. To a certain extent, the routinised control of the protected villages, from a military viewpoint was a success. However, this should not be misconstrued to mean that PVs put to an end guerrilla-civilian interaction. Although the Honde Valley, as with Chiweshe, was frequently quoted as examples where subversion, guerrilla activity and military engagements were sharply reduced following the establishment of PVs,[117] they did not stop ZANLA infiltration, nor did the guerrillas' contact with the local peoples ('their water') came to a standstill.[118] Elsewhere, a PV report noted that:

> People were allowed to go anywhere they want during the day. They visit relatives in other PVs, work in their fields and gardens and go to hospital. They are even allowed to be away from the PVs for as many days or months as they wish…traditional life seems to

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[114] Interview of the author with Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. Similarly, reports from Chiweshe PVs also noted that the women the DAs want to make love with, got their *situpas* (identity cards) held until others go and then he tells the woman 'I want to see you'., CCJP, 1977-1978, Justice And Peace Reports On Protected Villages.

[115] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[116] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[117] NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978 Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley,pp8-9

[118] H. Schimdt, Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe, p.178.

prevail in the PVs…people in PVs travel to their chiefs in other PVs to have their civil cases tried…Beer is brewed in PVs and people drink it as long as they wish.[119]

In the Honde Valley, the reality of physical deprivation and its psychological strains brought about by these forced evictions and confinements turned the PVs into battlegrounds for survival.[120] The violence of the state also had the effect of turning civilians to the side of the guerrillas. There were forms of every day practices of resistance,[121] which challenged the statist view of African populations in PVs as simply passive recipients whose lives were strictly controlled. Therefore, analysis of protected villages in the borderlands should strive to depict Africans not as passive recipients but as adaptive and resilient; who utilized their own mechanisms to deal with their problems. Civilians deployed an array of 'tactics' in their mundane movements and activities in the protected villages. These included false pretences, fence cutting, using dog routes to get into and out of the PVs, and faking hunting trips. Such practices, as observed by de Certeau are tactics or ways of operating which constituted the practices of everyday life.[122] According to Henry Lefebvre, these everyday activities offered up a site of creative opposition to the disciplinary demands of organized society and its 'systematizing thought and structuralizing action'.[123] As in other areas, Honde Valley women for example used various methods to challenge the idea of controlling Africans' mobility during the Zimbabwe liberation war.[124] Because of increased Guard Forces' attempts to control their mobility, their

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[119] Jesuit Archives, Zimbabwe, CCJP, 1977-1978, Justice and Peace reports on Protected Villages, p.3.

[120] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016. On contestations within confined settlements in war, see also M. Healy, Vienna and the fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[121] On this notion see M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* Berkeley, 1984, p.115-30.

[122] M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984.

[123] H. Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, Athlone, London, 2000, cited in P. Hancock and M. Tyler, 'Beyond the Confines: Management, Colonization and the Everyday', *Critical Sociology 34(1)*, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, 2008.

[124] Interview, Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016. See also P. Chimusisi, Women and Protected Villages: An Examination of the Socio-Economic implications of Protected Villages on African Women: A case of Mt Darwin, 1973-1980, B.A Honours (History), University of Zimbabwe, 2008.

smuggling techniques increased.[125] Similarly, Nhongo Simbanegavi noted that women would wrap dried meat around their chest, underneath their breast and even below their waist.[126] Narratives of women who lived in PVs 1(Sagambe), 2 (Sachisuka), 3 (Zindi) and 5 (Pimayi) also reflected this kind of smuggling.[127] Some women wore big pants and long dresses known as *maparachute* (resembling parachutes) and *mafaranera* (flannels) to smuggle food outside the PVs.[128] It also turned out that women also worked together with their husbands who also smuggled food through the fence during the night. Men usually used openings created by dogs and covered their tracks using dried leaves and grass in the process.[129] Some women even diverted their trips to fields to assist guerrillas to carry heavy loads of ammunition to Gonakudzingwa (a place in Mozambique where the Tangwena people were squatting following eviction from the Kaerezi area), and the Tangwena families could transport it further into Rhodesia.[130] Such tactics are important in understanding what formed the core of Africans' everyday interactions in the face of confinement during the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. Most importantly, they show how limited was the colonial apparatus of suppression and oppression in the protected villages.

Regardless of the hardships in the PVs, civilians adapted and moved on in life. In May 1976 for example, people were still engaging in tea production as out growers, with the yields

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[125] Interview of the author with Mrs. Tsitsi Marekeni at Chisuko Village, 11 August 2016.

[126] J. Nhongo-Simbanegavi, *For Better or Worse? Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe's liberation Struggle*, Weaver Press, Harare, 2000, p.30.

[127] Interviews of the author with Mrs. Prisca Samhere , Zindi Village, 16 August 2016; Mrs. Shorai Samanga at Gatsi , 18 August 2016, and Mrs. Chekuita Muparutsa , Muparutsa, 18 August 2016.(who lived in PV 8 Ruda)

[128] Interview of the author with Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016.

[129] Interview of the author with Nhamoimwe Mandeya, Rori Village, Honde Valley, 08 January 2015.

[130] Interview of the author with Mrs Sabina Marombedza, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 06 June, 2016. Fay Chung also made this observation noting that the RSF were less suspicious about women.(F. Chung, *Reliving the Second Chimurenga, Memories from the liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe*, see also Zanu Archives (ZA), Harare, Manuscript of Interview with Magama Tongogara, 1978 quoted in I. Mudeka, Female Combatants and Shifting Gender Perceptions during Zimbabwe's liberation War, 1966-79, International Journal of Gender and Women's Studies, March 2014, Vol. 2, No. 1, p.90

reaching 45000 tonnes.[131] Headman Chikomba was motivated to request the Provincial Agricultural Officer, D. C. H. Plowers to open Sanganza Tea Estate for his *dunhu* (kraal).[132] These developments show that despite the challenge of war, daily life in Honde Valley was not paralysed by violence and people continued to work in the tea estate. Unfortunately, the ZANLA guerrillas viewed those who continued to work on the tea estates as traitors and supporters of the Rhodesian ruling regime. The lack of conformity on the part of civilians resulted in killings for example Aberfoyle Massacre of 1976, by the ZANLA guerrillas. In 1977, some men from Pimayi PV were reportedly murdered by guerrillas for continuing to work in the Rumbizi tea estates along the Southern Rhodesia-Mozambique border.[133] Furthermore, other PVs became increasingly involved in cash cropping. TILCOR, with a tea factory serving two tea estates, was supplying seedlings to the locals who were attempting to establish themselves as smallholder tea farmers.[134] In the Sagambe PV, Emily; wife of Headman Chikomba was a trade storeowner and tea farmer.[135]

Ordinary civilians also continued with their agricultural activities including farming and cattle rearing. In most of Honde Valley PVs, just like in Madziwa's Protected Village 7, men, women and children carried out their daily tasks – working the fields, herding cattle, collecting firewood, fetching water etc.[136] When PVs were being sited in Honde Valley in 1977, the Rhodesian government considered that it would be counter-productive to forbid the African population from accessing their farms. Furthermore, other considerations such as water

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[131] NAZ, S3700/20 Holdenby Tribal Trust Lands, Tea Estates Vol IV, April 1973-April 1976.

[132] NAZ, S3700/20 Holdenby Tribal Trust Lands, Tea Estates Vol IV, April 1973-April 1976. See also paper titled RE: AGRI 3/5/TEA/76.

[133]The Sunday Mail, Salisbury, April 10, 1977, 'Seven massacred at tea estate', p.1.

[134]NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978 Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley Pp8-9 Vol 11, No4, p.9.

[135]*Ibid.*

[136] Jesuit Archives, CCJP in Rhodesia, Civil War in Rhodesia, Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-insurgency Campaign, August, 1976, p.40.

resources, the location of existing schools, and rural business centres that could be incorporated into a village also played a decisive role.[137] However, most reports reflected that because of curfew regulations, villagers in many areas were unable to protect their crops from baboons and stray cattle during the night.[138]Additionally, the Emergency Relief Committee report of 1976 established that people, especially women, were confined and unable to plough their fields and to do other things, which were important in their cultural life.[139] Nonetheless, most Honde women were able to go to their ploughing fields and gardens regardless of restrictions and close monitoring in the PVs. In support of this, Prisca Samhere noted that despite the searches and restrictions, she and others were able to go to their gardens and *madambo* (wetlands) where they were able to plough yams, maize and rice.[140] Rutope said they asked for farming land from their relatives because harvests were not enough for family sustenance. Civilians ended up buying mealie-meal in the shops at inflated prices. Therefore, local businesspersons enormously profited from the restriction imposed upon farmers and cultivators in the PVs.[141] Furthermore, because the RFS considered building PVs near rivers, there were no water shortages in Honde Valley PVs. As opposed to the widely held view that there were shortages of water supply in PVs,[142] perennial rivers such as Nyamukombe, Pungwe, Nyamhingura, Ruda, Ngarura; Mutarazi provided fresh water supplies to the PVs communities.

Although the PVs authorities introduced beer brewing/selling licenses and banned *kachasu* brewing, in Honde Valley acts of beer brewing were effectively regulated by such laws. Beer brewing and drinking became a very important social institution for rural families who had

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[137]NAZ- Gen/Bra, Coenraad Brand, From compound to PVs: on the nature of settler control in Southern Rhodesia, The Research Committee on Ethnic, Race and Minority relations, 9th World Congress of Sociology, 14-19 August, 1978, Uppsala, Sweden., p.4.

[138] CCJP, 1975, p.9.

[139]NAZ, MS 591/2/2.Emergency Relief Committee, Reports on Protected Villages, March- April 1976.

[140]Interview of the author with Mrs. Prisca Samhere, Zindi Village, 16 August 2016.

[141]Interview of the author with Mr. Tafirenyika Rutope at Nyaungozva, Mozambique 08, June 2016.

[142] See I. Mazambani, and T.M Mashingaidze, 'The Creation of Protected Villages in Southern Rhodesia:

been put behind the fence. Prior to the war, beer brewing played an important role in expressing the Honde Valley people's shared beliefs. Similarly, their Ndau neigbours in south of the Honde Valley, covering most of present day Chipinge shared a 'mélange of beliefs reflected in the activities of brewing beer, making rain, and holding court.'[143] In her study of the Ndau communities, Elizabeth MacGonagle noted that beer drinking has a deep social significance, for as one proverb notes, 'Where there is beer there is noise.' The noise may stem from a work party, a ceremony of thanksgiving, or a casual afternoon gathering of elders.[144] During the war, beer drinking remained one of the most important social institutions in rural African life. Perhaps, it was the only occasion on which people talked and laughed freely (during the war) in PVs.[145] Tafirenyika Rutope noted that although beer brewing was restricted in the PVs, people clandestinely brewed *chikokiyana* and sold to each other without the PVs administrators becoming aware of it.[146] Tabatsi Muomba also noted that beer brewing and selling became widespread trade for all those who were not working in the tea estate.[147] In PV 1(Sagambe), *Mai* (mother of) Tamunesi Muomba, *Mai* Samuel Boterere, and Mashinga Nheredzo were well known for beer brewing and their homes were places for a beer dance locally known as *Mangoni.*[148] One of these people, Mashinga Nheredzo became an expert of *kachasu* brewing in Chavhanga village after the war.

Furthermore, because of the availability of captive markets, businesses flourished in the Protected Villages. As a result, some businesspersons hoped that the PVs communities could not be abolished. In Hauna PV for example, businesspersons were always seen as working in cohorts

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[143] See *E. MacGonagle, Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, University of Rochester Press, USA, 2007, p. 77.

[144]*Ibid*, p.81.

[145] Jesuit Archives, CCJP in Rhodesia, Civil War in Rhodesia, Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-insurgency Campaign, August 1976.

[146] Interview of the author with Mr. Tafirenyika Rutope, Nyaungozva, Mozambique, 08 June 2016.

[147] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[148]Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

with the Rhodesians.[149] Hauna, one of the bigger PVs on the main, tarred road through the Honde, had a light industrial zone with small businesses including welding, panel beating, and car repair shops.[150] Urban migrants trickled back from Umtali, Salisbury and beyond to take up vacant plots of land for prospective business.[151] Such activities generally compelled the settlers to argue that PVs were ideal places for African entrepreneurs to establish certain businesses and provide social amenities.[152] Thus, PVs were regarded as safe havens and 'tremendous potential for development' and 'growth points for the future'.[153] However, it became clear that some rising African entrepreneurs in the Honde Valley circumvented the rules of the PVs and provided guerrillas with food, clothes and beer. Edmond Makuwaza of PVs 1 (Sagambe) and Nyabereka who operated shops in Ruda PVs and Zindi were known by their respective communities as key figures that supported guerrillas without being noticed by the Guard Forces. Nonetheless, civilians who aided the guerrillas from PVs were skeptical about other 'sell-out' business people. In Sagambe, businessperson Musararenenzara was usually sidelined and avoided because he was thought to be working with the Rhodesians and betraying the guerrilla cause.[154] The villagers in the PVs usually boycotted his business during the war. In the post war era, boycotts of Musararenenzara's businesses continued and schoolchildren were often discouraged to buy from his shop because he was viewed as a *bhinya* (one who kills for business rituals). Consequently, his business declined and he is currently the poorest man in Sagambe Business Centre.

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[149]. NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978 Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley, Vol 11, No.4, pp8-9.

[150]NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life in Rhodesia, 1978 'Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits the Honde Valley', Vol 11, No.4, pp.8-9.

[151]NAZ, S/Il53 Illustrated Life In Rhodesia, 1978 'Protected Villages: Chris Ashton Visits The Honde Valley', Vol 11, No.4, pp.8-9

[152]NAZ, MS 308/52, Protected Villages, 1977-1980.

[153]The Times, Tuesday May 13 1975, Rhodesian Police accused of Torture, p.1.

[154]Interview of the author with Mr. Charles Makuwaza, Sagambe, Honde Valley, 05 August 2016.

Hunting and fishing also played a crucial role in supplementing food shortages in the PVs. As shown previously in Chapter 2, the Manyika people, especially in Honde Valley, relied heavily on hunting before the transition to agricultural economies. However, it turned out that during times of drought and when agricultural produce was on the decline, people relied on game meat. Restrictions in the PVs contributed to the decline in food production thereby forcing people, usually males, to look outside the PVs for meat. Hunting beyond the fences became a form of livelihood.[155] People living in Sagambe, Sachisuka, Zindi, and Mandeya PVs usually resorted to this means of livelihood because of the abundance of vast game-rich forest and perennial rivers nearby the PVs. Hunters respected the taboos of their hunting grounds and the rivers. In Sagambe PV for example, Samuel Boterere, John Mutunhu, Tabatsi Muomba, Teddy Muomba, and Mashinga Nheredzo were well known hunters. These hunters were allowed by the Guard Forces to carry out their snare, bows and arrows and other hunting equipment, to and from the PVs.[156] In Rumbizi and Sachisuka PVs, people also fished in Pungwe River, preferably using fishing traps known as *duvo*.[157] Concerning hunting, Muomba noted that they had no problems with the PV security because they observed the curfew regulations. Furthermore, the Guard Forces, most of whom were Africans, loved game meat and they were usually given bribery portions after their hunting trips. Some also sold their meat in exchange for grain, beer and other needs in PVs.[158] Thus, hunting assumed a very significant form of occupation as people were also able to raise money to pay taxes. Hunting also had recreational value. Most importantly, guerrillas diverted civilians involved in hunting trips to carry ammunition and ask for food smuggling. Boterere suggested that they even carried ammunition to as far as Gonakudzingwa and returned to the PVs before 6pm.[159] Furthermore, as with the colonial and pre-colonial times, hunting continued to be highly sacred in the PVs, involving some rituals

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[155] Interview of the author with Mr. T. Tangwena, Pachije Village, 02 February 2015.

[156] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba. Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[157] *Duvo* is a fish trap made of bamboos.

[158] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[159] Interview of the author with Masvoma Boterere, Sagambe, 05 August 2016.

before the trip. Apart from beer brewed for expert hunters, discussed in Chapter 2, hunters were also given their hunting clothes (*maretso*). The hunters' beer was also poured on dogs on the appeasing spot, in the hope of imparting supernatural abilities to perform a catch. Tabatsi Muomba noted that the hunters were instructed to gather their dogs, hunting equipment and to bring meat.[160]

Conclusion

The Zimbabwe liberation war involved many contestations between Rhodesian Security Forces and ZANLA guerrillas to control civilians in the Honde Valley. Consequently, civilians bore the brunt of the war, especially violence meted out by both the RSF and ZANLA forces in an attempt to gather rural support. On the other hand, Christian Churches, specifically the Roman Catholics and Apostolic sects, supported civilians and criticised heavily the RSF and the ZANLA guerrillas for torturing, maiming of civilians and violating human rights especially when they forced them into protected villages. Although ZANU's war doctrine dictated that guerrillas were supposed to win the minds and hearts of the people through good deeds and teachings they resorted to coercive means.[161] ZANLA guerrillas' teachings did not resonate with the Honde Valley villagers who were concerned with more practical matters in their daily lives than the Maoist lectures. Apart from the use of violence, guerrillas had habits of sexually abusing women and indulging in beer drinking orgies. In view of these developments, the war presented difficult times to the civilians, tearing families apart. Despite the disruptions caused by war, people were resilient and engaged in various activities that enabled them move on with their lives.

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[160] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[161] Interview of the author with Mr. Elvis Muomba, (former Zanu's Political commissar at Nyafaru), Magadzire Primary School, 06 June 2015.

CHAPTER 4

BORDERS AS CONDUITS: HONDE VALLEY VILLAGERS AND THE BORDER DURING THE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION WAR AND RENAMO INSURGENCIES 1977-1988

Introduction

This chapter investigates how the Honde Valley villagers circumvented the border to their own advantage during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgencies. It argues that the borderland citizens circumvented Mozambique-Rhodesia's colonial porous border to evade war atrocities. It also discusses the experiences of the RENAMO civil war émigrés who relocated to newly independent Zimbabwe in the late 1980s. The chapter seeks to show that although most borders have become both barriers and conduits, areas of attack, and points through which humans and economic resources flowed, the porous nature of the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border provided opportunities for people from both countries. Although borders close off opportunities for intercourse, trade, among others, Honde Valley civilians' circumvention of the borders offered new them opportunities. Arguably, the nature of the border also shaped the everyday experiences of the families in Honde Valley, especially those who 'crossed' the border to evade the Rhodesian war atrocities and RENAMO raids. During the Zimbabwe liberation war, newly independent Mozambique provided a home for the war émigrés from Rhodesia. It was the reverse in the 1980s, when the victims of RENAMO insurgents illegally crossed into Zimbabwe for refuge amongst the Honde Valley peoples.

'When we crossed the border, we lived well.'[1] : Experiences of the Honde Valley families in Mozambique, 1976-1980

This section discusses the experiences of those families who evaded the Protected Villages and migrated into Mozambican territory during the Zimbabwe war of liberation. This is important because many studies of the Zimbabwe liberation war have not seriously thought about the experiences of borderland communities. The definition of the concept of community has changed overtime. Nevertheless, in this thesis, I present the migrant families which settled in Mozambique as a community because they shared same goals and identities (although constantly negotiated). Their agenda was to evade war. Arguably, people's experiences during wars are complex and should be disaggregated in order to understand the variegated experiences of various communities. During the Zimbabwe liberation war, some families deserted their homes and escaped into Mozambique at the time when others were being forcibly removed from their villages into PVs in the late 1970s. Because Mozambique shared a border with Rhodesia, many Africans from both sides of the border took advantage of the porous border to migrate into Mozambique and back whenever they wished. The Rhodesian regime's border controls were weak and ineffective in this eastern border area, hence presenting the locals with an opportunity of unrestricted movements. Had it been that the state was not limited in its capacity to regulate people's movements, civilians' war suffering could have increased. Illegal cross-border migration provided many opportunities in terms of employment, cultural exchanges, general mobility and everyday interactions of migrating communities during the war.[2] Since its creation in 1891, the political boundary in Honde Valley was not a barrier to human movements. The inhabitants of the Honde Valley often crossed the border not only during the times of war, but

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[1] Interview of the author with Mrs Moria Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[2] T.O Ranger, quoted in S.J Ndlovu-Gatsheni and B. Mhlanga, *Bondage of Boundaries and Identity Politics in Postcolonial Africa: The 'Northern Problem' and Ethno- Futures, Africa Institute of South Africa*, Pretoria, 2013, p.2.

also when facing droughts, economic decline, as well as to perform rituals with families across the border.

When the Zimbabwean war of liberation transformed the Honde Valley area into a war zone during the late 1970s, villagers slipped over the border and settled in the areas that were not easily accessible to the Rhodesian Security Forces. Heike Schmidt noted that about a third of the population in Honde Valley (approximately 60 000), either crossed the border into Mozambique or migrated to urban areas.[3] Elsewhere, in a study of borderland migration, P. Sahlins noted that the state's power in the borderlands remains restricted and unstable as members of the local society played off one state against the other.[4] Similarly, W. Van Schendel's study of the Bengal borderlands in South Asia showed that despite these areas being increasingly policed, patrolled, fenced and land-mined, it has been throughout its history, a scene of large transnational flows.[5] M. Baud and W. Van Schendel also noted that no matter how many officials were appointed and watchtowers built, people skirted borders at will.[6]

In the case of Mozambican and Zimbabwean citizens, they too skirted the border to their own ends during war. These acts of border skirting and cross border migration resulted in family dislocations in the Honde Valley. However, with time, people began to cope and some reunited with their families. During the Zimbabwe liberation war, war émigrés who relocated to Mozambique settled in the Gonakudzingwa area, Ndaiona, Nyaungozva on the Tangwena Mountains. Pre-war relations determined the settlement patterns of the émigré families in Mozambique. Relatives from the same villages preferred to stay together to avoid wartime problems such as spying. For example, most people from Mukambachaza village settled at Nyaungozva while those from Chavhanga village went to settle at Gonakudzingwa under Chief Rekayi Tangwena. As shown in Chapter 2, there are families who originally came from

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[3] H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe*, p.182.

[4] P. Sahlins, *The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, p.88.

[5] W. van Schendel, *The Bengal Borderlands: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia:*, p.2.

[6] M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, 'Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands', p.211.

Mozambique to settle in the Honde Valley. Although these families were war émigrés in the 1970s, it appeared they were more of returnees to Mozambique. The Mukambachaza people for example actually helped other war émigrés to choose areas of settlement in Mozambique when the fled war in 1976.[7] However, these émigré settlements had no proper houses because émigrés hoped they would soon return to their old homes. Mr Dzinduwa noted that the area was named Gonakudzingwa because it was not their permanent home.[8] It was more of refugee camp for people who were evicted from the Kaerezi area under Chief Tangwena and those who had evaded war from Honde Valley. There was there was therefore a possibility that the Rhodesians would chase them away (*vaigona kuzodzingwa*).[9] However, there was also a Rhodesian detention center known as Gonakudzingwa, where most nationalist leaders such as Joshua Nkomo became prisoners during the war in Rhodesia.[10]

While in Mozambique, war émigrés relied on hunting and farming for food.[11] Unlike their relatives in the PVs, whose access to their ploughing fields and hunting grounds was under routinised control, these families were free to engage in their traditional ways of life. Kenneth Dzinduwa noted that they hunted game in the thick forest at the foot of Tangwena Mountains, especially at Nyatohwa, Musambidzi and Gonakudzingwa in Mozambique.[12] Dried meat, leopard skins and pangolins attracted many customers at Troutbeck Hotel and the nearby lodges. As a result, hunters travelled from Mozambique to sell the commodities in Troutbeck (Inyanga)

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[8]Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, at Chimuswe Village, 06 August 2016.

[9]Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, at Chimuswe Village, 06 August 2016.

[10]On Gonakudzingwa prison see E. Msindo, ''Winning Hearts and Minds': Crisis and Propaganda in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1962- 1970', *Journal of Southern African Studies*,35:3 , 2009, p.677

[11] Interview of the author with Mr. Hachite Nyamajo, Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 07 August 2016.

[12]Interview of the author with Mr. Kenneth Dzinduwa, Resettlement Farm, Honde Valley, 09 August 2016.

during the war.[13] They also relied on fish supplies from Musambidzi and Nyahangare Rivers.[14] Fishing nets, fishing traps, and a plant called *mutika* (an intoxicating plant); were used to capture fish. Fishing, just as hunting was a gendered profession as both men, women and children were involved. While the males usually went for deepest spots in the rivers, in search of big fish, women and young children did the lighter tasks. These included the pounding of *mutika*, preparation of food for the trip, and picking the intoxicated fish.[15] Nonetheless, in most cases, women were largely involved in household chores and farming. The farm known as *Mashamba de Povo* (community farm) became a hive of a wide variety of farming activities including the growing of cowpeas, pumpkins, maize and rapoko. However, cowpeas were the most produced crop which resulted in the community farm being called *munda wenyemba* (cowpeas farm).[16]

Wartime cross border migrations led to the emergence of dual homes and ultimately dual citizenship. Duals homes meant that a family had a temporal home in Mozambique and a permanent home in Zimbabwe. Although people moved on with life in these new settlements, they valued their property which they had left behind during the escape period in the late 1970s. However, when the war ended in 1980, some families took more than two years staying in the Mozambican side, transforming their wartime squatting camps into homes. In addition, the danger of landmines in the Zimbabwean side and the availability of fresh pastures in Mozambique motivated them to stay. Although the war émigrés visited their homes to clear land after the war, some officially returned as late as 1982.[17] The need for schools, clinics and other amenities resulted in a number of returnees from Mozambique into Zimbabwe. Arguably, the émigré families who had been reluctant to return to Zimbabwe returned home in panic when

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[13] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[14] Interview of the author with Mr. Girima Nheredzo, Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 02 February 2015.

[15] Interview of the author with Mrs. Constance Chidza, Pachije village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[16] Interview of the author with Mr. Elvis Muomba, (former Zanu's Political commissar at Nyafaru), Magadzire Primary School, 06 June 2015.

[17] Interview of the author with Mr. Hachite Nyamajo , Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 07 August 2016.

RENAMO insurgents killed a village head Jipe Nheredzo in Madimbo area of Mozambique in 1989.[18] Apart from the emergence of dual homes, some Honde Valley inhabitants manipulated their border proximity to Mozambique to acquire Mozambican nationalities. Kumadzi Moffat, for example, manipulated the Mozambican citizenship laws and obtained Mozambican nationality. With the Zimbabwe liberation war having ended whilst he was living in Mozambique and having served in the FRELIMO army, Moffat travelled to Chokwe district where he registered as a Mozambican citizen.[19]

By end of 1976, ZANLA guerrillas had also illegally migrated to the Mozambican side and relocated their bases. This was so because the majority of civilians had fled their homes while others were forcibly moved into Protected Villages. As the 'water' (civilians) shifted, the 'fish' (guerrillas) followed the tide. Thus, guerrillas followed the civilians and lived with them to 'protect' them and to get their support. The majority of the civilians whom the RSF had previously victimised and pressed for information had migrated to inaccessible areas. Despite bombings by the RSF in the mountains, it became notoriously difficult for them to identify their targets. The civilians who migrated to Mozambique had developed an alternative lifestyle, for example, avoiding cooking and doing laundry during the day, which made it very difficult for the RSF who were patrolling the border area to spot the civilians and guerrillas.[20]

Militarily, illegal migration of civilians and guerrillas cleared battlegrounds for guerrilla surprise attacks against the Rhodesian Security Forces. Because of this advantage, the guerrillas living in the Tangwena Mountains could now easily monitor the RSF movements from the caves. They could easily circumvent the RSF than they had done previously when they used to live in the Valley. In pursuit of the war, guerrillas launched surprise attacks on the RSF from their bases such as Nyamatondo and Nyaungozva on the Mozambican side. In December of 1976 for example, guerrillas who came from Nyaungozva, in Mozambique, ambushed the Rhodesian

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[18] Interview of the author with Mr. Girima Nheredzo, Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 02 February 2015.

[19] Interview of the author with Mr. Moffat Kumadzi Tepera, Mozambique, 12 August 2016.

[20]Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016

Security forces at Nyamungaya River Bridge.[21] Tabatsi Muomba noted that Wilbert Matimbura and Francis Muomba who had moved to Zimbabwe to collect their remaining livestock informed the guerrillas that the Rhodesian Security Forces had camped in the Nyamungaya plains.[22] Consequently, the guerrillas pursued the Rhodesian Security Forces and ambushed them around 6 am, killing more than 40.[23] This scenario clearly shows how the porous nature of the Honde Valley border, aided by its topography and landscape, also became a military opportunity for the ZANLA guerrillas. Apart from the provision of this military opportunity to the ZANLA guerrillas, illegal migration across borders importantly helped most families to evade the atrocities of the RSF who had previously gleaned them for information and made deliberate assaults. Of course, the guerrillas also caused problems amongst the war émigré communities in Mozambique, but they were more accountable as they wanted to avoid unwarranted criticism from the local headmen and Chief Rekayi Tangwena.[24]

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[21] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[22] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[23] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[24]Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

Figure 3: The picture above shows part of the Tangwena Mountain where most war émigrés settled during the Zimbabwe liberation. **Source: http://www.aberfoylelodge.com**

While living in their new homes in Mozambique, and with guerrillas following them, civilians were once again under guerrilla monitoring and control and therefore subject to Maoist guerrilla propaganda. Consequently, unlike their relatives and friends in the PVs, those living in Mozambique became primarily pre-occupied with maintaining good relationships with the guerrillas as they feared being labelled 'sell-outs' or being brutally punished or killed. They maintained a symbiotic relationship with the guerrillas. The civilians provided the basic war needs such as food, information, beer, among others, to the guerrillas who had imposed themselves upon these new communities in Mozambique. In order to obtain these war needs, guerrillas instructed civilians to return Zimbabwe to collect their property comprising mainly grain, livestock and clothes because people had escaped war without, food and clothes. Furthermore, some guerrillas moved into Zimbabwe, especially in the tea estate farming areas and in the Protected Villages by the end of 1976, and the beginning of 1977, encouraging people

to defy their Company employers, and gathering information on what was happening in the Protected Villages.[25]

Although the relationship between guerrillas and civilians living in the Mozambican territory was sometimes symbiotic, it was also exploitative and manipulative. As argued earlier, the advent of the Zimbabwe liberation war disrupted the rhythm of social life in Honde Valley. Although a few local leaders such as Village Head Mukambachaza migrated with most families from his village, others lost control of their people, hence temporarily losing authority. Consequently, upon arrival in Mozambique, ZANLA guerrillas began to assume authoritative positions and imposed themselves as *vakomana* or sons who were fighting for independence. Mrs Moria Dzinduwa noted that, guerrilla, among them Cde Mgagao who was base commander at Nyamatondo, usually gave instructions and made several demands from villagers.[26] Taurai Chidza also said that when he arrived from Salisbury (now Harare), his father advised him to hide his wristwatch and radio, as these high value items were usually confiscated from civilians by guerrillas. The use of expensive soap, deodorants and wearing of expensive jewellery and denim clothes risked exposing civilians to violent and exploitative guerrillas.[27] In most cases, guerrillas did not trust visitors from towns as these visitors were often labelled Rhodesian agents who were supposed to be strictly monitored and to be indoctrinated to become true patriots.[28] However, in reality, it was difficult for guerrillas to identify those who were working with the Rhodesians, as there were no good grounds for such suspicions.

Furthermore, guerrillas promised civilians that they would enjoy a good life when ZANU attains independence for them. Women often encouraged their daughters to have love affairs with guerrillas in order to avoid being labelled by the guerrillas as 'sell-outs' or enemies of the

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[25] Interview of the author with Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga Village, 16 August 2016. See also the CCJP report of 1976 on its account of the reasons why civilians were murdered in the tea estate. (Civil War in Rhodesia: Abduction, Torture and Death in the Counter-Insurgency Campaign, 1976.)

[26] Interview of the author with Mrs Moria Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[27] Interview of the author with Mr Taurai Chidza, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 07 August 2016.

[28] Interview of the author with Mr Taurai Chidza, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 07 August 2016.

struggle. Some women were killed for discouraging their daughters to have affairs with guerrillas. In 1976, for example, a woman from Gunyanja in Chikomba area was killed for trying to find out the whereabouts of her daughter who was then in an affair with Cde Toro (a base commander). The incident caused families from Chimuswe, Chavhanga and Mukambachaza to live in deep fear of the guerrillas. According to Chazanewako Dzinduwa:

> In 1976, a woman from Gunyanja arrived asking for the whereabouts of her daughter Lydia. She was staying with the comrades. Toro confronted the woman asking her if her daughter was special than other's sons and daughters who were fighting the war. The woman was asked to remove her clothes and was shot dead in front of many people. She was thrown in a very small pit. Her family repatriated her remains last year (meaning 2015). The sad news of the killing spread like veld fire…, many families who had grown up daughters ended up advising them to live with guerrillas for security reasons. We thought some of them could get married. Nevertheless, when the war ended, we never saw these comrades again; they left the girlfriends behind.[29]

Once guerrillas established their foothold in the new communities in Mozambique, they continued with their tactics of mobilizing support for the war through all night political rallies, the *pungwes*, which were held in the bush.[30] Guerrillas used such meetings to lecture exiled Zimbabweans on Rhodesian oppression and on the importance of supporting the revolutionary war. ZANLA guerrillas would teach 'liberation songs,' chant slogans and establish rapport with civilian supporters.[31] Pungwes also served as places for punishment of alleged 'sell-outs'.[32] In most studies, the nightly meetings were seen as time for raising morale of the fighters and the peasant.[33] However, wartime morale was not boosted through political education but by way of singing, beer brewing and dancing. Among the Honde Valley communities who lived in Mozambique during the war, *pungwes* were also spots for dating. Ordinary young boys and girls

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[29] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[30] C. C. Mavhunga, *Transient Workspaces, Technologies of Everyday Innovation in Zimbabwe*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts, 2014, p.191.

[31] Y. Henkin, 'Stoning the dogs', p.512.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] See for example K.D Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War:'

attended these with the aim of seeing each other and dancing *kongonya* together, under the name of supporting the war cause.[34] ZANLA guerrillas living with civilians in Mozambique abused the opportunity afforded by *pungwes* to sexually assault women and girls.[35]

Song and dance became important in getting people to temporarily forget the harrowing experiences of war, yet keeping the idea of the revolutionary struggle in mind. Manungo suggested that pungwes were referred to as *morari*.[36] *Morari* meant happiness, enjoyments associated with ululations, singing, dancing. Thus, a *pungwe/morari* was a rendezvous of conviviality. Songs, apart from educating, made people forget the dark side of war. Popular local songs at Nyaundindi base included *Toenda Kuhondo* ('we are going to war') and *Muchanyara taitora Zimbabwe* ('you will be ashamed when Zimbabwe becomes free').[37] *Toenda Kuhondo* for example historicized the war and justified why people were fighting the war and living in the bush. *Muchanyara Taitora Zimbabwe* criticised the settlers and 'sell-outs' for undermining the potential of the liberation war. Furthermore, guerrillas living with the civilians were well known for their playing Kanindo songs during the night vigils. Having been trained in East African camps such as Tembwe and Mgagao, ZANLA guerrillas generally fell in love with the Kanindo genre and they introduced the beat and dances during the pungwes in their various operational areas. Kanindo songs especially for the Afro Shirazi Jazz Band founded by Tanzanian born D. O Misiani contained provocative socio-political messages were used to conscientize civilians in Rhodesia.[38] One guerrilla commander known as Cde Mgagao was well known for playing and dancing Shiraz Jazz Band Music and other East-African Kanindo songs during *pungwes* in the

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[34] Interview of the author with Mrs. Milca Chidza, Resettlement Farm, Honde Valley, 09 August 2016.

[35] Interview of the author with Mrs. Milca Chidza, Resettlement Farm, Honde Valley, 09 August 2016.

[36] K. D Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War', p.162.

[37] Interview of the author with Mr. Hachite Nyamajo, Chavhanga village, 07 August 2016. Nyaundindi means a place of darkness, covered by rainforests and usually a misty place.

[38] N. Puweni and G. K. Orina, 'The role played by music in promoting peace in East Africa and Southern Africa: The case of Zimbabwe and Kenya', *The Dyke, Vol 7 (2)*, 2013, p.113.

Nyaungozva area in Mozambique.[39] Hence, A.J. C. Pongweni argued that Kanindo, fused with Sungura, was an important and highly favoured genre in Zimbabwe's war of liberation.[40]

Songs provided a provocative reminder to the peasant mind not only of their own history, but also of what happened when the Europeans came to the country.[41] However, most of these songs sang at pungwes reflected the desire to restore the old pre-colonial order. Agnes Chapinduka, who was a *chimbwido* during the war, noted that before the forced removals in 1976, they sang liberation war songs and played Kanindo music at 'Mafatcook' base in Zindi village during *pungwes.*[42] Guerrillas monopolized this kind of music, thus the Kanindo genre assumed more value and was loved by *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who developed the habit of attending pungwes. [43] In her PhD thesis, which focussed on the role of song, poetry and drama in the liberation war of Zimbabwe, Martha Lane noted that songs made people forget the traumas of war.[44] Quoting Zanu broadcaster Victor Mhizha-Murira who in 1989 noted that 'the bulk of the *pungwe* was music', she argued that songs were used to conscientize people during the war.[45] Songs such as Mbuya Nehanda Kufa Vachitaura Shuwa (Our ancestor Nehanda died with these words on her lips) and *Kugarira Nyika Yavo* (Choosing to free their country) were popularised during the pungwes. In *Kugarira nyika Yavo*, a very long, circuitous and bitter song, characters such as Ian Smith, Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Chirau were told that the children of Zimbabwe are fighting in the bush not because they liked it but for the desire to take their country and

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[39] Interview of the author with Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga Village, 16 August 2016.

[40] A. J.C Pongweni, *Songs that won the liberation war*:

[41] K.D Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War', p.66.

[42] Interview of the author with Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016.

[43] Interview of the author with Mrs. Agnes Chapinduka, Zindi, Honde Valley, 16 August 2016.

[44]Lane Martha, S B, 'The blood that made the body go': The role of song, poetry and drama in Zimbabwe's war of liberation, 1966-1980, North-western University, 1993, PhD Thesis, p. Ii.

[45]*Ibid*, p.21.

people out of bondage.[46] Its lyrical contents began with enchanting ZANU's war slogan and reflected the reasons why the war was being fought. In *Kugarira Nyika Yavo* other individuals are depicted as 'sell-outs'. The song lined up and lampoon prominent characters, like Muzorewa, Sithole, Chirau and others who fell out with ZANU ideologically during the course of the war.[47] The othering of politicians who did not conform to ZANU's political ideology reflected the internal struggles that were manifest during the war of liberation. M. Chirere and E. Mhandu argue that the repetition of the names of the perceived foes of the revolution helped to drum into the fighters' psyche the very names of their detractors.[48] Therefore, songs served the dual purpose of conscientizing guerrillas and peasants and reinforcing propaganda.

Additionally, while earlier studies maintained that guerrillas discussed the difficulties faced by the peasants during the war at *pungwes*,[49] Dzinduwa noted that the pungwes were time for joy.[50] Misheck Matakaya also noted that there was nothing of value that was learnt at nightlong meetings. He noted that:

> The pungwe time was song, beer and dance time. Of course we sang political songs such as *Mbuya Nehanda kufa vachitaura shuwa* (Our ancestor Nehanda died with these words on her lips), but there was no time for discussion about the things that were troubling us. Daughters were being raped, our cattle being slaughtered without our concern; comrade Mgagao and his team never bothered to discuss that. They loved dancing, singing and drinking. We all loved it. Saturdays were usually partying times during war.[51]

The narrative of Misheck Matakaya reflects the contradicting scenario of the *pungwes*. Although guerrillas raped women, and punished 'sell-outs' at *pungwes*, what emerges is that *pungwes* were

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[46] M. Chirere and E. Mhandu, 'Songs that won the war of liberation and poems that grapple with the war and its aftermath', *Journal of Music Research in Africa*, 2008, p.274.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] K.D Manungo, 'The role of peasants in the Zimbabwe liberation War', p.164.

[50] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[51] Interview of the author with Mr. Misheck Matakaya, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 13 August 2016.

also rendezvous of enjoyment. Matakaya suggested in most *pungwe* gatherings they drank beer, sang war songs and danced various dances, including kongonya.[52] In support of this, a study carried out by J. Mujere, M.E Sagiya and J. Fontein in Gutu, demonstrates that guerrillas did not always treat *pungwes* as gatherings for serious political education, but also as social gatherings.[53] The scholars noted that the Kamungoma attack of May 1978, which resulted in the killing of 104 civilians and one guerrilla commander, Cde Double Killer, at the hands of the Rhodesian forces happened at a *pungwe* at Kamungoma Farm in the Dewure Purchase Areas.[54] Investigations of the massacre revealed that ZANLA guerrillas had been drinking heavily before the *pungwe,* which led to a failure to observe basic security procedures.[55]

Apart from singing war songs and beer drinking orgies, guerrillas had habits of taking sexual pleasure with women, smoked marijuana and *dhirihori* (dried tobacco leaves). Furthermore, Girima Nheredzo and Chazanewako Dzinduwa grew marijuana and *dhirihori*, which they usually supplied to guerrillas and sold to their civilian counterparts, raising considerable profit.[56] ZANLA guerrillas living with civilians in Mozambique also abused the opportunity afforded by pungwes and sexually assaulted women and girls.[57] Such sense of entitlement and habits of preying upon women emanated from the titles they assumed of being 'sons of the soils' or *vakomana* (boys). Being boys who came without their wives, or probably unmarried, they took liberties with women and engaged in many activities, without necessarily disrespecting the local leadership who usually warned them against their indiscipline.

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[52] Interview of the author with Mr. Misheck Matakaya, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 13 August 2016.

[53] J. Mujere, M. E. Sagiya, and J. Fontein, 'Those who are not known, should be known by the country' Patriotic history, liberation heritage and the politics of recognition in Gutu district, Southern Zimbabwe', Unpublished paper presented at the History Seminar Series, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, August 2015.

[54] *Ibid,* p4-5.

[55] *Ibid.* In 1984, M. Hamutyinei also claimed that guerrillas had purchased large amounts of food and drink for the *pungwe*, which attracted an unusually large crowd. (M.A Hamutyinei, *Zvakanga zvakaoma muZimbabwe,* Gweru: Mambo Press. 1984, p.69.)

[56] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa at Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[57] Interview of the author with Mrs. Milca Chidza at Resettlement Farm, Honde Valley, 09 August 2016.

Pungwe gatherings and the everyday convivial engagements between guerrillas and civilians blurred class differences between the civilians and guerrillas. At the *pungwes,* ranks did not matter because guerrillas acted as civilians. Because of their behaviour, one could not easily distinguish a drunken commander from the juniors and the ordinary civilian.[58] During *pungwes*, people could drink free beer and *chikokiyana.* The guerrillas who were living at Nyamatondo base in Mozambique made sure that these gatherings were held during weekends after a careful consideration of the security situation.

This section has established that the borderland inhabitants of Honde Valley took advantage of the porous border to evade war. Because the Rhodesian regime's border controls were weak and ineffective in this eastern border area, the border thus became an opportunity for illegal cross-border migrations. The locals had many opportunities in terms of general mobility and everyday interactions of the émigrés during the Zimbabwe liberation war. The section has shown that guerrillas were manipulative and exploitative. More importantly, it has shown that beyond the confines of war, alternative lifestyles emerged. Families who evaded war and settled in Mozambique engaged in various everyday activities such as hunting and other acts of conviviality at beer parties and nightlong meetings *(pungwes)* during the war. Thus, in pursuant to the key aim of this study, the section has decentred wartime experiences from violence and suffering, to the mundane aspects of society. In the next section, we discuss the everyday experiences of the RENAMO war émigrés who crossed the border to the new camps created in Zimbabwean schools.

RENAMO war refugees in Honde Valley: 1976-2016

The RENAMO insurgency movement displaced many Zimbabweans and Mozambicans who became refugees and squatters mainly in neigbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi. As with any other wars and insurgent movements, the RENAMO war caused illegal cross border migrations. Therefore, the border became a conduit for human mobility as people skirted the border to evade the RENAMO atrocities. Similar to the Zimbabwe liberation war

[58] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa at Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

migrations in the 1970s, these illegal migrations were responses to the RENAMO atrocities. As was in the case of the Zimbabwe liberation war, most Mozambican families living along the border zones also evaded war by crossing the border into newly independent Zimbabwe especially from 1980 onwards. Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, most Zimbabweans who had migrated to Mozambique during the war were reluctant to return to Zimbabwe in 1980 as they continued to live in their new homes in the Tangwena Mountains. When RENAMO units wreaked havoc from the Mozambican side, those who had remained behind were displaced. Therefore, many similarities can be drawn from people's experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation war and the RENAMO war in Mozambique. Nonetheless, RENAMO war émigrés officially became squatters or refugees in areas of new settlement such as in bushes and confined settlements in neigbouring Zimbabwe. Initially, these RENAMO war émigrés were viewed as RENAMO. Nonetheless, their relatives vouched to their village authorities as a form of security guarantee.[59] However, even though these émigrés were officially viewed as squatters and war refugees, some actually became permanent residents of villages they settled because they were welcomed by their relatives. Some of the relatives who welcomed their families had originally come from Rhodesia or Mozambique. Nonetheless, some also negotiated with the local authorities to be granted permanent residence access to land in the border areas.[60] Moffat Kumadzi noted that for security reasons, permanent residence and access to land was only granted when one had gone through all the necessary immigration investigations.[61]

By the late 1970s, RENAMO insurgents wreaked havoc in most southern parts of rural Mozambique and the Honde Valley. In the face of war challenges in Mozambique, including killing, maiming and torture by both RENAMO and FRELIMO's counter-insurgency forces, many Mozambican villagers migrated to towns or escaped to neigbouring Zimbabwean villages along the border. During the same time, RENAMO insurgents also began to infiltrate Zimbabwe via Honde and Chipinge while others preferred the Inyanga and Mutoko routes. These routes

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[59] Interview of the author with Mr Bezel Mujangu, Nyaungozva, Mozambique, 08 June 2016.

[60] Interview of the author with Mr Bezel Mujangu, Nyaungozva, Mozambique, 08 June 2016.

[61] Interview of the author with Mr. Moffat Kumadzi at Tepera, Mozambique, 12 August 2016.

were preferred because the state's security controls were relatively weak in these areas. RENAMO insurgents thus relied on the information provided by their trading partners and collaborators to determine the times they would raid border shops and families for food, money, among other war necessities. As a result, RENAMO insurgents successfully executed several operations and escaped into the Mozambican bushes without being noticed and traced by Zimbabwean Security Forces. Undoubtedly, RENAMO's acts of banditry threatened the livelihoods of many people in the Honde Valley. Arguably, because the RENAMO operations were episodic, villagers began to adjust and found out alternative lifestyles to deal with these raids. Some villagers actually worked together with RENAMO insurgents for economic ties. For this reason, this thesis maintains that RENAMO insurgents did not attack Honde Valley villagers to curb ZANLA guerrilla operations. RENAMO attacked villagers not to punish them or express their grievances against FRELIMO and ZANU PF, but to access resources that would enable them to sustain war.

There are, however, a number of explanations that have been offered to explain why RENAMO initially infiltrated Rhodesia and, later on, Zimbabwe. It has been widely accepted that they infiltrated to destabilize guerrilla operations in Rhodesian and subsequently to destabilize independent Zimbabwe.[62] However, research has shown that RENAMO insurgents raided Honde Valley borderland communities to access resources such as food and money. Instead, RENAMO insurgents were attracted by their business contacts to enter Zimbabwean communities. By the late 1970s, the Northern part of the Valley, covering the area of Sagambe, Chavhanga, Pachije, stretching into Tangwena's territory, was infiltrated by RENAMO insurgents who episodically robbed, killed and amputated civilians' hands and legs.

> These RENAMO insurgents also used ~~a~~ guerrilla tactics and their activities were unpredictable. Because RENAMO insurgents gelled in society as opposed to operating as if they were outsiders, it became very difficult for villagers to distinguish those who were RENAMO from those who were not. It was difficult for the FRELIMO forces to distinguish and identify RENAMO insurgents; hence, they resorted to forced villagisation as a counter insurgency measure. RENAMO insurgents were part of their community,

[62] See B. Tavuyanago, *The RENAMO War: Its Impact in South East Zimbabwe, 1982-1992*, VDM Verlag, Germany, 2011.

> their relatives and friends. In most parts of Mozambique for instance, RENAMO worked from rural areas together with the ordinary civilians. They relied heavily on the local networks and support from the villagers, using them as human shields to protect them from Frelimo attacks.[63]

In response to the *Hondo yaMatsanga*, Zimbabwe's post-colonial government deployed the 6th Brigade to deal with the challenge of banditry in the border zones especially from 1988 onwards.[64] Dzinduwa noted that following the attacks at Katiyo Tea Estate in November of 1987, the Government became concerned and deployed the army to protect civilians from RENAMO insurgents.[65] He added that Zimbabwean government also embarked on forced resettlements by driving families to schools during the evening.[66] Forced resettlements were previously condemned and criticized when the Rhodesians adopted it as a counter insurgency measure during the decolonization war in Rhodesia. Many people were nonetheless driven into schools camps (similar to Protected Villages) were there stayed for months without proper accommodation and sanitation.

Some migrants from Mozambique who initially settled in Zimbabwean schools such as Chavhanga and Pachije Primary schools later on became permanent residents in Zimbabwean villages along the border. Some of whom were returnees, especially those families who had migrated to Mozambique during the liberation war, were welcomed back home by the village heads and relatives. It was, however, more difficult for the 'newcomers' to be accepted and integrated into the new communities especially for those who had no kinsmen in Zimbabwe. At Chavhanga Primary school for example, the Mozambican refugees were usually marginalized and castigated as outsiders and hence ways regarded with suspicion by the Zimbabweans with

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[63] P. O. Dava, etal, 'An analysis of the effects of Civil war and prospects of Development in Mozambique: The case of Frelimo- RENAMO in Chokwe District', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Intervention*, 2013, p.62.

[64]Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[65]Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[66] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

whom they shared classrooms in the protected settlements.[67] Most refugees did not speak eloquent Manyika language and were called *vaBarwe*, a negative epithet meaning people from Barwe. Kairo Leonard said that, at Chavhanga primary school, it became difficult for the Mozambicans to be accepted into these new temporary communities as they were often labelled vaBarwe and suspected of being Matsanga spies because of their Mozambican origin.[68] Although it was difficult for the locals to accept these migratory families, the Zimbabwean security forces encouraged them to accept their neigbours, returning the hospitality that the Mozambicans gave Zimbabweans during the war in Rhodesia.[69] The Zimbabwe security forces also used brutal means to coerce Zimbabwean families into the school camps. Chazanewako Dzinduwa recalled how he was assaulted by the 6th Brigade soldiers at Chavhanga Primary for having been drunk in 1989. He noted that:

> When I was coming from Aberfoyle Tea Estate, I met two armed soldiers who took me to Chavhanga where most families were living following the killings of five people in Mukambachaza village. They asked me why I was drunk and I was severely beaten. The following day, the followed me to my home around 7pm and fired shots at my door asking to show up. I did that, fearing to be killed. They blamed me for cooking food and feeding Matsanga, something I had not done. They threatened me and asked for marijuana, which I provided in fear. They took me back to the school where I started living for months, until Matsanga dangers were dealt with.[70]

Despite the use of force by the security forces, their presence in the area protected many families who were exposed to RENAMO insurgent attacks. For security reasons, the 6thBrigade soldiers even encouraged the locals to buy homemade guns, bows and arrows and have them licensed.[71] Nonetheless, because of war-induced displacement, some families such as those from Sipeyo, Mandeya, Katambarare and Tetavako reconnected with their relatives who had homes on both

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[67] Interview of the author with Mr Taurai Chidza, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[68] Interview of the author with Mr Leonard Kairo, Chavhanga village, 07 August 2016.

[69] Interview of the author with Mr Taurai Chidza, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley 06 August 2016.

[70] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

[71] Interview of the author with Mr. Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

sides of the border. In spite of the existence of a political boundary, civilians, who have been previously separated through colonial identities, were re-united by the RENAMO insurgency and the war in Southern Rhodesia. However, while some war émigrés from Mozambique settled in Zimbabwean school camps, others settled in the mountains and continued working with RENAMO insurgents. These civilians living along the border also helped RENAMO insurgents to network their trading partners from Zimbabwe. Those who sympathised with RENAMO did not do so on political but economic grounds because Matsanga's looted goods were very cheap.[72] As a result, trading posts flourished at Tepera, Msinzi, Nyandiro and Honde. These trading posts are still flourishing today, with villagers from Zimbabwe crossing the border to trade with Mozambicans amid reports that RENAMO insurgents are killing people who were crossing the border. The Manica Post of March 2016 reported that some Zimbabweans from Mutasa District settled in Mozambique during the 2007 hyperinflation era. However, it also noted that despite the resilience of the villagers, some traced their roots back to Zimbabwe in Honde Valley area following RENAMO threats. The returnees includes a family of 16 that retraced its roots to Hamudikuwanda village in Ward 30, Mandeya 2 and another of 21 who crossed settled in Ward Four in Makwara village.[73]

War and insecurity became part of the everyday life in the Honde Valley. The degree of violence caused by Matsanga destabilized many borderland villagers, especially those from Mozambique whom FRELIMO were reluctant to protect because they were supporting insurgent forces. Despite efforts to counter insurgency movement in Mozambique, both the Mozambican and Zimbabwean government remained limited in their capacity to curb RENAMO operations in the border areas of the Honde Valley. Security issues along the Zimbabwe-Mozambican border demonstrate the lack of securitization. . In addition, the terrain of the border areas renders it inaccessible and difficult to control and regulate people's movements. This explains why RENAMO has become a formidable opposition force in Mozambique since the late 1970s to the present day. In light of the above, the Honde Valley borderland areas have afforded guerrillas

[72] Interview of the author with Mr. Girima Nheredzo, Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 02 February 2015.

[73]The Manica Post, 'Renamo border area threat raises concern', 11 March 2016.

and RENAMO insurgents with many advantages because of its uncontrolled character, its impregnable terrain and tropical rainforest. The border's uncontrolled character limited the effectiveness of for anti-insurgency operations. More importantly, the uncontrolled character of the border gave local villager an advantage to evade war. Thus, most of the villagers who evaded the Rhodesian and Mozambican civil wars lived in 'safer homes' as compared to civilians who were moved into Protected Villages.[74]

Conclusion

This chapter has established that the Honde Valley villagers circumvented the border to evade the war pressure during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency. During the Zimbabwe liberation war, émigrés who crossed the border only witnessed episodes of war violence and their war experiences were not centred on suffering. Although guerrillas abused civilians during the war, abuses and suffering were not emblematic of peoples' experiences during the Zimbabwe war of liberation. When RENAMO wreaked havoc soon after Zimbabwean independence, the families that had remained in the Tangwena Mountains in Mozambique returned to Zimbabwe, escaping the RENAMO atrocities. However, some villagers worked together with RENAMO as trading partners. Consequently, while some shared memories bitterness, violence, and suffering, others claimed that border bypassing created more opportunities for economic exchanges such as trade in ivory, marijuana, and dried meat. In the next chapter, we shall pursue the experiences of the people of Honde Valley during the RENAMO incursions especially from 1988-2016 at length. The chapter draws more examples from the Honde Valley areas of Chavhanga, Sagambe, Katiyo, and Mandeya. It also refers to recent RENAMO threats in the eastern border areas.

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[74] Interview of the author with Mr. Girima Nheredzo at Chavhanga village, Honde Valley, 02 February 2015.

CHAPTER 5

HONDE VALLEY VILLAGERS AND RENAMO INCURSIONS: 1988-2016

Introduction

This chapter discusses the experiences of people in the Honde Valley during the RENAMO incursions especially from 1988-2016. While drawing upon examples from Chavhanga, Sagambe, Katiyo, and Mandeya areas, the chapter also refers to recent RENAMO threats in the eastern border areas. It argues that economic reasons and competition for war resources, mainly food and money, lured the RENAMO insurgents to infiltrate into the Honde Valley. As was in the case of the Zimbabwe liberation war, the Honde Valley borderlands provided unpredictable infiltration routes for RENAMO insurgents who engaged in various activities with the Honde Valley inhabitants. In this light, the crux of the chapter is to find ways by which people continued to deal with their 'everyday' in the context of a civil war in a neigbouring country, which created serious security situations in their own. Civilians took advantage of trading networks with the RENAMO amidst this chaos. Items of trade ranged from illegal drugs, biltong, cigarettes, denim jeans, ivory and other commodities. There was a considerable flow of economic resources from either side of the border. Thus, both the Zimbabwean civilians of the Honde Valley and the RENAMO insurgents benefited themselves. Many people, especially Zimbabwean business people profited tremendously, buying expensive cars, grinding mills, houses, and acquiring more retail businesses. The RENAMO insurgents were able to sustain their war through the relationship with their trading partners in the Honde Valley. By examining this dimension of the relationship of the Valley and RENAMO insurgents, this thesis is not attempting to sanitize the acts of banditry, looting and killing by the RENAMO units, but to expose the other silenced histories. RENAMO insurgents killed, looted, and tortured civilians. In the next section, I discuss and contribute to the ongoing scholarly conversations on the origins and development of the RENAMO insurgency movement.

From liberation war to post-colonial war: Revisiting RENAMO war debates

In 1975, Mozambique became an independent state, holding dear to Socialist ideologies under the leadership of Samora Machel. Nevertheless, shortly after independence in 1975, Mozambique was thrust into a devastating civil war between the ruling government and RENAMO insurgents. As the newly independent Mozambique was again turned into a theatre of war and a hotbed of unrest, nationalist movements were at their peak in neighbouring Rhodesia as both ZANU and ZAPU fought the Smith regime. Thus, Mozambican independence gave hope to the Zimbabwe liberation movements. The independence of Mozambique provided the needed launching pad for the guerrilla activities in Rhodesia. From 1975 on, ZANU's leader Robert Mugabe sought refuge in Mozambique together with other nationalist leaders like Edgar Tekere, having illegally crossed into Mozambique through the Nyafaru farm in the Tangwena borderlands.[1] Thus, it may be argued that Zimbabwe's political independence owes much to the support it got from neighbouring states such as Mozambique. Unsurprisingly, Mugabe felt obliged to support Mozambique to wipe out banditry from the 1980s onwards. Admittedly, the appearance of RENAMO in Mozambique's political landscape in 1976 presented a political challenge to newly independent Mozambique and the nationalist movement in Rhodesia. Because of the tense political atmosphere in Rhodesia and newly independent Mozambique, some scholars have argued that the emergence of RENAMO was a response to sanctuary given in Mozambique to insurgents fighting the white minority regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and to the destabilisation of the FRELIMO government.[2] Consequently, RENAMO has long been viewed as a creation of the Rhodesia's Central Intelligence Organization that organized a group of former Portuguese settlers and FRELIMO outcasts into RENAMO, to attack ZANLA camps and FRELIMO installations within Mozambique.[3] Furthermore, the emergence of RENAMO has an apartheid South Africa nexus. It is argued that apartheid South Africa funded

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[1] Interview of the author with Mr. Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

[2] See K. M. Thaler, 'Ideology and Violence in Civil Wars: Theory and Evidence from Mozambique and Angola', Civil Wars, 14:4, 2012, pp.546-567.

[3] *Ibid.*

RENAMO insurgency.[4] This is probably one of the reasons RENAMO activities experienced a lull in the early 1990s when negotiations for South Africa's independence were at their peak.

The first RENAMO leader André Matada Matsangaise, a Manyika shoemaker and former FRELIMO guerrilla is said to have fled to Rhodesia from the re-education camp in Sacuza (Gorongosa District, Sofala Province), where he had been imprisoned for embezzling funds after independence.[5] Later in 1977, Matsangaise commanded a group that attacked the prison camp in Sacuza and freed seventy-five detainees who were all taken to Rhodesia and incorporated into the emerging RENAMO.[6] Because of Matsangaise's fame, RENAMO guerrillas became popularly known as Matsangas, sometimes referred to as South Africa backed *bandidos armandos* (armed bandits) in propaganda reports.

Studies have tended to focus on external factors in an attempt to understand the rise and development of the RENAMO movement. RENAMO is portrayed as 'pseudo-terrorists', 'pseudo-guerrillas', 'puppets' and 'warlords' by certain commentators.[7] Others viewed them positively as 'freedom fighters from communism and authoritarianism' and RENAMO as 'a popular movement'.[8] While reading literature on the RENAMO insurgencies in post-colonial Mozambique, the first impression that emerged was that Matsangaise's movement was formed to destabilize the FRELIMO government that was supporting the guerrilla war in Rhodesia.[9] It has been widely accepted that the Rhodesians CIO formed the RENAMO, to destabilize guerrilla

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[4] See B. Tavuyanago, 'RENAMO: from military confrontation to peaceful democratic engagement:'

[5] G. Seibert, 'The vagaries of violence and power in post-colonial Mozambique', p.261.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] S. Funada-Classen, *The Origins of War in Mozambique history of Unity And Division*, Ochanomizu Shobo Co Ltd, Tokyo, 2012, p.12.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See M. Hall, 'The Mozambican National Resistance Movement (RENAMO): A Study in the Destruction of an African Country', *Africa, Vol. 60, No. 1* 1990, p.46.

operations in Rhodesia and Mozambique.[10] David Martin and Phyllis Johnson also hold this view.[11] By this account, RENAMO was a proxy army which served the interest of external forces, particularly the Rhodesians, South Africans, Americans, Portuguese, among others.[12] Accordingly, even former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher hit out at RENAMO in 1989, labelled RENAMO a South African-backed terrorist movement.[13] Seibert supports this dominant view, arguing that RENAMO was set up in 1976 by the Rhodesians to attack Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) bases across the border in Mozambique. He also noted that its aim was to destabilize the FRELIMO government because of the support it offered to the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU).[14] Thus, the key proponents of this school views RENAMO as an anti-African nationalist proxy movement.[15] However, the problem with this thinking is that it ignores the fact that with or without external influence in Mozambican politics, the failure of FRELIMO to institute sound and popular reforms was in itself a strong cause in the creation of an opposition or rebel movement in their country. This school of thought has also established that the RENAMO insurgents penetrated into the Zimbabwean interior to punish the Zimbabwean civilians who had been working together with FRELIMO during Mozambique and Zimbabwe's decolonisation wars. This sweeping generalization further blurs our understanding of RENAMO as a movement.[16] It is therefore imperative to revisit this scholarship.

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] P. Johnson and D. Martin, *Destructive engagement*, p.7.

[12] See B. Tavuyanago, 'Renamo: From military confrontation to peaceful and democratic engagement:'

[13] 'Thatcher hits out at MNR', in *The Manica Post*, Mutare, Friday, March 31, 1989, p.1.

[14] G. Seibert, 'The vagaries of violence and power in post-colonial Mozambique:' p.254.

[15] J. Hanlon, *Mozambique: The Revolution under Fire*, London, Zed Books Ltd., 1984. See also Johnson P, Martin D (ed.),Destructive Engagement, Southern Africa at War**,** Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1986 pp. 5-27.

[16] M. Hall, 'The Mozambican National Resistance Movement (RENAMO): A study in the Destruction of an African Country', p. 39.

Gerhard Seibert argued that RENAMO fought a bloody war from 1976 to 1992 against the socialist FRELIMO government that devastated the country, but the internal dimensions of the conflict were played down.[17] Chingono also contends that initial scholarship on RENAMO tends to exaggerate the role of external forces to the extent of reducing Mozambicans to 'mere passive victims of manipulations and machinations by powerful external forces'.[18] Although the movement was widely cast as a band of armed insurgents (*bandidos armandos*), it was founded on firm political principles of democracy. The movement's links with imperialist forces was merely a matter of expediency rather than them being merely puppets of Western capital and imperial interests.[19] As with Angola's UNITA, the RENAMO insurgents were opportunists who challenged the ruling government on firm and sound political grounds. Formed in 1966, under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi, UNITA was viewed as a pro-Western Organisation or American-backed movement by most scholars.[20] Given this trend of casting insurgent movements as proxy-movements, there has been little appreciation of local causes and dynamics to African civil wars.

Most revisionist scholars who have examined the Mozambican problem from within Mozambique itself have cited the post-colonial government's introduction of flawed policies such as forced villagization as the root causes of civil conflict.–Critics blame the FRELIMO government for the creation of the civil conflict that has continued to threaten peace in the country by destabilizing it, since 1976. According to Baxter Tavuyanago, FRELIMO made a heavy-handed attempt to displace existing social and economic institutions in the country without prompt and effective replacements.[21] Chingono also argues that the FRELIMO party and

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[17] G. Seibert, *The Vagaries of Violence in post-colonial Mozambique; p.253.*

[18] M.F. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development. The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, Avebury, Aldershot, 1996, pp. 3-35.

[19] B. Tavuyanago, 'RENAMO: from military confrontation to peaceful democratic engagement', p.43.

[20] See K. Stuvoy, 'War Economies and the Social Order of Insurgencies: An Analysis of the Internal Structure of UNITA'S War Economy', Research Unit of Wars, Armament and Development, University of Hamburg, 2002.

[21] B. Tavuyanago, 'RENAMO: from military confrontation to peaceful democratic engagement', p.43.

government introduced policies that were insensitive to peasant aspirations.[22] In support of the revisionist school, this thesis suggests that RENAMO is a Mozambican insurgent movement whose origins can be traced to Mozambique's flawed government policies. Although many studies have clearly shown the heavy influence of Rhodesia and apartheid SA in the creation and funding of RENAMO, internal factors are also important in explaining the origins of the RENAMO movement. External forces took advantage of the existence of such a movement to further their own objectives of destabilizing Frontline States. They are not the ones who created RENAMO. While external factors played an important role, they do not constitute a sufficient explanation of Mozambique's post-colonial crisis. Therefore, to prioritize external forces in explaining Mozambique's post-colonial crisis is to miss the point. Just as African nationalists in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) obtained support from other neigbouring countries in Africa, these countries were not responsible in forming ANC, ZANU or ZAPU and did not always dictate the nature of these movements.

In Mozambique, FRELIMO's post-colonial political configurations, floundered in the face of all attempts at social engineering, badly conceived economic project and their lack of ability to effectively control the populace resulted in the crisis.[23] This view is very important to the central arguments that I raise in this thesis. Matsangaise invaded, raided and killed people in the border areas of the Honde Valley either to revenge treachery in trading arrangements or to loot resources to sustain their war in Mozambique.[24] Thus, RENAMO's primary aim was not to disturb the nationalist movement in neighbouring Rhodesia or to destabilize newly independent Zimbabwe in the 1980s. Rather, they wanted to sustain their war in Mozambique. In support of the internal origin hypothesis, this thesis argues that the RENAMO insurgents' infiltration in the Honde Valley cannot be explained merely as a manifestation of dissidence. By 1976, RENAMO

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[22] M.F. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development*, p.4.

[23] B. Tavuyanago, *Renamo:* p.3.

[24]Interview of the author with Mr Sofia Marekeni, Katiyo, 10 August 2016.

had created bases in the bush for example in Chief Tangwena's area and far inland in Odzi.[25] They did not live in the bush to fight Africans in Rhodesia, but to access resources that would aid them in their Mozambican war.

Furthermore, what needs to be understood about RENAMO is the role played by neigbouring Zimbabwe in supporting Mozambique in the wake of insurgency. Why and how did Mugabe find himself meddling in Mozambique's civil war? These questions are important and most writers of the RENAMO war have not paid attention to these. However, Abiodun Alao addressed these questions in his 2012 publication.[26] He argued that, one of the most controversial security issues confronting post-independence Zimbabwe was the country's involvement in civil wars in its immediate environs.[27] Such involvements have put Zimbabwe in the spotlight as an anti-Western country. Consequently, the Zimbabwe government's involvement in Mozambican affairs lured the insurgents to press further into Zimbabwe and threatened its border communities. In support of this argument, in 1988, a note that was found when insurgents destroyed houses in Chipinge village declared that: 'to all Zimbabweans, we are committing all these acts because your security forces are fighting in Mozambique taking our people to Nyamombe refugee camp where they rape them.'[28] The note added that the insurgents were prepared to continue fighting against Zimbabwe's security forces because President Robert Mugabe had vowed to wipe out banditry in Mozambique.[29]

There was also another dimension to the RENAMO issue. ZANU PF government wrongly assumed that RENAMO forces would team up with a Zimbabwe regionalist opposition

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[25]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, November 25, 1988, Insurgents destroy houses. See also *The Manica Post*, Mutare, Friday, October 7, 1988,Fleeing villagers ordered back,p1 (this is testimony that the Rhodesians supported the RENAMO cause)

[26] A. Alao, *Mugabe and the Politics of Security in Zimbabwe*, McGill-Queen's University Press, London, 2012.

[27]*Ibid*, p.140.

[28]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, November 25, 1988, Insurgents destroy houses.

[29]*Ibid.*

party ZANU-NDONGA in the Eastern Highlands to destabilise Zimbabwe, hence the move to weaken RENAMO. In 1987 for example, the Governor for Manicaland, Bishop Joshua Dube told the unemployed ex-combatants not to be lured into joining the South African-sponsored MNR insurgents who were destabilizing Mozambique and Zimbabwe.[30] He explained that the MNR was in league with Ndabaningi Sithole's ZANU-NDONGA and were out to intimidate people in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and disrupt development.[31] Furthermore, Dube urged *borderlanders* be vigilant against intimidation and destabilizing acts by MNR and Sithole.[32] Moven Mahachi also blamed Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole for working with RENAMO suggesting that Sithole was to be charged on his return from the United States for signing an agreement with MNR insurgents to topple the Zimbabwe government.[33] Although there was a possibility that RENAMO worked with opposition leaders in Zimbabwe, this official view is unsubstantiated and there is no evidence to back that assumption.

From the above, it can be admitted that although there are many explanations pertaining to the emergence of RENAMO insurgency in Mozambique remains a Mozambican problem with purely internal origins. Cognisant of the fact that South Africa's apartheid regime funded RENAMO to destabilize the frontline states I, argue that RENAMO war was purely a Mozambican problem emanating within the country itself largely due to FRELIMO's flawed policies. In support of the internal hypothesis, I argue that RENAMO insurgent infiltrated the Honde Valley in search of war supplies such as food and money. Their intention was not to politically destabilise Zimbabwe but to obtain commodities through trading, looting and ransacking of homes and properties. However, in most instances RENAMO attacked Honde Valley villagers when locals cheated them in their trading arrangements.[34] Having said this, the

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[30]*Ibid.*

[31]*Ibid.*

[32]*Ibid.*

[33]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, January 10, 1992, p.1.

[34] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

next section therefore discusses everyday life in Honde Valley in the wake of RENAMO insurgent operations.

Perils of being borderland citizens: RENAMO violence and everyday life in Honde Valley

The Honde Valley communities were severely affected by RENAMO incursions as with most border communities such as Chipinge, Inyanga and Mutoko. While making a particular reference to the Honde Valley borderland communities, the central argument here is that during the RENAMO insurgency movements, the rhythm of everyday life at the border was disrupted. However, against this backdrop, alternative lifestyles began to manifest. As recently as 2016, a media report opined that:

> The mention of Matsanga, a military wing of the Mozambican opposition party, Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), invokes frightful memories for thousands of people living across the Zimbabwean border with Mozambique….There are so many horror stories which are still engraved in the memories and hearts of many that the Alfonso Dhlakama-led insurgents inflicted on both Zimbabwean and Mozambican nationals in the 1980s...There are stories of people being beaten, maimed, raped, killed or having their lifetime investments wiped out as punishment by RENAMO soldiers.[35]

Undeniably, for various reasons, RENAMO units wreaked havoc in borderland communities. Most Mozambican citizens became war refugees in neighbouring Zimbabwe and Malawi.[36] Considering the proximity of the Zimbabwean border to Western Mozambique, and its porous nature, it became almost inevitable for the insurgent movement to infiltrate into neigbouring Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, FRELIMO's counter-insurgency operations such as forced villagization and deliberate attacks on civilians, especially in the Southern parts, affected RENAMO's support base. Thus, RENAMO insurgents turned to the border communities on the

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[35] O. Manayiti, 'RENAMO menace haunts Zimbabwe' *https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2016/07/10/RENAMO-menace-haunts-zimbabwe*, accessed July 10, 2016.

[36] Recently, figures of Mozambicans who fled to Malawi reached 57,000. However, those who crossed into Zimbabwe through Honde Valley have not been accounted for. See a report in the Southern Times "RENAMO threatens regional economies, October 14-20, 2016, p.2.

Zimbabwean side mainly for food, money and clothes. To supply the food needs for example, RENAMO soldiers exchanged looted goods with the local population for foodstuffs. They also sold some of the captured goods to the civilians in Zimbabwe. During their attacks, RENAMO forced local inhabitants to carry the booty back to the military base. As the civilians were often taken by surprise during night-time raids they had to walk barefoot and at times scantily dressed.[37]

There are cases in Honde Valley that can be cited as evidence of RENAMO violence and the disruption of the rhythm of social, economic and political life in the area. In 1989 for example, RENAMO units abducted 12 women and children from Honde Valley. One of the victims narrated that they were not harmed but suffered and endured the long distance and torrid temperatures on their way to the RENAMO Camp near Chimoio.[38] On their way to Mozambique, they relied heavily on wild fruits, boiled bananas and okra.[39] Sofia Marekeni said that they were ordered by RENAMO men to carry their sweets, biltong, soap and cigarettes to their base at near Pungwe River further inland Mozambique.[40] The *Manica Post* of 1989 reported that these people were rescued by the Zimbabwean security forces that raided the MNR base.[41] The use of violence by RENAMO insurgents was central to RENAMO tactics to gain 'support' from both Zimbabweans and Mozambicans living along the border. ZANLA guerrillas used these similar strategies in their fight for Zimbabwean independence.

In the Honde Valley, the areas of Mandeya, Katiyo and Chavanga witnessed the most brutal RENAMO attacks in the last years of the 1980s. Thus, the widely recorded RENAMO attacks were the Katiyo, Mandeya and Mukambachaza attacks. In 1988, RENAMO insurgents

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[37]G. Seibert, *The vagaries of violence in post-colonial Mozambique*, p.258.

[38] Interview of the author with Mr Sofia Marekeni, Katiyo, 10 August 2016.

[39] Interview of the author with Mr Sofia Marekeni, Katiyo, 10 August 2016.

[40] Interview of the author with Mr Sofia Marekeni, Katiyo, 10 August 2016.

[41]The Manica Post, Friday, February 17, 1989 Abducted 12 are back home, p. 4.

looted and burnt 33 houses of Chiku and Mandeya villages in Mutasa District.[42] Villagers abandoned their homes because of the frequent raids by the RENAMO insurgents. Similarly, hundreds of villagers left homes along the Eastern Chipinge border because of brutal attacks by RENAMO insurgents especially in Chief Mahenye and Garahwa villages.[43] Thus, destruction of houses, killings and looting of property sowed the seeds of fear among the villagers who lived at the borderlands. Most of the affected families fled to their relatives who lived further inland.

Furthermore, on Friday 23 November 1987, the Katiyo Tea Estate was attacked by MNR during the evening.[44] Investigations revealed that the attack at Katiyo Tea Estate caused damages worth about Zimbabwean $300 000.[45] Victoria Chitepo, the then Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism and Mahachi, the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement's appointed a team to investigate the incident and visited the Factory themselves. The findings were that:

> tattered-clothed gang of insurgents first struck at the estates factory where they particularly blew up the main electrical switchboard and another, but with no casualties… factory guard who was on duty at the time of the attack said the insurgents arrived at about 7pm and got hold of him. They forcibly removed his clothes, shoes, took away some money, and only left him with a pant. One of them took position at the gate where he guarded, clothed in his uniform. The insurgents forced him into the factory at gunpoint and asked him to show them the vital devices to the factory. Most of the doors were locked and the insurgents only gained entry the open ones. The insurgents then tied explosives to what they thought were the main devices instrumental in the factory's operation.[46]

Mr Oscar Sithole, who was the Manager at Katiyo during the time of attack, said that the insurgents planned to rob the factory for money as tea was sold at the factory shop, with more

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[42] See The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, November 25, 1988, Insurgents destroy houses.

[43]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, October 7, 1988, Fleeing villagers ordered back, p.1.

[44] Interview of the author with Mr L.P Mukome, Katiyo, Honde Valley, 10 August 2016.

[45]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday 31, 1987, MNR attacks cost Katiyo $300 000, p.1.

[46]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday 31, 1987, MNR attacks cost Katiyo $300 000, p.1.

than twenty 30 tonne-trucks being loaded daily.[47] The Katiyo Tea Estate was making huge profits from selling tea. Certainly, RENAMO knew that there was money at the estate. Mr Sithole added that the rationale behind the raid was that these insurgents were running short of war finances, food and many other necessary commodities, hence the raid on the tea estate.[48]

In Mukambachaza village of Headman Chikomba, RENAMO insurgents killed five children and women in a few hours. The five were Esitere Changwena (50), Beauty Mujangu (12), Dadirai Mujangu (9), Kudakwashe Mujangu (6) and five-year-old Doca Chaoneka. Four other villagers were injured when the insurgents attacked them at night.[49]According to an eyewitness, Amai (mother of) Noria Marombedza, a rainy night of March 1990 remains a nightmare.[50] The woman, who saw the five-year-old Doca Chaoneka die at the hands of RENAMO said that these insurgents demanded money and food from her and when she did not comply, they killed her granddaughter, tied her son with a rope and threatened to rape her.[51] She also added that village head Mukambachaza's son (name withheld) who worked with RENAMO from Mozambique, had directed the insurgents to her home.[52] Chazanewako also added that when the five were killed, they met a crew of eight RENAMO insurgents on their way to the Aberfoyle Tea estate where they were working. These people were eating unripe avocados and sugar cane; and they asked for food from the tea workers who were on the tractor.[53] These insurgents were lured into boarding the tractor under the guise that they were going to be given

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[47] Interview of the author with Mr O. Sithole, Katiyo, Honde Valley, 10 August 2016.

[48]Interview of the author with Mr O. Sithole, Katiyo, Honde Valley, 10 August 2016.

[49]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, April 6, 1990. Five people who were brutally murdered by a gang of 20 to 25 MNR insurgents in Mukambachaza Village in Mutasa District were buried last Friday.

[50] Interview of the author with Amai Noria Marombedza, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 11 June 2016.

[51] Interview of the author with Amai Noria Marombedza, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 11 June 2016.

[52] Interview of the author with Amai Noria Marombedza, Mukubva, Honde Valley, 11 June 2016.

[53] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

proper food at Sagambe business Centre. However, the driver drove into the army camp in Sagambe where the unarmed RENAMO insurgents arrested by the Zimbabwe security forces.[54]

What emerges from the local narratives in Chavhanga, Katiyo and Mandeya is that although the RENAMO insurgents wreaked havoc, people continued with the routine aspects of life as alternative lifestyles emerged. Even trading arrangements between RENAMO units and the Zimbabwean borderlanders continued to be much more profitable than before. During this time, looted goods became cheaper and food became costlier for RENAMO because of scarcity. This provided an opportunity for the businesspersons in the Honde Valley such Diason Chimbo who made huge profits. However, in some instances the armed insurgents raided local families to recover their goods which they had given to Zimbabweans on the border to 'sell and return with money.'[55] Failure to return or honour these trading agreements resulted in the RENAMO raiding, torturing and killing their 'partners'. These reprisals involved amputation of hands or bloody killings as punishments and lessons to other defaulting trading partners. Mr Chazanevako Dzinduwa said that Matsanga arrived in Chavhanga and Mandeya to trace those who had cheated them in trading.[56] He added that the RENAMO insurgents supplied local businesspersons like Diason Chimbo who profited tremendously from selling ivory, marijuana, reed mattresses, and many other commodities.[57] In return, these businesspersons provided money, biltong, soap, chocolates and other forms of preserved food to Matsanga.[58] However, some of RENAMO's trading partners in Zimbabwe broke up trading agreements and failed to return commodities to Matsanga who, in turn, made 'follow ups' using the list of names they had and assistance from fellow Zimbabweans.

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[54] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

[55] Interview of the author with Mr Sithole, Katiyo, Honde Valley, 10 August 2016.

[56] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

[57] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

[58] Interview of the author with Mr Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

Additionally, RENAMO insurgents often killed children and wives of their trading partners if the RENAMO could not find them during the follow-ups. RENAMO insurgents also killed those who tried to block them from pursuing their trading partners. In Chavhanga for example, a man called Jipe Nheredzo, then village head was killed for having addressed his subjects warning them to stop interacting with Matsanga. After his death in 1989, a song locally known as *Sabhuku vekuMadimbo vatemwa ndiMatsanga* (the village head of Madimbo has been killed by Matsanga) was usually sang at home gatherings and even at school. Apart from teaching the dangers of associating with RENAMO, the song also reflected the agonies and memories of violence that people have encountered and lived with. Following the killing of Jipe Nheredzo, RENAMO visited Teddy Muomba at his home in Machena area. Muomba, whose son cheated Matsanga and subsequently purchased grinding mill in Troutbeck, killed a RENAMO insurgent night of April 1990. When RENAMO arrived at his home, they ordered him to pay the money that his son owed them.[59] Teddy agreed and went inside his house pretending to pick the requested amount, whereas he grabbed his bow and arrow and shot dead one Matsanga while his accomplice fled the scene.[60] Teddy Muomba was honoured by the government of Zimbabwe for his bravery and given a new stand in Rusape for security reasons.[61] In general, the government of Zimbabwe allowed its border civilians to have various assortments of weapons, including homemade rifle locally known as *muguguda*, with a view to beefing up self-defence against RENAMO. These weapons were manufactured by local blacksmith Charles Mukamba, then living at his second home in the Tangwena Mountains. The deregulation of homemade guns led to the excessive killings of wild animals especially for meat. It also enriched blacksmiths like Mukamba.

An analysis of the informal transactions between RENAMO insurgents and borderland villagers in the Honde Valley are emblematic of the state's failure to reach out in the countryside to monitor and curb the informal interactions. Even its predecessor, the colonial state had failed

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[59] Interview of the author with Girima Nheredzo, Chavhanga, Honde Valley, 08 June 2016.

[60] Interview of the author with Girima Nheredzo, Chavhanga, Honde Valley, 08 June 2016.

[61] Interview of the author with Tabatsi Muomba, Nyagoma, Honde Valley, 12 August 2016.

to regulate the everyday interactions of African borderland communities in the various areas during the colonial era. As with their predecessor regimes, both the post-colonial governments in Mozambique and Zimbabwe have largely failed in respect of the policing, monitoring and regulating borderland people's daily activities and movements. Where official documents and proper papers where required, people skirted the border without being noticed by the border officials especially in the Katiyo area.[62]

'Sell-out' identities[63] were also perpetuated during the time of RENAMO attacks in Honde Valley. Sell-out identities emerged primarily during the ZANLA guerrilla war in Southern Rhodesia. As pointed out earlier, politicians associated RENAMO with their opposition whom they viewed as 'sell-outs' who were bent on destabilizing both independent Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Unsurprisingly, local villagers also began to label, name and discriminate against others because of the frequent RENAMO attacks. While the majority viewed these insurgents as simply disgruntled and uncivilized Mozambicans, some have shared an interesting dimension that has been largely ignored in most studies of the subject. In Chavhanga for example, families that were suspected to have originally come from Mozambique were blamed for the killings and attacks of families in Mukambachaza village. Some individuals, mainly in Mukambachaza have been labelled as Matsangas and were accused of having killed five people in 1990. Some members of the Mukambachaza family, who are said to be originally from Mozambique,[64] are said to have brought their RENAMO relatives to loot property and extort money from Zimbabweans in Chavhanga. What can be deduced here is that the constructing of identities in everyday life also tended to be xenophobic among Honde Valley villagers.

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[62] Interview of the author with Chazanewako Dzinduwa, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 June 2016.

[63] Sellout Identities emerged during the Zimbabwe liberation. Marowa noted that sellouts existed at three different levels and occurred from different angles. For informative discussion on sellout identities see I. Marowa, 'Construction of the 'Sellout' Identity during Zimbabwe's war of liberation: A Case Study of the Dandawa Community of Hurungwe district, c1975-1980', *Identity, Culture & Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue. Volume 10, Number* 1, July 2009.

[64] I have discussed these in Chapter three of this thesis, where I have shown how communities from both Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa have continued to interact through migrations and economic alliances.

Arguably, these 'sell-out' identities did not help build community relations during the time of RENAMO attacks, and even after.

Additionally, in 1988, two people appeared before Mutare magistrate, Mr Fidelis Masunda in connection with allegations that they contravened a section of the Law and Order Maintenance Act in that they helped, harboured or assisted South African-backed MNR insurgents. Margaret Sitembile Mutusva of Mandeya village in Honde Valley allegedly assisted 35 MNR insurgents in the company of her boyfriend, Moses, to loot and destroy property at Matombo business centre.[65] With the assistance of Mutusva, RENAMO insurgents stole property worth about $9 173, 97 on October 29, 1987.[66] Similarly, in Inyanga, other insurgents robbed passengers who were travelling in a B and C bus of $966 and later robbed Mopani store in Ruangwe.[67] In another incident at Chinaka business centre, on 29 October 1987, RENAMO insurgents ransacked some shops, set fire to two Matongo buses, three stores and a grinding mill. The insurgents also went to St Peters Mission and stole medicine and other items and loss of the total damage was estimated at $77 000.[68] It was alleged that RENAMO committed these crimes with the assistance of the girlfriend of a RENAMO insurgent, Sithembile.[69] Sithembile Mutusva was seen as a 'sell-out' and was banished from the Mandeya community. In 1990, she escaped to Mozambique and she has never returned.[70] Similar incidences were ubiquitous in Chipinge areas.

Furthermore, Ndabaningi Sithole was publicly criticised for 'working with RENAMO', and was labelled a 'sell-out'. Thus, ZANU PF's anti-RENAMO campaigns became way of attacking ZANU-NDONGA supporters under the guise of dealing with RENAMO

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[65]The Manica Post, Friday, January 15, 1988, Two people in court for assisting MNR insurgents, p.5.

[66]The Manica Post, Friday, January 15, 1988, Two people in court for assisting MNR insurgents, p.5.

[67]Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, November17, 1989, Insurgents slay ZRP 2, p.1.

[68]The Manica Post, Friday, January 15, 1988, Two people in court for assisting MNR insurgents, p.5.

[69]The Manica Post, Friday, January 15, 1988, Two people in court for assisting MNR insurgents, p.5.

[70] Interview of the author with Mrs. Anna Ruwizhi, Mandeya Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

especially in Chipinge area by many ways. Other ordinary citizens also faced the wrath of Zimbabwe's government security forces. In 1988, Paul Zvorevavanhu, Jay Chiripamberi, Ruwizhi Tsokawachi, Joseph Gwenzi, Pedro Ruwizhi, Kamina Pedro Tipa were severely beaten and arrested by security forces for collaborating with RENAMO.[71] These people were ZANU Ndonga supporters who were labelled as RENAMO sympathisers and collaborators.[72] Furthermore, Zimbabwe Security forces shot dead some suspected collaborators in Chipinge. Such tense political atmosphere of insurgent activities and anti-insurgent operations turned the eastern borderland into contested war zones. Similarly, in the study of Indian borderlands, S DasGupta observed that more subtle and indirect support to insurgency, coupled with India's determination to quell it, converted the territory of Jammu and Kashmir into a battleground borderland where nationalist ambitions and opposing constructions of nationhood came into direct confrontation.[73] In the Honde Valley, the determination of both the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments to quell insurgency turned the area into a battleground.

RENAMO activities along the border compelled security officers and politicians to repeatedly appeal to villagers along the Eastern border not to visit their relatives across the border and indulge in illegal cross border trading.[74] In 1987, while addressing people in Chipinge, the then Zimbabwe National Army commander Lieutenant-General Solomon Tapfumaneyi Mujuru remarked that:

> We know that you have marriages across the border but at this time, mercy can cause and bring trouble for you. If you have a relative across the border, why can't you or he stop visiting each other until the situation returns to normal? Those who stay in Mozambique should remain there and you should stay there. If anyone of them drifts into your land,

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[71]The Manica Post, Friday, November 25, 1988, p.1.

[72] The Manica Post, Friday, November 25, 1988, p.1.

[73]S. DasGupta, 'Borderlands and Borderlines: Re-negotiating Boundaries in Jammu and Kashmir', *Journal of Borderlands Studies, 27:*1, 2012, pp.83-93.

[74]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, April 6, 1990, Insurgents Slay 5 MNR Insurgents murdered people in Madziwanzira Village in Chief Tangwena's area.

you should inform the security forces. You should choose between dying and going to visit your relative or friend in Mozambique.[75]

Former Army Commander Lieutenant General Solomon Tapfumaneyi Mujuru appealed to all sectors in Manicaland to report to the security forces any suspicion elements in a bid to curb the MNR banditry activities.[76] Speaking in Mutare, Mujuru noted that there have been spates of insurgent activities such as murders, abductions, looting, armed robberies and cattle rustling.[77] He also urged bus operators and the people travelling along the eastern border to reach their destination before dark to avoid MNR insurgents' attacks.[78] Zimbabwean security forces killed Twenty-eight MRN insurgents during an operation that was meant to rescue a group of local civilians from the MRN.

In the Honde Valley borderlands, there were continuities and discontinuities in the conduct of RENAMO during the ebb and flow of the war. Having experienced several episodic RENAMO attacks from the 1980s to 1992, there were a few decades of peace in the area. These continuities and discontinuities were largely influenced by the broader political developments in Mozambique itself and its neigbours in Southern Africa. The decades of peace were influenced by RENAMO's changing engagements with FRELIMO in the bid to reach a compromise for peace. Preliminary negotiations for a peace settlement began on 16 March 1984, when Minister Botha of South Africa met Samora Machel at the border town of N'komati, South Africa, to sign an 'Agreement of Non-Aggression and Good Neighborliness'.[79] However, when Machel died in 1986, Mozambique's new President, Joaquim Chissano continued with the negotiations. In 1990, a Catholic lay community of Sant Egidio initiated negotiations, which helped lay the foundation

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[75]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, October 16, 1987,Cross-border visits banned.

[76]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, February 19, 1988, p.1.

[77]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, February 19, 1988, p.1.

[78]The Manica Post, Mutare, Friday, June 17, 1988p.1ZRP warns on MNR ambushes.

[79]P. Johnson and D. Martin, *Destructive Engagement*: p.4 .See also B. Tavuyanago, RENAMO: from military confrontation to peaceful democratic engagement, 1976-2009.

for a General Peace Agreement (GPA).[80] The negotiations ended in 1992 when the government of Joaquim Chissano and RENAMO signed a GPA in Rome on October 4.[81] From 1992 onwards, acts of banditry along the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border began to decline. The Honde Valley villagers did not experience any forms of RENAMO violence from 1992 onwards and they resorted to their normal ways of life.[82] In fact trading ties between villagers living on both sides of the border became a central economic way of life. By 2005, economic exchanges were now taking place in areas such as Msinzi, Panzi, Nyaronga and Pandagoma in Mozambique and Tepera, Sagambe and Katiyo in Zimbabwe. In 2006, the author went to Msinzi in Mozambique to trade maize for cooking oil, washing soap and money. Nonetheless, after decades of peace, RENAMO began to cause problems in Mozambique itself and the border area with Zimbabwe. In 2012, RENAMO insurgents are said to have infiltrated the Honde Valley, looting chickens, money and blankets in Nyandiro village.[83]

Recently, Chiefs in Manicaland have expressed their concern about RENAMO rampages in the border areas. In 2013, Chief Ngorima and Mutasa have convened several meetings to warn their subjects to be wary of interactions with their Mozambican neigbours as RENAMO returned to settle old scores with the border villagers.[84] Furthermore, Chief Mutasa, who claimed that he had received news that RENAMO insurgents intended to infiltrate the country through Honde Valley, approached the government to deploy the army along the border. He also passed a prohibition order against the locals who were crossing the porous border or entertaining those

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[80] *Ibid*

[81] K. M. Thaler,'Ideology and Violence in Civil Wars: Theory and Evidence from Mozambique and Angola', p557

[82] Interview of the author with Mr. L. Nyachega, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 08 August 2016.

[83] Interview of the author with Mr. Nhamoimwe Mandeya, Rori Village, Honde Valley, 08 January 2015.

[84] https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2013/04/19/border-communities-wary-of-volatile-mozambique. accessed on 3 December 2016

who crossed from Mozambique.[85] As a result, the Zimbabwe National Army deployed security forces that were stationed at Katiyo. This was done as security measure to crush the RENAMO insurgents who were thought to be aiming to press inland from the Honde area along the Pungwe River. Nonetheless, contrary to the foreseen danger, RENAMO units did not penetrate into the Honde area. Instead, they have continued with their acts of banditry, looting, killing, ambushing and bombing in Mozambique. Furthermore, despite the dangers associated with crossing the boundary, the local families have continued to cross the borders without the state units noticing. When I went to Honde Valley for my fieldwork, I crossed to Mozambique thrice to meet my informants. Upon arrival, life seemed normal, as some people were in their fields while others drank beer and danced Thomas Mapfumo's songs.

While RENAMO attacks instilled fear in many borderland traders, others took advantage the border and crisis at the border. Amidst RENAMO disturbances, trading in daily commodities like soap, dried fish, and even building materials were not affected. Prominent traders such as Bokoremhere, who was also mistaken as Matsanga, crossed into Zimbabwe as often as four times a week to sell his commodities. He used donkey cart to transport his goods to Zimbabwe and made sure he delivered them to his customers.[86] His profit margins in cement were also good as he sold it for $8 following its purchase at the price of $4. Additionally, his competitors in Zimbabwe sold Lafarge and Portland cement for 14-16 dollars and this gave Bokoremhere an advantage against competitors on the market. Most of those who took advantage of border crisis and their kinship ties to create alliances with RENAMO. Nonetheless, most 'cross border' traders from MaD7, Chavhanga and Katiyo became notorious for beer drinking orgies, drug dealings and going out for days without returning home. A fieldwork visit to beer drinking spots such as Munyawara, *paBezel* and *kwaWiti*, presented a contrary picture to what I had been reading in newspaper reports in Harare. When I asked one of my informants, who had probably

[85] https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2013/04/19/border-communities-wary-of-volatile-mozambique, accessed on 03 December 2016

[86] Interview of the author with Mr. L. Nyachega, Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 08 August 2016.

consumed a few bottles of Zed beer,[87] he said that 'the current RENAMO attacks are in Mozambique and they did not affect them.'[88] Although media reports presented Honde Valley villagers as victims of RENAMO atrocities, life did not revolve around suffering and violence. Amidst reports of ensuing RENAMO insurgent operations, people continued to meet at their drinking places where they 'enjoyed' life. Given this, it may be argued that beyond the confines of violence and suffering, people continued with their routine aspects of everyday life, which revolved around the mechanisms to manipulate the border. Of course, just like in any other war situation RENAMO violence disturbed the rhythm of life, but this did not wholly define people's experiences. As indicated earlier, RENAMO insurgency operations have not ended in Mozambique itself and the border areas. As recent as August of 2016, there were reports of RENAMO attacks in the border areas of Honde Valley. However, this has not stopped borderlanders from skirting the border mainly for economic reasons.

Conclusion

The chapter has explored the origins of RENAMO insurgency movement in Mozambique and showed how it transformed the Honde Valley borderlands into battlefields. It showed how the civil war tore apart the social fabric and disrupted the rhythm of everyday life in Honde Valley. As a contribution to the ongoing scholarly conversations, the chapter argues that in the case of the RENAMO movement, violence against civilians was a strategy to secure resources to prolong its war against FRELIMO. The Zimbabweans living in the borderlands attracted RENAMO insurgents because they offered RENAMO access to resources. Because some of the people living in the Honde Valley borderland were of Mozambican origin or had ties to those on the other side of the border, RENAMO chose to penetrate and target the area in order to acquire

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[87] ZED is 47% liquor manufactured in Mozambique. One could sell more than 200 of these in two days, thus making more profit. There are so many other types such as *Lawidzani*, *Kamutonono*, and *Tambirani* which were 'smuggled' from Mozambique into these border villages.

[88] Interview with Mr Magwaza Chiripawako, 10 August 2016, Chavhanga Business Centre, Honde Valley, 10 August 2016.

war supplies. Consequently, there were trading partnerships between RENAMO insurgents and Honde Valley business people. However, in most instances, those who reneged on trading agreements faced RENAMO recrimination and retribution. If the culprits could not be located, their families were usually punished. Because civilians were frequently attacked, killed, and maimed, most researchers have been preoccupied with exposing these acts. It also emerged that some borderland civilians deserted their homes only to return when RENAMO units were not on the offensive. This significantly affected the rhythm of life in many communities on the borderlands. Despite the challenges that RENAMO brought to the villages, their episodic attacks did not turn borderland communities into paralyzed communities where violence and suffering became part of daily life. While some mourned their relatives killed by RENAMO, others profited from their trading partnership and cross-border interactions. Additionally, some families even established new homes in Mozambique. Although the government insisted that people should stop crossing the border, villagers continued to ignore the state authorities as they had done in the past. While others were forced to live in school stations under the protection of security forces, others especially tea workers, escaped the villages to the compound where they continued to go to work.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the thesis by drawing together the findings of the study presented in the preceding chapters. It also reveals the contribution and relevance of this study to African war histories and borderland studies. This study of the Honde Valley borderland communities of Mutasa district provides evidence that while war brought violence to the borderlands, the *borderlanders'* experiences cannot be satisfactorily explained merely within the categories of violence and suffering. Given this, concepts such the everyday and conviviality becomes useful in revisiting the war narratives to uncover the nuances of daily experiences which have not been of scholarly interest in previous war accounts especially those produced soon after the war. Anchored within the everyday and conviviality as analytical lenses, the thesis has argued for shifting focus of war histories from battle-centric narratives and rehearsed arguments of retired war generals and politicians to emphasize the quotidian. Many politicians who have written about the liberation war have tended to manipulate the war history for their own political agenda. Since independence, most ZANU PF politicians have manipulated war accounts to justify the Fast Track Land Reform and Mugabe's lengthy stay in power, to claim legitimacy and to define a very narrow view of nationalism.[1] Terence Ranger has argued that patriotic history in Zimbabwe is narrow and antagonist to academic history.[2] This is so because patriotic history has sought to create a singular national identity that casts anyone who does not conform as a traitor

[1] J. Mujere, 'Autochthons, Strangers, Modernising Educationists, and Progressive Farmers:' p.236.

[2] T. O Ranger, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern Africa Studies, Vol. 30, No. 2*, Taylor and Francis Group, 2004, p.212-222. Ranger noted that key authors of patriotic history in Zimbabwe for example war veterans in youth militia camps, Robert Mugabe through his speeches and Tafataona Mahoso in the media, and other Ministerial historians like E. Chigwedere and S.I.G Mudenge have divided Zimbabweans into revolutionaries and 'sell-outs', p.232. See also B. Miles Tendi, Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media (Nationalism Across the Globe), Peter Lang, Internationaler *Verlag der Wissenschaften*, 2010.

or 'sell-out'. In this light, the thesis has therefore departed from such analyses that privileges violence and suffering in explaining people's experiences during war, as it tends to legitimise narrow ZANU-PF political interests. It argues that while bouts of war violence destabilized communities in Honde Valley, these were episodic and it did not epitomize the totality of people's experiences as they engaged in many activities that enabled them to cope with war; that they became resilient in the face of its ordeals.

Chapter 1 introduced the thesis and justified why this study has been carried out. Importantly, the chapter situated this work in mainstream borderland and war histories in order to signpost the interventions that this thesis makes in the extant literature. The chapter shows that pioneering borderland studies have often cast borderlands as zones of war, areas of attack and defence or rather 'bloodlands'.[3] However, borrowing from the works of Igor Kopytoff who views borderlands as zones of intense interactions and, M. Baud and Van Schendel who proposed the need to depart from statist approaches to borderlands,[4] the chapter argues that the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border has, over time, offered local inhabitants many opportunities. Because of their borderland location, villagers were able to avoid the deleterious effects of war through evasions. Furthermore, the chapter has challenged the centrality of violence and suffering as analytical tools in previous studies of the Zimbabwe war of liberation and RENAMO insurgencies. Given this, the chapter included the investigation of people's wartime experiences beyond the limits of violence and suffering to the mundane aspects of society. Thus, it argues that there are more nuanced approaches to war-time experience that make reference to daily activities such as beer brewing, hunting, farming, among many other things.

Admittedly, the Zimbabwe liberation war was a transformative historical experience for many Africans who lived in Southern Rhodesia. In order to appreciate the transformative impact

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[3] See T. Snyder's' work on the borderlands /'bloodlands' of Eastern Europe where he has depicted the killing of over fourteen million men, women and children in the years 1933 to 1945 in Europe'sEastern borderlands. These mass killings during the time of Hitler and Stalin turned the borderlands into bloodlands. (T. Snyder, Bloodlands: *Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, Random House, Manhattan, 2011.)

[4] See I. Kopytoff, *The African Frontier*: See also M. Baud and Van Schendel, *Towards a Comparative History of Borderlands*, pp.211-212.

of the war on the Honde Valley borderlands, we must understand people's concrete daily experiences. Chapter 2 discusses the pre-war experiences of these communities such as religious practices, landscape aesthetics, migration, and other political, social and economic cultures in the area. These pre-colonial and colonial experiences of the Honde Valley people shaped peoples' attitude to and experiences during war. This thesis argues that Honde Valley remained at the fringes of the colonial state and this determined their experiences during the Zimbabwe liberation War. It maintains that the Honde Valley's remoteness made it difficult for the state to control and regulate people's movements and other activities. Such remoteness also made it very difficult for anti-insurgent forces to control the Honde Valley. By exploring pre-colonial experiences and pre-war borderland cultural dynamics, the thesis has established that people's experiences during war in the Honde Valley were also be determined by their pre-war historic experiences.

Chapter 3 discussed the experiences of the Honde Valley villagers during the Zimbabwe liberation War. It argues that during the late 1970s, villagers suffered from episodic violence emanating from deliberate assaults by both the Rhodesian Security Forces and the ZANLA guerrillas operating in the area. Among many other challenges, the war resulted in the social disintegration of communities, deterioration of family life, and a panoply of miseries accompanied by physical deprivation and psychological stress felt by civilians. In her analysis of the wartime experiences of the Honde Valley people, Heike Schmidt argued that the 'Valley inhabitants witnessed, experienced and perpetrated violence during the Chimurenga, but these were occurrences they did not talk about in the presence of armed men.'[5] In Honde Valley, many villagers were also forcibly removed from their homes into PVs. The war also resulted in deaths, disruption of the social life and family dislocations. On the basis of evidence derived from oral interviews drawn from various villages in Honde Valley, this chapter thus argues that rural communities bore the brunt of the war.

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[5] H. Schimdt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A History of Suffering*, p.221. On the impact of the Zimbabwe liberation war see also J. Alexander and J. McGregor, 'War Stories: Guerrilla Narratives of Zimbabwe's liberation War', *History Workshop Journal, No. 57*, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 79.

The thesis demonstrates that the experiences of the Honde Valley villagers are important in providing alternative war histories by looking at the mundane aspects of society and their routine experiences. While earlier studies have been more particularly interested in exposing the dark side of the war, for example in the PVs, this thesis has shown that there are equally interesting aspects of the families who lived behind the fence during the war that have been neglected. In the Honde Valley, the reality of physical deprivation and its psychological strains brought about by forced evictions and confinements turned PVs into battlegrounds for survival where civilians were not passive victims of the state's apparatuses of oppression. The many forms of everyday practices in the PVs challenges the statist view of African populations in PVs as simply passive recipients of war violence and other developments.

Furthermore, this thesis has also integrated migratory communities into the war narratives. It argues that the experiences of families who evaded both the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgencies are important in understanding people's everyday interactions during war. Chapter 4 established that the border in Honde Valley provided the local inhabitants with opportunities during the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO insurgency. Given this, the war narratives in the Honde Valley borderlands converged and sharply diverged in some instances. Those who crossed the border only witnessed episodes of war and their war experiences were not centred on suffering. While some shared memories of bitterness, violence, and suffering, others claimed that there was flow of economic resources in the borderlands during the war. The flow of economic resources benefited many locals form the late 1970s onwards. Furthermore, as shown in this thesis, since 1891, borderland citizens have been entrepreneurs who have always challenged the state power by using of various evasion tactics. The people at the border have over the years negotiated with, and manipulated and circumvented the border to their own ends. This thesis has also demonstrated how clandestine migrations helped the borderland inhabitants to evade the war. During the Zimbabwean war of liberation, more families fled their homes to newly independent Mozambican territory while others were forcibly moved into PVs. As Heike Schmidt observed, when the Honde Valley was turned into a hotspot of the war, more than 60,000 people in Honde Valley migrated to neigbouring

Mozambique and towns.[6] Given this, the thesis has shown that the migratory communities in Honde Valley witnessed episodes of violence, mainly burning of houses, destruction of property, deliberate assaults by both the Rhodesian security forces and the guerrillas. However, when people evaded war, they moved on with life. A Honde Valley villager who migrated to Mozambique in 1976 said that 'when we crossed the border we lived well.'[7] This is important in showing people's experiences beyond the confines of violence and suffering. However, this should not be misconstrued to mean that when people crossed the border, they totally forgot war. What was important for them was to escape the daily Rhodesian Security Forces brutal attacks, killings and other war atrocities. Because guerrillas became 'insiders' and 'family' with the war émigrés in Mozambique, their abuses and intimidation were not as random as that of the RSF. Although there is a possibility that other civilians barely coped and endured the pressures of war, others claimed that they thrived lived well.

In Chapter 5, the thesis has explored the origins of the RENAMO insurgency movement in Mozambique and showed how it transformed the Honde Valley into an insecure place. Admittedly, the insurgencies tore the social fabric and disrupted the rhythm of everyday life in Honde Valley. As a contribution to the ongoing scholarly conversations on RENAMO, the chapter argues that violence against civilians was a product of RENAMO military strategy to access resources for sustaining their war in Mozambique. The Honde Valley border area was subject to infiltration by RENAMO insurgents because they offered them lucrative economic opportunities such as the capture of 'war booty'. Moreover, during the RENAMO insurgency, as was the case during the Zimbabwe liberation war era, the Honde Valley borderlands continued to provide unpredictable infiltration routes for RENAMO insurgents. These insurgents also engaged in various activities with the locals, ranging from illegal drug dealing, trading of biltong, cigarettes, denim jeans, ivory and other commodities. However, in most instances, the RENAMO insurgents punished those who reneged upon trading agreements. Because civilians

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[6] See H. Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A History of Suffering:*,

[7]Interview of the author with Mrs Moria Dzinduwa, at Chimuswe Village, Honde Valley, 06 August 2016.

were attacked, killed, maimed, and so on, most researchers have been preoccupied with exposing these acts. This thesis has however illustrated that despite the challenges that RENAMO brought to the villages, borderland villagers in the Honde Valley coped and became resilient in the face of war ordeals.

This thesis makes a significant contribution to the ongoing scholarly historiographical debates about the Zimbabwe liberation war and RENAMO incursions. It proposed a re-investigation and re-interpretation of people's experiences during wars, especially at the border zones. This thesis deviates from the earlier historiographies that presented the region's history through the lens of violence and suffering by adopting a more nuanced approach that delineates everyday experiences during wartime. Therefore, in writing against the grain of this widely accepted interpretation of the Zimbabwe war of liberation and RENAMO incursions, this study addressed fundamental questions that have been ignored by the previous war histories of the borderlands. Although the thesis is based on the case study of Honde Valley, its findings may also be used as a point of departure for reinvestigating and revisiting war accounts in the region. As a borderland study, it also deals with the villagers' acts of circumventing the border to their own advantage. This is important because such acts challenge the 'state-centred' approaches that have presented ordinary civilians as passive recipients of the state's apparatus of control. The study has as shown that borderlands are 'bloodlands' or war zones, where people perish because of war-related atrocities and crimes. Nevertheless, even in the time of bloodshed, people continued to lead productive ways and fulfilling their lives. It is hoped that the findings of, and the arguments raised in this thesis, can be useful in reconstructing the wartime experiences without over-emphasizing the extent of violence and suffering. Thus, this thesis opens up a window for further examination of war discourses and offers new directions in the research on borderland histories in Southern Africa.

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