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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The Rhodesian Security Forces, *Mujibhas* and *Chimbwidos* in the Liberation Struggle of Zimbabwe (1960-1980)

BY

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ZVISHAVANE, ZIMBABWE

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
RELEASE FORM.....	v
DECLARATION.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
DEDICATION.....	ix
ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
OBJECTIVES.....	2
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	3
METHODOLOGY.....	8
ENDNOTES.....	10
CHAPTER ONE.....	12
HISTORIOGRAPHY OF <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> AND <i>MUJIBAS</i> IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE.....	12
Introduction.....	12
1.1 COLONIAL HISTORIANS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	13
1.2 NATIONALIST HISTORIANS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	14
1.3 REVISIONIST HISTORIANS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	18
1.4 GENDER HISTORIANS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	20
1.5 GUERRILLAS, <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> NARRATIONS.....	22
CONCLUSION.....	24
END NOTES.....	25
CHAPTER TWO: VIOLENCE, <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE.....	29
INTRODUCTION.....	29
2.1 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	29
2.2 THE PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	34
2.3 TYPES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	37
2.3.1 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE.....	37
2.3.2 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	40
2.3.3 THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	41

2.3.4 VERBAL VIOLENCE AGANST <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	42
CONCLUSION.....	43
END NOTES.	44
CHAPTER THREE	48
THE EFFECTS OF THE VIOLENCE ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> DURING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE.	48
INTRODUCTION	48
3.2 EFFECTS OF POISONING AND KILLINGS.	51
3.3 EFFECTS OF GENDER SPECIFIC PROBLEMS FACED BY THE <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	54
CONCLUSION.....	56
END NOTES.	57
CHAPTER FOUR; THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> AND <i>MUJIBAS</i>	60
INTRODUCTION	60
4.1 MENTAL EFFECTS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i> CAUSED BY THE WAR... ..	60
4.2 EMMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF WAR ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	63
4.3 PHYSICAL PROBLEMS CAUSED BY PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS ON <i>MUJIBAS</i> AND <i>CHIMBWIDOS</i>	67
CONCLUSION.....	71
END NOTES	72
CONCLUSION.....	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	78



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DECLARATION

I, Sharleene Mutanga declare that this dissertation is my own academic product and has not been submitted in any University for degree purposes other than Midlands State University. It is being submitted in the partial fulfilment of the Bachelor of Arts Honours in History and International studies.

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ABSTRACT

The study explores the plight of mujibas and chimbwidos who were guerrilla aides in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. That is to say the horrific experiences they encountered during the war and bringing out their untold stories. It contributes to the historiography of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle by focusing on the effects of violence on the mujibas and chimbwidos. The war which took place between ZANU and ZAPU against the Rhodesian Security Forces from the period of 1960 until they acquired independence in 1980, saw the evolution of mujibas and chimbwidos idea. The study unmasks the horrible and gory experiences they went through whilst they were providing the guerrillas with food and information about the security forces. Also the harsh punishments they received after being caught by the security forces and beatings they got from crossing the guerrillas. The study brings out the physical and psychological effects of violence on them and other humanitarian crisis they faced during the war. The study demonstrates that mujibas and chimbwidos needs to be appreciated in the history of the liberation struggle because their position was risky, they were caught in the middle of pressure from both armies as they used violence and coercion. They were exposed to sexual violence, diseases and hunger whilst living under horrible conditions in the bushes and the Keeps they were forced into. This study is constructed on wide oral testimonies of former mujibas and chimbwidos, secondary sources and primary sources. It breaks the silence of the untold stories of the horrific experiences of mujibas and chimbwidos.

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DEDICATION.

I wish to dedicate this study to my superwoman and mother Patuma Mutanga and my pillar of strength and father Shephard Mutanga. They are the source of my inspiration.

ABBREVIATIONS

CCJP	Catholic Commission For Justice And Peace
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
PVs	Protected Villages
RSF	Rhodesian Security Force
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
ZANU PF	Zimbabwean African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwean African People's Union
MSU	Midlands State University
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZAPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

INTRODUCTION

The history of *chimbwidos* and *mujiba*'s horrific experiences in the liberation struggle is yet to be written. So far most attempts have been either lacking in objectivity or even openly biased in some cases or have been merely brief sketches of their events. This is unfortunate because their stories will remain buried and not told fully. Therefore, this study serves to capture the experiences of the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* whom the security forces suspected to be in cahoots with the guerrillas in liberation struggle from the period 1960 to 1980. It assists in giving the victims of violence a chance to tell their awful stories they encountered during the liberation struggle. They were in danger with the Rhodesian security forces as they were called terrorist collaborators.¹ and assisting the guerrillas with food, intelligence and informing them about the whereabouts of the soldiers and helping in organising *pungwes*.

This study brings out the violence, gruesome endeavors and the terrifying episodes these young people went through and encountered. It also shows the effects of that violence and how it affected their lives and those around them. Scholars such as Fay Chung noted that collaborators were usually sent with food for freedom fighters,² and this was known by the Rhodesian Forces.³ They were at risk of being captured and tortured by the security forces whilst carrying out these duties. This demonstrates that the story of the liberation struggle has not been fully told and understood. Many died, some became disabled, others were psychologically affected and emotionally broken. Also, others lost their relatives and parents as a punishment for being war collaborators. Therefore this study will bring out what transpired during the struggle and their stories will be heard.

Mujibas and *chimbwidos* experiences in the liberation struggle were terrible and many of them failed to forget them because the effects went deep inside their conscience and also bodies. Therefore this study seeks to explore their unfortunate problems so that they will be known. This study focuses on the torments they experienced in their conscience very time they remembered about the liberation struggle. It brings to fore that these *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* dealt with a heavy burden they carried out in the struggle. This study seeks to help in the development of the historiography of the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe so that it is not biased, it has to be known that *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were victims of the violence in the struggle. Thus this study tries its best to come up with a fruitful research about the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who were part and parcel of the liberation struggle.

The *chimbwidos* faced unfortunate experiences such as being victims of sexual violence. The products of those dark experiences still live as a reminder of their pain. These issues have not been addressed thoroughly and probably not heard because they have been silenced with fear. The atrocities committed during the liberation struggle had ugly consequences on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*, it caused physical damage and psychological problems.⁴ Many of them suffered every day for they had not forget their terrible experiences. They suffered from terror and brutality from both perpetrators of violence the Rhodesian security forces and the guerrillas because they were caught in the middle. They had to live with the permanent reminders of what they went through during the struggle.

OBJECTIVES

- To give victims of violence a chance to tell their horrifying and terrifying stories they went through in the liberation struggle.
- To capture the horrific experiences of the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* during the liberation struggle.

- To examine the effects of the violence perpetrated by the Rhodesian security forces and guerrillas on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*.
- To fill in the gap were the victims stories have been left out in other works on liberation struggle.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several scholars whose work on liberation struggle for Zimbabwe focuses mostly on the guerrillas, political parties and even their own experiences in the struggle only, they neglected the need to look at the plight of *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* in the struggle. They were overlooked and side-lined in many studies to the extent that they seemed as if they did not play an important role in the struggle. For instance, Ndlovu Gatsheni looked at power struggle and human rights,⁵ in his study and also Raftopoulous concentrated on workers and nationalism as well as democracy.⁶ They ignored to talk about the challenges these young people faced. Their stories were either omitted or not told fully therefore this study seeks to fill that gap to some extent.

Fay Chung focused mostly on her experiences during the war, this demonstrates that all participants and victims have a story to tell.⁷ However she mentions that because the Rhodesian security forces could not distinguish the guerrillas from the peasantry, their intelligence began to capture civilians in order to obtain information.⁸ This gives the need to focus more on what happened to them after the captivity. Their lives were endangered by the guerrilla warfare because they became the bait between the Rhodesian forces and the freedom fighters.

Raftopoulos and Mlambo's work supports the current topic in on its objective of bringing to light the terrible obstacles the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* went through whilst helping the guerrillas in the struggle. They said the brutalities were a last grasp measure by Rhodesian forces to intimidate the rural population to stop assisting the guerrillas, a case of depriving the fish the water.⁹ This study further seeks to reveal the stories behind those punishments by the Rhodesians and brought out their terrible experiences. The cruelties they went through were brought to fore so that readers of this study would get to know what really transpired to these collaborators during the liberation struggle.

Bhebe and Ranger's work improved the scholarly approach to the current topic in that it brought to fore the horrific brutalities they went through .They said the youth were forced out of their homes at night ,driven off in armoured vehicles or marched under heavy guard to camps where they were accused of being terrorist collaborators.¹⁰This shows that they were in danger and were prone to the arrestment by the Rhodesian security forces at any time even in the night .However they left out the part on how that violence affected them inside and out meaning psychologically and physically. They did not go deeper on that sensitive issue. This study seeks to bring out the reason why they went through all this which was their ambition for the acquirement of independence for their country. Their stories needs to be told that they sacrificed a lot,some did not return to their families because of their loyalty to the struggle. They also noted that they underwent severe punishments such as forced marches, electric shocks and beatings with sham bocks, were starved and submitted to other forms of torture.¹¹All their experiences will be brought to fore.They went on to say that if suspected that they were *mujibas* they might be killed in the firing squad.¹² They overlooked the fact that young children were killed,they put them in the same category of guerrillas but they were children and it shows that the lives of war collaborators were unjustly taken away from them by the violence however with many efforts this study will brought that to light.

This study also brought out that women played a very dangerous role of getting food out of Keeps without being detected and that put their lives in danger. In Eleanor O’Gorman’s work, an interview revealed they were beaten all the time, forced to tell them where the comrades were, once they mentioned where the comrades were they would be asked to lead them to the place where the comrades were and this could result in their death if the comrades fired.¹³ This goes in line of the topic that these collaborators went through terrifying experience during the liberation struggle and they would sometimes die. However she ignores the effects of such terrible episodes, how it affected them physically and psychologically. She also said that the risk for a *chimbwido* included being used as bait by the comrades.¹⁴ Thus this study went deeper conveying all the disturbing experiences such as fear and PTSDs they went through after such experiences in the struggle.

Bhebhe also focused on ZAPU and ZANLA and the military movements. He ignored the issue of violence and its effects on the *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. He talked about them in passive in an interview where *mujibas* were mentioned saying an event where a headmaster and a few teachers who had not left and a number of *mujibas* who were taken for questioning to Nyala by the Rhodesians.¹⁵ This neglects the torturous interrogations they endured, it made it look like the questioning was easy but it was not, one could lose his or her life. Therefore this topic unmasks the truth about what these collaborators went through during their encounters with the Rhodesian forces.

This study also tried to fill in the gap in which the *chimbwidos* and any other females who helped the comrades in the liberation struggle were subjected to sexual violence. It was brought to attention that sometimes they were forced to satisfy them even if they did not want to, they were vulnerable. Most scholars define them as girls who cooked food and brought information on the whereabouts of the Rhodesian security forces but leave out the issue of them being victims of sexual objects for the guerrillas. For instance, Weinrich described the

accusations against sexual demands from guerrillas on young women in camps as hearsay.¹⁶ By saying accusations that she doubts that they were raped and she dismisses that by saying they were hearsays.

In Manungo's doctoral thesis, he emphasises that although there was a strict code of conduct for the male guerrillas concerning their relations with the members of the opposition sex, guerrillas did not always adhere to the code, young girls away from home and far from parental control were vulnerable to seduction.¹⁷ He romanticises the issue rather than saying it was sexual abuse of young girls who were powerless. This study seeks to give the *chimbwidos* a chance to shed some light on the issue and as it is not a subject much talked about by many scholars.

Franz Fanon's work proved to be a vital input on my study as it helps in developing the current topic on the psychological effects of liberation war on *mujibhas* and *chimbwidos*. He says that he deals with the problem of mental disorders which arise from the war of national liberation.¹⁸ He gave reference to the Algerian war whereby women were raped and there was dehumanising violence.¹⁹ It is then evident that the liberation war had negative effects on the war collaborators as many of them suffered from traumatic stress, hallucinations and madness just to mention a few.

The liberation struggle appealed a great deal of research from the historians but unfortunately they ignored the horrific experiences *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* went through. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were victims of violence even their stories have been hardly talked about. Alexander only highlights aspects of violence such as that there was torture during interrogations of guerrilla sympathisers, many hangings and executions in.²⁰ However he forgets to bring to fore what were the effects of such violence on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. It

is unfortunate that their stories are not given much credit in the history of Zimbabwe for they played a dangerous role that needed brave people.

Nhongo-Simbanegavi brings out the issue of gender and it criticise the general view that women are weak. It supports this work in showing that girls played a very important role in the struggle. *Chimbwidos* encountered with the security forces and its brutalities just like *mujibas* and guerrillas too, it is only unfortunate that their stories have not been heard hence it is the purpose of this study to bring their experiences out for everyone to hear. It is also because *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were not recognised as important by other scholars to an extent that they talk about them in passive as if they were not part of the freedom fighters. She says that the role of women defied traditional notions of femininity in the struggle.²¹ They proved to be worthy and they were indeed needed for the guerrilla warfare to be a success as this study shows.

Irene Staunton's work in her book brings to fore experiences and suffering *chimbwidos* and women went through in the liberation struggle.²² Their narrations make it clear that they were victims of sexual violence just like what this study is trying to show. She wrote about different experiences they encountered and pain they had to hide because they were strong. This has a great influence on this study because it helps in bringing out the effects of violence on these young informers and how they coped during the war. Janice McLaughlin stated in passive that in keeps people were harshly treated by camp guards.²³ She failed to look at *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who were largely affected by the war since they were caught between the violent war of guerrillas and RSFs.

METHODOLOGY

In carrying out the research for this study, oral testimonies, archival sources and internet research were consulted. This approach enabled me to get different narratives from ex *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*, ex combatants and their parents who were around during the liberation struggle. I used unstructured interviews to written sources like textbooks, journal articles, reports, and newspapers articles. Also libraries and biographies were accessed. Interviews were conducted as a technique that is primarily used to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for people's attitudes, preferences and behaviours. According to Shastri, research means finding out the types of methods that have in common the generation of knowledge at varying levels of detail, sophistication and generalizability that results in solving a problem.²⁴ Many sources were consulted so as to come up with an acceptable answer to the research question.

An unstructured interview is an interview in which questions are not prearranged, allowing for questions to develop during the course of the interview.²⁵ It was a qualitative research method and it prioritised validity and the depth of the interviewees' answers. I used an unstructured format, following the direction of the interview being determined by the respondent's replies that allowed me to probe for more explanations. Also fieldwork was carried out in this research as it is asserted by Vansina that field work is imperative for anyone who tries to be a credible historian, thus giving history a face.²⁶

Still on that unstructured interviews were used in this research because I was going to be a stranger to the *chimbwidos* and the *mujibas* as well as those who were relatives to them whom I asked questions. Extracting information from them needed simple and flexible questions rather than rigid ones, therefore they were easy. This was relevant because it created a relaxed atmosphere and the interviewees were at ease and produced fruitful

results. Through the nature of unstructured questions, I was able to pick up questions and to probe further for answers that I needed answered for this research.

Oral sources were also used especially oral history. According to Tosh, oral history refers to first hand recollections of people interviewed by an historian.²⁷ Therefore, first-hand accounts of surviving former *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* who experienced the Zimbabwe liberation struggle fall in this class. This will have the advantage of getting information from the contributors themselves. Hence in this case the methods to be used are oral interviews, dialogues and discussions. When collecting oral history it is of great importance to guard against lies, exaggerations, biases and gaps. This is because most people when approached they tend to lie and pretend to know each and every detail therefore the researcher will have to be careful and watch out for such kind of people. Oral tradition is also going to be vital as it holds fruitful information about the past. Verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past, passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation,²⁸ better known as oral tradition are going to be useful to the researcher.

Text books and biographies of the liberation struggle from both nationalists and colonialist historians gave me much insight on the historiography of *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* in the liberation struggle. Newspaper articles were very helpful. Comparison of the war collaborators and their experiences with the Rhodesian forces helped in compiling a good study. To acquire some of the information I accessed some stuff at Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation Archives where I did my attachment therefore it was easy..

ENDNOTES

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² F,Chung,Reliving the Second Chimurenga :Memories of zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle ,Weaver Press ,Harare,2007, p.140.

³ibid.

⁴ibid.

⁵ Ndlovu,S , Imperial hypocrisy, Settler Double Standards and Denial of Human Rights to Africans in Colonial Zimbabwe ,In N.Bhebe and T. Ranger,(eds)The Historical Dimensions of Democracy and Human , Rights, UZ Publications,Harare,2001.p134.

⁶ Raftopoulus and S.Yoshukuni ,eds Sites of Struggle: on Zimbabwe Urban History, Weaver Press ,Harare,2000,p.78.

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⁸ibid

⁹Raftopoulus, B and Mlambo A.S,Becoming Zimbabwe:A History of the Precolonial Period to 2008,Weaver Press,Harare,2009,p.150.

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¹¹ ibid.

¹²ibid.

¹³ E,O'Gorman,The Front Line Runs Through Every Woman:Woman and Local Reistance in the Zimbabwe Liberation War, Weaver Press, Harare,2011,p.128.

¹⁴ibid.

¹⁵ Bhebe.N, ZAPU and ZANLA Guerrilla Warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church ,Mambo Press, Gweru ,1999,p.204.

¹⁶ A.K.H, Weinrich, Strategies Resettlement in Rhodesia, Journal on Southern African Studies,1976, p.20-21.

¹⁷ Manungo, K. D., The Role the Peasants Played in the Zimbabwe War of Liberation, with Special Emphasis on Chiweshe District, Doctoral Thesis, Ohio State University, 1991,p.175.

¹⁸ F,Fannon, The Wretched Of the Earth, Grove Press, New York,1963,p.451.

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²⁰Alexander J,etal, Violence and Memory ;One Hundred Years in the Dark Forests of Matabeleland,Weaver Press,Harare,2000,p.65.

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²² I, Staunton, Mothers of Revolution, Boabab Books,Harare,1990,p.65.

²³ J, McLaughlin,On the Frontline: Catholic Missions in Zimbabwe Liberation War, Boabab Books,Harare,1995,p.23.

²⁴ Shastri.V.K ,Research Methodology in Education, New Dehli, Authors Press,1992,p.28.

²⁵ Vansina,J, Oral Tradition ;AStudy in Historical Methodology,New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers,2009,p.34.

²² J. Tosh and S. Lang, The Pursuit of History,Edinburgh, Pearson Education Limited, 2006, p.310.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CHIMBWIDOS AND MUJIBAS IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE.

Introduction

In the course of writing the history of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe, they have been described in many names such as informers, carriers and spies of the freedom fighters. Also, their history has been biased and a gap has been left during the writing of their stories. Nationalists, colonialists and revisionists scholars were more concerned about other aspects of the liberation war than the plight of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. Scholars such as Raftopoulos and Mlambo in their work, paid more attention to the freedom fighters alone and the input of the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* was side-lined.¹ However, *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* were young boys and girls who played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe by collaborating as informants and sidekicks of the guerrillas.

They operated between the comrades and the parents. Also *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* played a vital role in the struggle helping the guerrillas fight against the Smith regime in the war. Bhebe highlights that these youngsters were caught in the middle of the guerrillas and the Rhodesian security forces fierce war as Smith adopted a brutal insurgency against those who supported the guerrillas.² They had to choose to protect the whereabouts of the guerrillas from the security forces or die in the name of loyalty to them thus their lives were not easy.

1.1 COLONIAL HISTORIANS ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS

For the operations of the comrades to go so well a solution was to recruit local messengers literally messengers, young guerrilla assistants who helped guerrillas to familiarize with the area, and acted as proxies in small and big matters.³ *Mujibas* were the eyes and ears of the guerrillas during the liberation struggle. ⁴Their job was a difficult duty as the safety of the guerrillas and their success depended on them and their actions. They were their informers on the whereabouts of the Rhodesian security forces. They provided information on where the Rhodesian forces were and this enabled the guerrillas to make a surprise attack on them.

The conception of *mujibas* had advanced in the rural areas, where the guerrilla war began but it gradually evolved in urban areas too as the war spread and threatened the cities. One former Rhodesian intelligence officer recalls, garden boys during the day could turn into your friendly neighbourhood and a guerrilla at night, eventually gardens and grounds were being searched and weapons were being taken out from the suburbs.⁵ They were labelled as terrorists and were dangerous for the whites and their environment.

Even the media has tried to show off what transpired in the war through short films but many of them are biased except one called the Flame.⁶ It depicts what women experienced during the struggle and the camps they trained at such as rape and violence. However after being shown to the Veterans Association of Zimbabwe, the veterans claimed it was full of lies and were angered by the rape scene, the film was seized by police for being subversive and pornographic.⁷ This supports the current argument that facts about the struggle in Zimbabwe are not brought to light and are omitted. They find an excuse to make them disappear when they are brought to light. In this case rape took place during the war to young girls but now they call it pornographic when it is being revealed through media. It is like they do not want people to know what the comrades did to girls.

1.2 NATIONALIST HISTORIANS ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

During the struggle, the guerrillas enlisted local youth, both girls and boys into the war of liberation as *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* enabled guerrillas to control large areas within a small force. A vulnerable young boy or girl could report Rhodesian movements without much danger. Therefore they recruited young youths to become their informants, according to Ranger they called upon unmarried women and man to act as their cooks, informants and messengers.⁸ Bhebe highlights that *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were formed by guerrillas as he said that parents were forced to send small boys and girls who were to become permanent messengers for the freedom fighters and were called *zvimumjiba* and *zvimbwidos*.⁹ However they failed to look at the consequences of their duties and how they affected them in all aspects.

The freedom fighters and the rural masses were the two largest groups in the liberation struggle that they were too obvious to carry out such certain tasks. According to Gaza, a woman with a baby on her back who was seen loitering in strange places was immediately suspected by the Rhodesian forces.¹⁰ Thus it was more secure for the young ones to carry out any duties that involved guerrillas. Henceforth, one of the reasons why the guerrillas made recourse to *mujibas* was that as these teenagers were so young the security forces did not immediately suspected them of working with the guerrillas.¹¹ They considered them young at first. It was less dangerous for these youngsters to run back and forth delivering necessities for the guerrillas without being noticed by the soldiers. However with time the Rhodesian forces became aware of them being informers and they started following them and also capturing them for torture so that they released information about the guerrillas.

They also organised night meetings called *pungwes*,¹² according to Gaza. At these meetings they mobilised villagers and it gave the guerrillas a platform to preach their gospel of

revolution against the oppressive Smith regime. Also revolutionary songs were sung to heighten the morale so that the guerrilla together with the villagers would be encouraged to fight hard and sacrifice themselves in liberating the country. During these meetings, *mujibas* brought people they caught or suspected to be sell-outs so that they would be punished in front of everyone.¹³ The punishments were violent and brutal that they caused traumas and fear on everyone who witnessed but he failed to acknowledge this negativity that came with the *pungwes*. They carried out the punishments so as to set an example to those who would betray the guerrillas in future.

They acted as spies too in order to get information about the Rhodesian security forces. When they discovered their camps, they observed their daily activities and habits, where they bathed, the time they eat and relax. This was done so that the guerrillas would execute attacks when they least expected it as according to Mazarire, guerrilla warfare involved surprise attacks and ambushes.¹⁴ They disguised themselves as cattle herders looking after their cattle and pretended to be normal young boys carrying out their daily duties whilst they were observing the security forces.¹⁵ It was a tactic that made many successful attacks on the enemy. Although that tactic worked, *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* lost their lives and some became disfigured from landmines and punishments they received from security forces.

Mujibas were more handy in ensuring that the guerrilla landmines hit their intended targets rather than the innocent people. For instance Manungo noted that if a landmine was planted in a road, *mujibas* were to hide nearby to warn unsuspecting loyal peasants on foot or in ox-carts of the danger.¹⁶ The freedom fighters also found it easy to trust some of the *mujibas* whom they ordered into strategic positions to plant the landmines or to secretly throw them at unsuspecting security forces and their vehicles. This strategy was successful as many Rhodesian forces were victims of the explosive. Therefore *mujibas* were useful in the

liberation struggle however this was committing murder of young children and it gave them sleepless nights even thought that is what war is about.

Gaza adds that, *mujibas* were not only found in the countryside, but also even in the main centres where organized ZANU party machinery serviced the material needs that were communicated to them through *mujibas*.¹⁷ They collected money and bought the refills for the freedom fighters and other requirements. It was easy for them to access those machinery than the guerrillas themselves because they were young boys and could not be suspected to carry them by the security forces but with time they were in danger of being captured. Also they knew how to dodge the security forces but some were unfortunate that they ended up in terrible situations.

Chimbwidos were also sent on errands which their parents and elders could not carry out because there were easily suspected by the security forces. These young girls whilst they did their everyday chores of fetching water and collecting firewood used that chance to keep track of security forces activities and passed it on to the guerrillas. Because of their age and the tasks they were normally expected to carry out, they were able to carry intelligence work with agile versatility. *Chimbwidos* cooked food in the villages and then delivered it at the army bases. Also they helped in carrying *makasha* which were boxes of ammunitions, at night from one area to another together with the *mujibas*.¹⁸ These weapons may have arrived from outside the country therefore they hid them from the Rhodesian security forces. It did not matter the distance or how heavy they were, it was their duty to help the comrades.

The Rhodesian security forces suspected that the young girls were war collaborators therefore they were cautious about their movements. As a safety measure *chimbwidos* could carry items such as blankets clothing, shoes and even food for the guerrillas on their backs like babies up to guerrilla bases in the mountains.¹⁹ They carried out different manoeuvres so that

they would not be captured. Sometimes their mission were compromised by soldiers who captured them on their way to the bases and torture them so that they revealed the whereabouts of the guerrillas. According to Lyons, it was dangerous but necessary and women were often confronted with ambushes and attacks from Rhodesian soldiers.²⁰ Therefore *chimbwidos* played a very dangerous role in the liberation struggle.

In an article in Bhebe's and Ranger's edited volume, Dumiso Dabengwa, a former ZIPRA intelligence officer said that historians have failed people because of their timidity, sectarianism and outright opportunism.²¹ Therefore his point was that conditions should be created in Zimbabwe where a new breed of historians emerges. Scholars should be able of withstanding threats and intimidation and rise above those racial, ethnic and tribal considerations and oppose the suppression of any information. He went on to say that a complete history of the struggle for national liberation is a long way from being produced and it will be achieved when the chroniclers of the struggle are no longer afraid to confront the truth head-on and openly, and have rid themselves of biases resulting from our recent political past, a past which saw the brutal killings of innocent people in the name of unity, peace, stability and progress.²² His emphasis shows that unless scholars rise above the fear of being isolated and even victimized for telling the truth we shall continue to be told half-truths, or outright lies which will not help the nation to know the real history of Zimbabwe .

Therefore his emphasis on urging scholars to write full history of the liberation struggle supports this argument which is showing that the history is biased. Stories of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* have to be told in all angles so that everyone and the future generations know what transpired in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. Everyone who participated should get enough credit for their efforts and the good and the bad should be known. After all it was a war, deaths and damages were inevitable, there is no need to hide them.

It is unfortunate that the history of *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* have been omitted in the books of Zimbabwe's history largely. The majority of them since independence have been left in the darkness and their stories untold. Many historians wrote and gave much attention to guerrillas leaving behind *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who were at the centre of it all helping in the process. It is a shame that they have not been able to document their accounts, explanations and experiences so that it can be compared from various angles and players for people of Zimbabwe to get the whole unbiased information of their role in the liberation struggle.

It seems historians are afraid of going against those in power for they will be in hot soup if they pour out the secrets of the war. In order for them to do this they should get information from *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who were in the middle of it all in the struggle. They witnessed many atrocities committed by guerrillas. For instance stories such as brought out in Raeburn's work where a man's body was found in a ditch next to a barn, he had been stabbed to death after taken for punishment by guerrillas.²³ So, stories like this one if they come out, they bruise the images of the state leaders and one can be in trouble for that, therefore many scholars avoid that predicament.

1.3 REVISIONIST HISTORIANS ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS

Presumably, *chimbwido* is a word of Portuguese origin, which found its way into the Zimbabwe liberation war language through its liberation movement's contacts and alliance with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique FRELIMO.²⁴ Thus they adopted those names as code names to identify each other easily without the security forces knowing them. Also it was easy for villagers to offer them help as they quickly knew that they had been sent by freedom fighters. Also, Dzimbanhete goes on to say that the name *mujibha* has its origins from the Nguni languages where it means an assistant or an errand person.²⁵ Thus they incorporated those names in the struggle for identification just like the guerrillas were called

vakomana.²⁶

The formation of these identities *mujibha* and *chimbwidos* was very important for the bush war fare to be successful because besides their weaponry, they also depended on the general masses. Sithole postulate that, the conveyor belts *chimbwidos* and *mujibhas* between the community and the military trained had to be established without that link, the war could not have been won.²⁷ It makes sense for the villagers were the ones who made sure they got food but it was dangerous for them to go directly and collect that food or the parents deliver it. Therefore the role of these informants was essential for they went back and forth without suspected by the security forces at the beginning of the liberation struggle. Besides, they were energetic and strategic, they could manage to dodge the security forces when they were following them.

The development of writing the history of Zimbabwe's liberation war struggle, has given less credit to *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. They were and are still barely mentioned in many works and as a result they seem to be insignificant at all. Many have not been given a chance to tell their horrific experiences and torturers endeavors in the war up to date which deprives the born frees of the Zimbabwe a chance to know the whole story of the liberation struggle of this country. University of Zimbabwe lecturer Joseph Mujere expressed disappointment that most nationalists have not written their accounts of the liberation war saying it appears there is some kind of fear of writing and this produces a gap in terms of that history.²⁸ This applies to the history of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* that it has been omitted in the history of the struggle. More often, they are prepared to say a lot in praise of guerrilla movements and the ZANU-PF party, but not much against it. Others are not even prepared to share any wartime stories out of fear that they might be sniffed out by the ears and eyes of the state.²⁹

One can say that it is because they are afraid of writing their accounts or talk about it out loud because they would be branded traitors of war, letting out secrets, by leaders now who were

then freedom fighters. Many *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* worked with present day leaders and they witnessed some disturbing deeds that they were told never to reveal and sometimes they played part in them that guilty kills them every day since they cannot let it out. For instance according to Raeburn a group of four men raided a store owned by whites but run by Africans and during the raid the African store man was killed and a woman alleged that she was raped by the guerrillas.³⁰ Therefore the history of these collaborators is biased. What they went through is side tracked whilst the majority of Zimbabweans are left to think that this country was delivered from the whites single handed by its leaders of today.

1.4 GENDER HISTORIANS ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

The recruitment of these youngsters into *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* was a challenge for their parents. Young children like that were not allowed to be absent at home at nights but then with the coming of guerrillas they had to be out there at *pungwes*. According to Ranched, some parents tried to send their daughters away to relatives who lived in urban areas so that they would not be pressed into service as *chimbwidos*.³¹ However, if the guerrillas discovered this, those parents were branded as sell-outs and publicly beaten for not supporting the liberation struggle. Therefore the formation of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* caused parents to lose control over their daughters, for the guerrillas it did not matter whether they were young girls.

Chimbwidos were involved in duties such as nursing the wounded and sick guerrillas. The ill comrades were brought for recovery in caves where they stayed during the war. *Chimbwidos* performed tasks such as aiding a medic in washing and dressing the wounds of badly wounded guerrillas brought to the cave.³² As women naturally they are caring and emotional therefore it was easy for them to take care of the sick whilst the boys did other staff. O'Gorman noted that everyone had a story, a life and a voice that is rarely heard or

recognised.³³ Therefore it *chimbwidos* have their stories to tell about their significance in the liberation struggle for if they were not available it was going to be difficult for the guerrilla's survival.

Also the existence of the *chimbwidos* in the liberation struggle defied the notion of gender whereby girls other considered weak. Nhongo-Simbanegavi says that it carried pictures of formidable looking women often in situations defying traditional notions of femininity.³⁴ This shows that women's role in the liberation struggle was important just as the same as of the man. Also, Kriger said that during the war girls provided food and shelter for the guerrillas but the comrades thought that they were entitled to the services and ended up fathering many children.³⁵ Therefore this shows that *chimbwidos* were taken advantage of because they were vulnerable and had nowhere to escape to.

Chimbwidos involvement in the liberation struggle was very important and it broke all traditional beliefs that women should stay home with children. Weiss argues that thanks to the social change that was set in motion by the liberation struggle, women were playing a dynamic role in the freedom movement.³⁶ Girls were recognized because they did play a pivotal role in the process of freeing the country. Their help was greatly needed because they provided clean clothes and food for the guerrillas without being suspected by the security forces since they were small children but were strong.

Seidman confirms that although originally chosen for their insignificance, the girls gained great power in their communities through their links to the fighters.³⁷ They became visible in the society and were respected for doing a very important job for the country. One can say that if the *chimbwidos* were not available the guerrilla warfare would not have been successful from the beginning as Ranger notes that they were called upon to act as cooks, informers and messengers.³⁸ Therefore, *chimbwidos* were important in the liberation struggle.

Chimbwidos played an important role in the liberation struggle as noted by O’Gorman that the frontline runs through every woman.³⁹ It is evidence that they were visible in the war and they have stories to tell as they were caught in the middle of the struggle. However her main focus was on women of Chiweshe but it paves a way for this study to fill in the gap of the consequences of being on the frontline and its effects.

1.5 GUERRILLAS, MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS NARRATIONS.

The guerrillas introduced themselves to the peasants and explained their motive to the villagers of restoring the sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe over their country and resources as well as their freedom and human dignity. They recruited young girls and boys as they aides in the war. They needed them to be their eyes and ears all around. After some *pungwes*, the freedom fighters later organized to get help from the local youth whom they branded as *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*.⁴⁰ This was a challenge for the parents because their children were still young and the new world they were being introduced to was dangerous they could die young however they had no choice because it would look like they were sell-outs. According to Mrs Mavhunga an ex *chimbwido*, parents also worked with these messengers of guerrillas *mujibas* and *chimbwido*, providing transportation and intelligence communication network.⁴¹

Also, *mujibas* spied on the Rhodesian forces and they observed their movements and if they were planning to stage an attack on the guerrillas bases, the *mujibas* immediately warned them in advance and they vacated the place so that the Rhodesian forces’ plan to attack failed. According to Moffat’s narration of events they patrolled the areas which they had been assigned to watch over and they checked the presence and non-presence of the soldiers and if they were around, the intelligence guys found out the numbers and what kind of weapons

they were carrying and the direction they were taking.⁴² This role played by the *mujibas* saved the guerrillas in many occasions.

Mr Mbidzo, a former *mujiba* said that their other duty was showing the guerrillas how they can enter a particular village and interact with the people there, showing them those people who were friendly and who were hypocrites. He said they were called *nharirire*.⁴³ It means that they looked out for enemy encroachments towards the guerrilla bases and in cases that they saw them they rushed and warn the comrades. Their job was very important because the guerrillas were in danger if they did not take note of everything going on around their base.

Mujibas other duty was being sent with letters asking for provision in cash and kind from the business people who had shops and other money income revenues. As being couriers they needed to be careful and responsible and had to make sure they were not caught by the enemy thus they sew the letters in their collars.⁴⁴ This was because when they came across security forces they searched them trying to find out if they were working with guerrillas. When they found help, they travelled back at night so that the security forces did not see them.

Sometimes they were followed secretly by the soldiers and an attack on the base was inevitable. However, their services were very important though life threatening. *Chimbwidos* were expected to use their womanly charms and weapons too trick soldiers into revealing their secrets. A former political commissar recalled that if it was a police camp they sent a woman, one of those women they called *chimbwido*, then she be proposed by a policeman and during their love affair she had to persuade him to tell her all the duties they carry out in the camp, how they were deployed, their ammunition, and eventually when that *chimbwido* came back to their base she told them all the information which she was given by that policeman.⁴⁵ It was then easy to launch a surprise attack on the security forces camp.

Chimbwidos were victims of sexual abuse by the guerrillas as it was against their will and also the guerrillas were not supposed to do that therefore it was unfortunate for them for they fall pregnant. In that case a *chimbwido* was not able to reveal that a guerrilla responsible for that pregnancy therefore they would just say it was a *mujiba*'s. A former *chimbwido* explained that it was unfortunate that they had to sleep with the comrades and they could never tell a friend about it because if the story reached the freedom fighters, they were in trouble.⁴⁶ She goes on to say that they always told them that they should never tell anyone he did not want sell-outs.⁴⁷ It was unfortunate for *chimbwidos* for they had to sleep with comrades from every group that arrived in their villages and conceived babies without their real fathers around. In this case the girl would usually say it was a *mujiba* who fathered the baby, they took the blame.

CONCLUSION

All in all *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* played a very important role in the liberation struggle for the guerrilla warfare to be a success. As portrayed in the works of many scholars, they were in the middle of everything that if they were not the guerrilla tactic would have been a failure. However many of them did not volunteered to be the part of this but were forced to and they left their home at a young age to spent some nights in the bushes carrying out their duties as the guerrilla's messengers and helpers. They encountered many obstacles and troubles with the Rhodesian security forces but did not give up. It is such a shame that their stories had not been heard as they are and many of them are biased. It is unfortunate that till now there is a gap in the narration of the liberation struggle that still needs to be filled. However it is the purpose of this study to try and achieve that goal of telling the horrific experiences of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* they encountered that has been left out in the writing of Zimbabwean history of the liberation struggle.

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CHAPTER TWO: VIOLENCE, MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the violence faced by *mujibas* and the *chimbwidos* in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe and demonstrates how and why it was used on them. Violence was used to instil fear in them so that they neither helped the guerrillas nor the Rhodesian security forces. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were the worst off during this war because they were caught in the middle of the conflict and suffered in many ways. They were punished by the Rhodesians if they helped the freedom fighters, and punished by the freedom fighters if they would not help them. They suffered from different forms of violence which were propagated by the security forces and the guerrillas. Perpetrators of violence were the security forces, guerrillas and in some situations these young collaborators themselves on the villagers because they kind of got carried away with the little power they had. Waves of violence orchestrated by the security forces were to sabotage the guerrilla warfare, turn the informers against the guerrillas and for them to submit under them. On the other hand the guerrillas practiced violence to stop people from being traitors and sell outs. Physical, psychological, sexual and verbal violence were the order of the day during the war.

2.1 THE DEPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

In an attempt to adopt the Maoist strategy of fish and water tactic, where Mao noted that the people are the sea and guerrillas are the fish which swim in the water the Rhodesian security forces introduced the Protected village as they anticipated that PVs would cut the contact between guerrillas and the rural people.¹ They believed that such a move would in turn deny guerrillas material supplies, food and intelligence information.² It was hoped the tactic of using PVs would pacify and persuade the allegiance of the rural civilians by protecting them

and giving them services there. Everyone was forced into the PVs and it caused suffering of the people in an effort to capture the interests of the security forces. The shooting of cattle, burning of granaries and the use of defoliants on crops in areas from which the peasants had been removed contributed to the suffering of the people in the protected villages as shortage of food worsened.³ This situation made the life of *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* hard as they were supposed to provide food for the guerrillas.

The security forces wanted to curb the cooperation of the guerrillas and the villagers thus they resorted to brutality and horrible punishments such as noted by Mazambani and Marongwe that hut burning and cattle slaughter became frequent as security forces method of punishing civilian co-operation with guerrillas.⁴ Depriving them food security was perfect for them because they wanted to contain them in Keeps so just because they had no more granaries it was going to be easy controlling them. This violent act was a clear message that helping guerrillas was a punishable, it send chills to the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*.

Keeps where enforced on villagers but *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* still had to bring their comrades food either way thus they ran away from these keeps but for those who were caught their lives were in danger. According to Lan, after the concentration camps were built ,they found ways to smuggle these supplies and leave them to be collected in previously selected corners of fields.⁵ The conditions in the PVs were exacerbated by the introduction of dusk to dawn curfew and the free firing zone regulations.⁶ According to the Rhodesian Herald, curfews stipulated times when people in the PVs would be allowed to move for example at Mpagati was 6 O' clock at dusk that people stopped loitering until the following morning at 6 O' clock.⁷ Many young girls and boys died trying to ran away as violence was the order of the day when they were caught trying to help the freedom fighters.The free firing zones ranged from 1 to 5 kilometres in which case if one violated this prohibitive regulation would be shot dead.⁸ It was horrible.

The guerrillas exploited the mission priests and commanded them imperiously to drive them in the mission cars, demanded for the best drinks and good meals cooked by frightened girls (*chimbwidos*) while the local population went hungry.⁹ It was a time of war and everything was hard but they used their power to demand for luxurious staff. Failure to deliver their commands resulted in violent beatings and was labelled a traitor. For villagers suspected as sell-outs to the Rhodesian authorities or those who refused aid to guerrilla units from fear of punishment by the security forces, the guerrillas resorted to intimidation and violence such as killings, rape, threats, beating and mutilation. As illustrated in the below picture, they herded those men, women and children into the hut then set it on fire.¹⁰ It was a horrible thing and a disturbing experience to the on-lookers which included *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. It had terrible consequences to be suspected as a sell-out.



Source: www.Rodhesia.nl/innocents.html, Massacre of the Innocents.

Mujibas and *chimbwido*'s were taught to show loyalty to the comrades and it led them to be violent themselves just like the guerrillas. They were expected to look out for the guerrillas from sell-outs, therefore they were given permission to resort to violent means so that the traitors were punished accordingly and taught a lesson. A case of a man who was a tailor and worked on a white owned store was accused of being a sell-out and he said that they took him from his house to the black forest. They told him that he must be killed by the comrades as according to them he was a sell-out.¹¹ They accused him that the liberation soldiers were killed by the soldiers of Muzorewa because of him and when they have finished talking they went and cut a big stick and beat him.¹² They beat people even when there was no evidence, only hearsays. Those people they beat were the ones whom they also got food and clothes from. Therefore the guerrillas transferred their violence onto these young souls and they turned into monstrous behaviour.

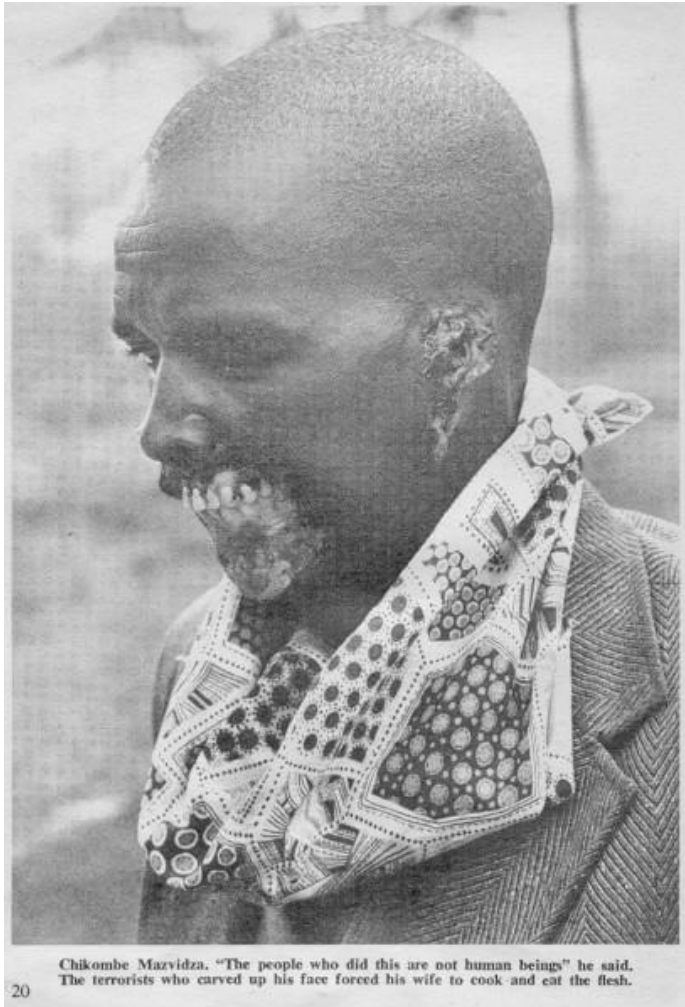
The liberation struggle was characterised by violence and force indeed. Some *chimbwidos* and *mujbas* did not volunteer to become the guerrillas' messengers and helpers but they were threatened and forced to join. A young girl who became a *chimbwido* said that they asked her if she wanted to go where others were going and she refused then they said they were not playing games and she was lucky that she was not dead yet, they said she was going to visit the cemetery that day and told her she was going to cook for them so she followed them.¹³ She was threatened and had no choice but to follow their orders or else she was going to be in trouble together with her family too because they were going to be accused of hindering her from joining other *chimbwidos*.

Pungwes were dangerous because sometimes they were held inside villages and the guerrillas danced and got drunk on the beers given to them by the villagers. It made the village an easy target for the security forces due to the noise they made. Sometimes these villages were ambushed by the security forces and many people died, children and elders who could not

protect themselves perished.¹⁴ During these meetings it was an easy target for the security forces to attack therefore they looked out the *pungwes* so that they carried out their surprise attack.

Guerrillas coerced pressed the *mujibas* to coerce the villagers to suffer the hardships needed in order to help the guerrillas. Whatever they did was cleared from much of the blame that those actions may have caused. The *mujiba* system undermined traditional power structures and allowed massive abuse of power. It was obvious that the widespread use of *mujibas* was going to bring violence.¹⁵ Also, the guerrillas not only created the system in which a girl or boy's word could decide life or death, but also worsened the situation by covering their attitude of killing, using the principle of '*hondo haina pfukwa*' war does not lead to haunting.¹⁶ This saying gave these young messengers the courage to commit more atrocities on the populace in the name of the war. Also the guerrillas brutalized and tortured people but they got away with it, and were never punished for their actions.

Frustration brought about by the unavailability of information caused the application of arbitrary violence by the Rhodesian security forces. They knew that rural communities were loyal and helped the guerrillas but they did not have tangible evidence to incriminate them. Therefore according to Godwin, for the Rhodesian government the way to eliminate terrorism was to kill terrorists then deny them access to black population and punish those who collaborated with them.¹⁷ Smith's armies adapted brutal counter insurgency against the guerrillas and the peasants who supported them.¹⁸ Also if suspected that they were collaborators they were killed by firing squad and their corpses thrown onto mines pits or dug up pits.¹⁹ One can say that their duties put their lives at risk with the security forces who were an enemy of anyone fighting against them. The below picture demonstrates one of the inhuman punishments by the security forces on anyone who disobeyed them.



Source: www.Rodhesia.nl/innocents.html, Massacre of the Innocents.

They forced his wife to cook and eat his flesh.²⁰ It was inhuman and caused trauma on both of them and everyone who watched the ordeal. It left permanent scars which were never forgotten.

2.2 THE PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE MUJIBAS AND CHMBWIDOS.

Fay Chung brings to fore the unpleasant obstacles these young war collaborators faced whilst helping the guerrillas. She says that the Rhodesian security forces could not distinguish between the guerrillas from the peasantry therefore their intelligence began to capture civilians in order to obtain information.²¹ They used force and terror to get information they

wanted to ambush the guerrillas because they knew that the civilians had information on the whereabouts of the guerrillas. She also talks about a girl who came to live with her who was a *chimbwido* who experienced the security forces wrath towards her. She says the Rhodesian forces knew that adolescent girls were usually sent with food for the freedom fighters, so they decided to arrest them.²²

Mugari, a former *mujiba* with a face full of horror said that they were toned between two rocks, if the informers were caught they were mutilated or killed by the soldiers.²³ They were in a dilemma in the hands of the Rhodesian forces, many lost their lives and the lucky ones lost only body parts. He went on to say that for those who managed to escape they were no longer trusted by the comrades and sometimes were killed.²⁴ This was cruel and unfair for the victims but they did it in the spirit of keeping only the loyal and trusted ones. After all the *chimbwido* or *mujiba* who had been captured, were caught only trying to find some info for them and were unfortunate of being caught spying on them.

According to Mukungulushi, hundreds of people were killed in an area, which was named the slaughter area or the red spot by the ZANLA freedom fighters and the Shangaan because of the number of people killed in the area during the war.²⁵ Most of the casualties were ZANLA recruits from the interior of the Gaza province and those who fled from joining the PVs set up in the area. Many were killed by poisoned clothes, food and water points carried out by the RSF and their agents. According to Mr Mambi, these were mostly *mujibas* and *chimbwidors* because they were the ones who ran away from the protected villages bringing the guerrillas food and clothes but unfortunately some were shot dead, beaten and others succumbed to poisoned staff.²⁶

The violence in the liberation struggle pushed the young boys and girls to become the comrades' messengers. This was caused of the ruthless treatment of them by the Rhodesian security forces. They beat up young boys and even took them for call-up.²⁷ This ill treatment and brutality forced the young boys to run away and became *mujibas*. According to Lan, they did not want to go for call ups so they ran into mountains and watched how and when the enemies entered their villages and ran to tell the comrades at their bases.²⁸ There was so much violence that they found it better to help the guerrillas than to suffer the brutalities of the enemy at home doing nothing.

Pungwes also served as a place for punishment of alleged sell-outs, disobedient figures and supposed witches.²⁹ This was done in front of everyone so that it sets an example that anyone who goes against them was punished the say way. They played a role in promoting violence on the villagers who were the water that sustained the lives of the fish, the villagers who were the people who help the comrades.

When the Rhodesian security forces asked questions about the guerrillas they told them the guerrillas had come during the night but they did not know where they had gone in the morning and also when the guerrillas came they told them that the soldiers had come and asked questions. If they lied to them and they later found out where they were, the consequences were horrible. A former *mujiba* and headman of a village in Mberengwa said when villagers heard that the whites were approaching their village, they ran away in the mountains in the fear of being killed, burnt in their houses, beaten and taken away.³⁰ They lived in the mountains for a week afraid of going home after the security forces had burnt down their granaries.

The cooperation between the guerrillas, *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* infuriated the Rhodesian security forces for it was important in the successful persecution of the liberation struggle. Therefore the security forces began to shoot down any youths who were found outside their home at whatever time of the day. Also according to Bhebhe, entire villages, homes, granaries and crops in the rural areas were burned down by the Rhodesian armed forces.³¹ An *ex-mujiba* related that security force's cruelty was too much as villagers sometimes had to witness to grisly incidents such as the bayoneting of a pregnant woman to death.³² It was inhuman and evil as they accused her of carrying communist weapons in her womb, it was absurd. In that kind of situation no one was able to help anyone because they were all circled by the security forces and any silly movement resulted in death.

2.3 TYPES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

In the liberation struggle *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* went through different types of violence from both the Rhodesian security forces and the guerrillas themselves. These included physical, psychological, sexual and verbal violence.

2.3.1 PHYSICAL VIOLENCE.

As the *mujibas* were playing crucial roles in the liberation struggle, their lives were endangered and exposed to tremendous risks. For instance in 1979 the security forces in Nyajena conducted air strikes using napalm and it killed 120 *mujibas* after they were mistaken for guerrillas because they were carrying wooden imitations of AK rifles.³³ Their role was associated with tragic consequences. Being in cooperation with the guerrillas made them lose their lives because they were eliminated by the security forces as terrorists. Once they were labelled as supporters of terrorism, the security forces unleashed undiluted violence towards them.

Rhodesian security forces were ruthless and cruel to the *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* they caught. They beat them and used them as experimental subjects and imprisoned them, they did not value their lives when they did not give them the information they wanted. Also, numerous prisoners were taken against their will to the Selous Scouts at Bindura and were allegedly used as human guinea pigs to test the usefulness of the poisons and their bodies were clandestine.³⁴ Therefore a *mujiba* and *chimbwido* life in the liberation struggle was characterised by terror and brutality for they were mostly the victims in these situations. The Rhodesian security forces knew that they were guerrilla messengers so they caught them and interrogated them. If they failed to give them the information they wanted they viciously punished them in despicable ways.

They tortured them till they spilled the beans. Prisoners received electric torture on their sexual organs,³⁵ agony pushed them to tell the security forces what they wanted. Violence was used as a way of getting out information. When they caught a *mujiba*, he was hung in a tree upside down over a barrel of water tormenting him until he broke and tell them about the guerrillas.³⁶ These were methods used to inflict pain on them so that they talked and revealed all their secrets with the guerrillas.

Just because *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were responsible in calling out traitors it was common to kill or mutilate alleged sell-outs in front of their families. An example of brutality was in 1975, Chikombe Mazvidza, an African from the Mount Darwin area, refused to feed ZANLA guerrillas and he suffered terrible punishment. He was mutilated, parts of his face were cut off, and his wife was forced to eat them.³⁷ The comrades also horrifyingly abused other family members too, but none died.³⁸ It was inhuman. Also in Honde valley tea estate Massacre of 1976, ZANLA guerrillas killed 27 African workers, most of them from neighbouring countries, in front of their families.³⁹ It was possible that many killings went unseen and violence became more regular as the war heated more. Any silly mistake resulted in brutal

punishment from the people of the same colour. The liberation struggle brought with it evilness.

Mujibas and *chimbwido*'s lives were always in danger and if caught by the security forces their chances of living were very small. According to Parker, Rhodesian soldiers made a man who was a guerrilla informant sit on the bonnet of the lead army truck in the war zone hoping he would reveal sites on the dirty roads where landmines were planted.⁴⁰ They were heartless for if he had not managed to see a landmine, he would be going to be blown over and his body shattered into million pieces. It was unfortunate that guerrilla informants were victims of violence anytime any day.

Comrade Georgina also explained that they were called sell-outs and they were taken by force, their hands were tied on their backs *takaenda takasungwa mbira dzakondo*,⁴¹ as if they were animals. Violence was how the guerrillas disciplined traitors even without evidence. Cde Georgina expressed pain as she recalled that all she could hear were people including her father crying and screaming like cattle being beaten *ndainzwa kumashure kuchitinhwa vanhu vachibova semombe*.⁴² It was a horrible experience of violence for young girl to go through such pain.

During the liberation struggle, women were in danger as many of them were suspected to be witches and witches were despised by the guerrillas. They practiced witch finding and witch killing and that usually included the *chimbwidos*. According to Bhebe and Ranger too little has been said about the effects of witchcraft accusations and their disciplining of the young rural assistants that often fell disproportionately on the girl *chimbwidos*.⁴³ It was unfortunate for them because if they were labelled witches there was no mercy for them but death awaited for them. Sometimes they were falsely accused by others therefore the liberation struggle was harsh on them.

2.3.2 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS

Psychological torture is the creation of extreme fear in a position of uncontrollability. Rarely, psychological torture occurs in the absence of physical torture for example are threats to one's family, mock executions, abuse with filth, and forced nudity.⁴⁴ It was enforced on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* to co-operate from both the RSFs and guerrillas.

The liberation struggle was too cruel for the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. This is evidenced by the records in the note books written after young boys had become *mujibas* saying that when they heard gun fires they asked themselves if they had come to die on the other hand if they went back they might have gotten killed.⁴⁵ They were afraid of the violence but they were in war so they endured the pain brought by it. They lived in constant fear and were jumpy. Survival was hard for them as they were victims of landmines, thrashing and torment when they were caught by the Rhodesian forces.

Mujibas were consumed with being in power since they worked with the freedom fighters, they were feared and respected by their elders. A number of them got carried away that they forgot their morals. A former *mujiba* reminisced that they used to beat old people who did not answer to the word preached by the guerrillas and they were responsible for telling them of alleged sell-outs if they found a father or a mother refused to release their daughters to go with others in the bushes.⁴⁶ Some *mujibas* turned into violent young people and caused a lot of problems and hardships for their elders. They forgot that they were their parents and their children.

In the liberation struggle the comrades used to force recruits to participate in disciplinary procedures against other villagers. This was because the blame for unjustified killing would fall upon them, not the guerrilla who directed them to do so. This left the guerrillas protected from the *ngozi*, an aggrieved spirit returning to avenge its death.⁴⁷ One ex-combatant recalled

that some messengers fabricated stories, therefore if a *chimbwido*, *mujiba* or anybody told them that someone was a sell-out, they gave them a gun to kill them, since they did not have evidence of them selling out, as a consequence if they killed an innocent person, his or her spirit would come back to haunt them.⁴⁸ These young messengers led to lots of deaths of their own people because they told fabricated stories to the comrades they lost their path.

The Sunday Mail published a story of Comrade Georgina who witnessed her father being beaten to death by some comrades. She saw her father's corpse being devoured by wild birds and as if that was not torturous enough, as they fetched water to cook *sadza*, she was forced to pass through the tree where her father's decomposing corpse remained tied to a tree.⁴⁹ This was a touching story of a young girl who went through such disturbing experiences of violence by the people of her same colour.

2.3.3 THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

As for the *chimbwidos* they were raped if they refused to talk. This resulted in them giving birth to coloured children and to the comrades that a sign of a sell out who had the pleasure of sleeping with the enemy.⁵⁰ This was unfortunate for the *chimbwido* because she was a victim of sexual violence and wrongly accused and she became an outcast because of that for that. That meant that no one cared about the ordeal she went through but actually blamed them for that as their fault.

There was too little discipline among the comrades sometimes, their behaviour with the *chimbwidos* became so bad. According to Mr Mbidzo a former *mujiba*, they ordered the parents to bring their best blankets and then they took their daughters, sometimes when it was raining they turned people out of their houses and took the girls inside, this disappointed the parents but no one dared to say anything.⁵¹ If the girls refused they were

punished. The girls had no choice but to please the comrades and save their parents from beatings or being labelled a sell-out if they tried to protect them.

Thus the liberation struggle had its misfortunes on *chimbwidos*. These young women provided support to the guerrillas and in the process some of them entered voluntarily into relationships whereas others were forced into them.⁵² Despite the availability of the ZANLA Code of Conduct for its fighters at the war front which protected females, women were seriously abused during the war.⁵³ *Chimbwidos* suffered this and many conceived babies without fathers and shamed their families.

2.3.4 VERBAL VIOLENCE AGAINST MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS.

In the liberation struggle *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were subjected to insults, mockery, harsh commands and derogatory nicknames by both the guerrillas and the security forces. They were subjected to demeaning by both the Rhodesian security forces and the guerrillas. Not only did they suffer from physical, psychological and sexual violence, they also felt pain from verbal abuse. Mrs Mukwana an ex- *chimbwido* said that at one time she was called *mwana wemuroyi* by the comrades after she brought them food with a little amount of meat.⁵⁴ It was because the comrades did not like eating without meat but it was hard finding it considering the fact that the security forces killed their livestock, it was hurtful whilst she was trying her best to provide for them together with the others. It was inconsiderable as it was not time for luxury but what was important was to eat and feel full and be grateful.

Sometimes words hurt more than being beaten, they make one feel small and irrelevant to others. This is the case of an ex- *mujiba* who was caught by the security forces. He said that he was unfortunate to be captured by the security forces and they beat him and tortured him but he still refused to disclose the location of the guerrillas' base. Mr Muza said with a low tone that they kicked him and rolled him in wet mud whilst they called him a pig.⁵⁵ It was so

hurtful for him as a human to be called a pig which was a filthy animal, he broke in tears. Verbal violence was used to intimidate the enemy, to make them feel insignificant.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is suffice to say that violence was used by the perpetrators to control and intimidate the *mujbas* and *chimbidos* so that they submit to them. Also it was to sabotage each other plans by knowing them through interrogation of these young informers. Physical, psychological, sexual and verbal violence were enforced by the guerrillas and RSFs on the *mujibas* and *chimbidos* to instil fear as brought out by this study.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECTS OF THE VIOLENCE ON *MUJIBAS* AND *CHIMBWIDOS* DURING THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE FOR ZIMBABWE.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the physical effects of the violence on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. The liberation struggle left scars on its victims on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. Bombings, beatings, torture and violence in all had physical effects on them. Many were left disfigured, some even lost their ability to reproduce and others were disabled during the liberation war. *Chimbwidos* suffered from sexual transmitted diseases which affected their health because there was no protection. Also, the liberation struggle changed these little children into violent people, they lost control of their customs and norms. It also focuses on the types of violence which were used by the perpetrators and look at the effects of such violence. There were poisonings, beatings, mutilation as well as killings. All these horrible experiences left scars which were their constant reminders of the war. Therefore, this study looks at the effects of physical violence and brings to light its horrible scars left on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* who played an important role in the liberation struggle.

3.1 EFFECTS OF TORTURE AND BEATINGS.

Chimbwidos and *mujibas* were subjected to physical violence. Captured *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were subjected to electric torture on their sexual organs and some were hung in a tree upside down over a barrel of water.¹ This damaged their private parts and their bodies and they failed to conceive children in their lives. It left scars that can never be erased. Many

of them after the war never received proper medical attention so they lived with their permanent reminders of the horrible experiences they went through.

They were caught in between the raging conflict of the two. The population in south eastern Zimbabwe was subjected to increasing physical and psychological torture of unprecedented levels, greater than any they had known before from the RSF and the ZANLA guerrillas' conflict.² Some were only collateral damage and they lost their body parts. This was mostly because the RSF wanted to extract information from them. In cases where they did not want to cooperate, they resorted to heartless methods of making them talk. Also, the guerrillas used torture to punish these young helpers when they disobeyed them or if they were practising indiscipline.

Chimbwidos and *mujibas* went through harsh experiences when they were caught by the RSF. It is suffice to say that they played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle judging by what they went through. There were beatings with whips, fists, sticks and hose pipes and others were compelled to run for long distances in front of cavalry men.³ One can say that it is a fact that the security forces of the Smith's government wanted to eliminate the guerrillas and the general population who supported the guerrilla fighting the war.

The liberation struggle put the young boy's lives in danger and suffering because of the cause of helping the guerrillas fight for freedom. Confessing how the RSF used physical torture, some scholar noted that, some youths were picked by the security forces and were forced to run all the way for a distance of close to 7 kilometres in early 1977.⁴ It was the time when the war was serious and raging like wild fire. Running for long distances was inhumane and it was a punishment for supporting the comrades. It was torturous for if one dared to stop running, it was the end of his or her life. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* suffered the physical torture of the Rhodesian forces to the fullest.

As a way to physically punish the captured boys and girls, the Rhodesian security forces used dogs to scare them so that they talk. The security forces rounded up all the suspects in posts where torture sessions were handled and unleashed furious dogs upon them.⁵ It was terrible because they were ferocious and harmful. Some lost their calves in the mouth of those dogs and they are still living with the scars. For instance one former *mujiba* had such an experience whereby he was beaten by the security forces dog on his arm, he has a scary scar and he said it is a constant reminder of the harshness of the war.⁶ These informers went through a lot of pain whilst helping the guerrillas win the liberation struggle. Blood was spilt of them when they were unfortunate to end up in the hands of the enemy.

The liberation struggle was a bad experience for the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* as they were caught in the middle soldiers who wanted info about guerrillas activities and the guerrillas who wanted info about the security forces movements as well as food and protection. Irene Staunton notes that there was a very big pit into which people were thrown and tortured so that they confessed.⁷ These harsh punishments were damaging and it resulted in many of them being disabled and having permanent scars for the rest of their lives. It was a liberation struggle. The road to freedom was a bumpy road, they endured it because they were vigilantes and strong willed. *Chimbwidos* and *mujibas* were physically affected thus it is clear that they played an important role in the liberation struggle.

The effects on the body of all the physical types of torture the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* went through was severe and long-lasting. Studies of civilians who suffered in the 1970s war of liberation, showed that many have permanent physical disabilities for example Falanga damaged nerves in the feet permanently, and people who were beaten show seriously reduced ability to perform normal activities.⁸ They go on to say that carrying loads, walking for the bus, chopping firewood and many other activities were difficult for survivors of serious

beatings to perform. Also more disabilities such as loss of eye sight, deafness, loss of limbs or paralysis of limbs resulting from physical torture received in the liberation war.

3.2 EFFECTS OF POISONING AND KILLINGS.

During the war of struggle, the threat of injury or death faced by the young guerrilla's informers. Many were uprooted and forced into the protected villages. They faced challenges that hindered them from carrying on their duties without being dictated by the security forces. For instance according to Flower, outside the PVs people encountered terrible conditions such as the absence of safe drinking water.⁹ They poisoned it so that the people did not have any choice rather they stayed inside the camps where there was no interaction with the guerrillas and this was calculated to weaken the guerrilla warfare because their source of power was compromised. So the young boys and girls who ran away from these camps it was unfortunate for them when drank the poisoned water or brought it for the guerrillas, they got sick and some died. As if that was not enough, they were branded traitors when a guerrilla succumbed to the poison and it resulted in a fatal punishment for them.

As an effort to defuse the freedom fighters the security forces resorted to horrendous methods and tactics to bring down their enemy. According to Flower and Goldberg, they used hazardous chemicals to poison clothing, canned food, drinks, aspirin, and biological agents such as the bacteria vibro-cholerae and anthrax bacteria which were used to infect farmland and water sources.¹⁰ They knew that *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* smuggled this staff to the guerrillas and that is what happened indeed and the results were fatal as they had terrible physical effects. Guerrillas died as well as the young boys and girls who got into contact with the staff. Therefore one can say that the liberation struggle had horrible physical effects on *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* whilst they were trying to save their country.

To add on, the Rhodesian security forces played a big role in making sure that they produced harmful staff to eradicate the guerrillas. However in that process *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were affected physically by the liberation struggle's harshness. According to Gould and Folb, deadly powder was assorted with manufactured foods such as meat and beans before being re-canned or applied into bottles of alcohol with a micro-needle.¹¹ The effects of those substances were harmful to a human body specifically those of the guerrillas and the young informers' since they shared as they worked together. They became ill and many died as they did not have medical facilities, it was in war. Those who survived were left with stomach problems and had permanent damages on their bodies. Thus the liberation war had terrible physical effects on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*.

Freedom fighters were labelled terrorists by the Rhodesian security forces and they wanted to eliminate them together with those who worked with them thus the *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. They hunted them and when caught them they made sure they regretted being war collaborators and informers of the guerrillas. Flower and Brickhill notes that numerous collaborators were taken against their will to the Selous Scouts at Bindura and were allegedly used as human guinea pigs to test the usefulness of the poisons and their bodies were clandestinely buried afterwards.¹² This was a horrible experience for them, their bodies being used as nothing, as if they did not feel any pain. All of this was a punishment of being in favour of the guerrillas that the *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* had to go through, one can that they were strong and died for their country too just as freedom fighters died in the battle field.

Being a *chimbwido* or a *mujiba* was a hard thing on its own and one can say that it was a curse for they were in danger wherever they were. Especially when they were caught by the Rhodesian security forces, they were interrogated harshly and treated like they were animals. Ellert notes that after deployments of security forces, they occasionally resulted in kills of captures of genuine or suspected guerrillas or *mujibhas*.¹³ It was risky being in favour of

liberation struggle, many young boys and girls were tortured and ruthlessly punished for being suspected to be friends of the guerrillas. In a case were refused to cooperate, they were killed.

Still on that note, Ranger says that if suspected that they were *mujibas* they were usually killed by firing squads and their corpses thrown into mine-pits or in dug up pits, very few were brought before the courts of law.¹⁴ There was no justice on how they were treated by the security forces they were treated as animals. The physical violence on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* by the security forces was inhuman, they were merciless, even if they did not die they still never forget their ordeals, they haunted them.

The Rhodesian security forces had an organ of the Selous Scouts which pretended to be guerrillas to infiltrate the villages and spy and also it was a violent group when it came to punishment of those whom they had captured. In instances such as one mentioned by Ellert, details of contact men who were *mujibas* and village chairman whose duty was to provide food and information to the guerrillas was communicated to the army and in the early days some guerrillas were killed as a result of those pseudo operations.¹⁵ It was a consequence that they met for helping the guerrillas. In this case they had not known that these scouts were actually the enemy for they even sang the *chimurenga* songs. They were deceived and it led to their demise as they faced severe punishments. When they failed to cooperate they, death was the only alternative, many died not wanting to be sell-outs. Also punishing them was a technique of inducing them to join them so that they would work for them from the other side.

Mujibas and *chimbwidos* were forced by the security forced to build the PVs. They were young children forced to do grown man's job. According to CCJP, they were responsible for cutting down poles and carrying them for long distances, constructed huts and thatched

them.¹⁶ These practices were harmful to their wellbeing and health. Many developed chest and spinal problems and also it was not safe for them. Failure to do so resulted in tremendous punishments therefore they had no choice. The RSF was ruthless and merciless and these youngsters suffered in the hands of them.

Still on that there were very real physical consequences of torture, some of which were distinctive. For example a man who has had electric shocks to the testicles was possible to become impotent afterwards and brain injury, paralysis, fractures, damaged organs, deafness, blindness and altered functions were all consequences of torture, and all of them were very hard to cure and impossible to rehabilitate years after the event.¹⁷ Therefore they had to live like that since there was nothing else to do, it was the result of war.

3.3 EFFECTS OF GENDER SPECIFIC PROBLEMS FACED BY THE CHIMBWIDOS.

The Rhodesian security forces brutalities towards them were a measure to intimidate them. Being a *chimbwido* or a *mujiba* had its pecks and it was a dangerous path to take. Women and girls became victims of rape by ZANLA guerrillas and the RSF especially the Selous Scouts and the Guard Force who were in charge of the PVs.¹⁸ They took advantage of them since they had nowhere to report, they actually had no rights, they were vulnerable to such attacks as it was a war. The fighting forces both demanded sexual favours from young women especially *chimbwidos* and these young girls hardly passed puberty without being deflowered because the RSF and freedom fighters forced them into womanhood before they were prepared to.¹⁹ It was a negative effect on them that they had to endure during the liberation struggle.

Girls were raped by many different war fighters, they were prone to many sexually transmitted diseases since they did not use protection and the diseases rotated around the same people. They suffered and did not get proper medical attention. According to CCJP,

some of the consequences of war-time rape were pregnancy, diseases, injury to reproductive organs.²⁰ They faced these problems on their own, they did not have anyone to take care of them as everyone was busy trying to get the independence of the country. One can say that the liberation struggle was a curse for *chimbwidos* because it robbed them of their health and dignity.

Due to sexual interactions between *chimbwidos* and guerrillas, it resulted in off springs that did not have fathers and never knew them. Flora Sibanda said that children were born in the district as a result of the war but never heard anyone of whom a comrade came to marry after the war. She goes on to say that it was like a bad seed sown and had the fruits of that bad seed.²¹ It was unfortunate that the children born had to grow up without their fathers much worse growing without knowing where they came from and their roots. These children were a constant reminder of how they got to that point. One can say that it was hard to be a *chimbwidos*.

Chimbwidos went through sexual violence, some got hurt on their private parts since it was mostly by force. Also many young girls caught sexually transmitted infections because no one used protection, they were irresponsible and careless about their health. O’Gorman referred to the sexual abuse of rural African women by District Assistants who were taken by the Rhodesian authorities to monitor residents of PVs during the war.²² They were taken advantage of because they had nowhere to report as they were raped by the enemy. Also it was a punishment especially for those *chimbwidos* who were caught trying to sneak out of the camp to go and help the guerrillas. Thus it was a physical effect that they suffered.

Nhongo Simbanegavi argues that sexual abuse of women especially *chimbwidos* who were close to the guerrillas was rampant and within the liberation struggle contraceptives were

banned and women alone were blamed for pregnancies and venereal diseases.²³ This was unfair for they were the victims of sexual abuses but they suffered the pain brought with it and also the shaming. The diseases such as the STIs were very damaging because cause permanent problems such as of failing to conceive forever and disfiguring of their private parts. It was a disadvantage for them because after independence they failed to get married, they were considered deadly because of the sicknesses they went through.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, despite independence and freedom, the liberation struggle had negative effects on the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. They lost their health and abilities to reproduce as well as walking, seeing and talking due to the violence they were exposed to. It took a toll on them that they lost their norms and dignity. It resulted in young girls having venereal diseases they were not born with as well as babies they did not ask for. Thus one can say that the liberation war had more negative effects on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*.

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CHAPTER FOUR; THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON *CHIMBWIDOS* AND *MUJIBAS*.

INTRODUCTION

The liberation struggle had psychological effects on *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. Being exposed to violence and brutalities of the war left them broken and some of them were haunted by the images of their horrible experiences. Tortured and beaten unsparingly, witnessing brutal murder in the struggle left them suffering from anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, hallucinations and sleep disorders. This also had a negative effect on their families and people surrounding them in the communities they lived in. Grief, phobias, panics and shame were some of the effects of war on them. Some *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* lost touch of reality and they lived in their own worlds where they saw their own things. They were emotionally and mentally affected therefore their wellbeing was disturbed.

4.1 MENTAL EFFECTS ON *MUJIBAS* AND *CHIMBWIDOS* CAUSED BY THE WAR.

Mujibas and *chimbwidos* saw dead bodies and wounded people and they sustained injuries and survived by luck. These pictures remained in their minds and gave them no peace of mind. Some who were not strong ended up going crazy losing their sanity. Like every victims of war around the world, *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* faced complications psychologically. Fannon brings to fore the sicknesses such as mental illnesses depression and stress which they suffered from.¹ These problems of mental disorders arose from the violence of the war. *Chimbwidos* and *mujibas* were survivors of mass murder and witnesses of mass massacres and bombings therefore it was inevitable for them to have breakdowns after such horrific experiences.

The horrors that kept coming back in their minds they witnessed during the war led to suicidal behaviours. The pressure got too much for them to handle and they tried to find redemption from such tormenting pictures going through their heads and they developed suicidal thoughts. *Ex-mujiba* Mr Mupangeri said that he lost his friend during the struggle who threw himself in a well after witnessing the death of his father who was called out as a sell-out.² It was a horrible experience that no one has to go through. He reminisced that before his friend died he had sleepless nights, he had nightmares that he woke up from screaming and calling for his father.³ One can say that he needed help to forget that terrifying ordeal but he did not get it, instead he continued to go through the hardships of the war. Thus the war had psychological effects on these young messengers.

Some *mujibas* lost their sanity and it was believed to be avenging spirit of the dead killed during the war in most cases. *Mujibas* were given so much influence during the liberation struggle to look over all the general populace as they worked for the guerrillas, they found themselves so powerful that they became quite excited about the war and thought that killing sell-outs during the war had no consequences. They forgot the value of people's lives. According to the Herald, the traditional belief in Zimbabwe once a person is wrongfully killed, the dead will not rest until the killer or their family have made a payment of appeasement to the deceased family and that haunting spirit is called *ngozi*.⁴ Many of them became madman and crazy which was punishment for their bad deeds in the war.

The *mujibas* who had their hands in the killing of innocent people accused of being sell outs, suffering from the effects of *ngozi* had to do cleansing after the war. According to Viriri, *mujibas* needed to go back home and have rituals performed, if that was not done, they could die alone and not be buried that they would become spooks.⁵ This supernatural psychological problem needed attention either the ritual cleansing or in a religious way of prayers but many of them did not get it they wandered away in the mountains alone and perished.

The liberation struggle was a nightmare to its collaborators. As a war it had negative effects on the sanity of its participants. Fannon said that the *Chimurenga* war was a favourable breeding-ground for mental disorders.⁶ Most of its collaborators for instance the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* suffered from prolonged insomnia, accompanied by anxiety. The national liberation struggle was stressful, tortuous and mind confusing. Since war is about killing or be killed, *mujibas* were forced to kill those they called sell-outs, they could not refuse or they themselves were going to be killed therefore they just killed those they accused of being traitors, there was no mercy. However these actions brought with them guilty, self-hatred and suicidal behaviour then they were overwhelmed by the torments.

Committing atrocities in the war caused regrets and psychotic problems on the perpetrators of the sin such as *mujibas* who were ordered by the guerrillas to get rid of traitors. According to Viriri, a boy he felt overwhelmed with anger about killing, he suffered from desolation, desperation, loneliness and endless pain, he felt angry about the war.¹³ It was caused by intense feelings of guilt, fear of being haunted for the rest of his life as well as pain. He regretted doing so and suffered from depression. Also feeling angry raised the blood pressure of these *mujibas* and they suffered even more as it caused damages to their bodies such as high blood pressure rises stomach acids and leads to all physical problems.

To escape from torments of their sins, some resorted to substances like marijuana, that kept their minds off the stress and enabled them to escape from the brutal war and its ruthless experiences. Kanengoni noted that *mbanje* provided them with a chance to escape from brutal war and dream.⁷ It was a way to free themselves from demons in their minds however it did not give them solace for their problems which were far too deep rooted in their conscience. It was only temporary, as soon as it wore off, their problems rushed back in their conscience. This kind of problem was associated with insomnia accompanied by anxiety and suicidal obsessions. Therefore, Viriri's assertion that the national liberation was torturous, mind

blogging and stressful,⁸ is indeed true. PTSD which is a disorder characterised by failure to recover after experiencing or witnessing a terrifying event, tormented them in the liberation struggle.

4.2 EMMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF WAR ON MUJIBAS AND CHIMBWIDOS

Former *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* lost interest in anything to do with national struggle and they avoided listening to news with bearing on the war of struggle on the media. This is because they had bitter memories about the war, hearing about it made them remember everything as if it happened yesterday, it opened the almost dried wounds. According to Schoenewolf, it was depression which he described as which caused them to brood over things they did in the past.⁹ It was painful for them to hear anything about the war because they knew that a war was not a game but serious. It was mostly because they lost their loved ones therefore hearing people celebrating the struggle only makes them angry therefore it was actually better for them to isolate themselves from anything to do with the struggle. It saddened them when they heard born-frees talk about the war as if it was just a mere fight whereas they do not realise that many people died and blood was spilt.

Chimbwidos were victims of sexual abuse in the war and that caused bitterness and hate towards anyone who took advantage of them. They were forced to sleep with the freedom fighters and the security forces, not one but many of them. It affected them profoundly because they had nowhere to report or take refuge because they were regarded as sell-outs if they did. If a guerrilla wanted to sleep with them they had no choice but to do so.¹⁰ It was a hurtful situation as it became their worst nightmare since this happened many times during the struggle whilst they were carrying out their duties as carriers and cooks for them. It became a constant problem for them, many failed to have stable relationships after the war

because they felt as if they were being forced or taken advantage of every time a man advanced on them. It was all caused by the ordeals they went through in the war.

Chimbwidos became victims of shaming and embarrassment because they had children without fathers. A former *chimbwido* expressed that they were forced to sleep with the comrades without protection and they delivered many children without fathers for sometimes they did not know who the father was since they slept with many different comrades.¹¹ The constant reminder of the results of forced sex troubled them as they became a shame in their villages. They were branded loose girls who slept with comrades instead of sticking to their duties by the society who judged them. It caused stress and humiliation for them.

Still on that, according to Mr Mbidzo, *chimbwidos* who were raped by security forces some of them gave birth to coloured children but it was a curse in some instances as they were thought to be double agents by the guerillas.¹² He said that the comrades could no longer trust that *chimbwido* because she was carrying a product of the enemy and sometimes labelled a traitor for having pleasure with a white man.¹³ All this shunning by the society had negative effects on these young girls as they fall in deep depressions and isolation they felt like outcasts .

To escape the evils of the war such as being taken advantage of *chimbwidos* they resorted to early marriages. According to Nhongo-Simbanegavi elsewhere many girls tried to escape from the abuses by members of the fighting parties by taking asylum into marriages of convenience.¹⁵ They had to find an escape goat even though it caused stress and depression for them since they were young and could not handle the harshness of marriages. This was worsened by the desertion by the husbands who went to join the war and never came back, it put pressure on them as they had to fend for themselves and their babies at a young age. It was not what they wanted and it was unfortunate for them.

As for the *mujibas*, they suffered from humiliation hurt as their female family members like sisters and mothers were raped by the Rhodesian security forces or beaten. This usually happened after they were suspected that their children were helping the guerrillas and when they refused to talk about their whereabouts they punished them through rape as another way of punishment,¹⁵ so that the *mujibas* were hurt. They were angered and cursed the liberation war for causing all that pain. The bestiality behaviour left them broken and it made them regret ever helping the guerrillas, maybe that would never have happened.

Being exposed to violence, *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* lived in fear, panic and anxiety. It is because they were constantly in between attacks from the security forces with the guerrillas that they had to stay alert but it ended up being prisoners of paranoia. A nervous behaviour that was filled with fear tormented them each day. However they had to keep it together because it was not going to change since it was during struggle. These youngsters witnessed killings and had to bury dead bodies of those who died during punishments by the guerrillas. The images of the dead and wounded bodies, haunted them each day and they ended up suffering from illusions. According to Fanon, those who were exposed to horrible experiences went through a violent phase of agitation, screaming, attacking others and hallucinations.¹⁶ Also this was a curse of some who were survivors of mass murders or ambushed, they lived in fear.

Mujibas as the ones who mostly worked closely with the comrades all the time, they were always there when the comrades punished the alleged sell-outs. Sometimes they knew the victims as close friends and relative but they could not help them from that dilemma. One former *mujiba* expressed hurt when he recalled an incident whereby his uncle was called out as a sell-out, he was beaten and he screamed until he could no longer cry.¹⁷ He said that he could hear his screams time after it happened and they prevented him from sleeping and when he slept he had nightmares about that incident.¹⁸ It was emotional torture he felt guilty

and blamed himself for not helping his uncle but there was nothing he could do for he was going to be suspected of working together with him.

Thinking about rape every day was torturous since they did not receive some counselling as everyone was busy with the war trying to survive. Their situation was difficult because rape came with sexual transmitted diseases as well as pregnancy. In the liberation struggle the *chimbwidos* had no access to medical attention for it was given to the guerrillas to keep fit as they were fighting for the country. It caused physical damages to the extent that some failed to conceive at all. They were supposed to have therapy so that they did not have to live in regret and bitterness of what happened to them. One *chimbwido* confessed that at one time she wanted to die she had no reason to live.¹⁷ That was a result of PTSD therefore they needed counselling as stress controlled their decisions which were harmful.

The use of young children by the guerrillas exposed them to violence which affected them emotionally and psychologically. These *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* were young to carry the burden of war because it made them violent in their minds and hearts which affected their wellbeing and behaviour for the rest of their lives. According to Convention on the Rights of the Children ,war violates every right of a child such as the right to development of the personality, the right to be with their family, the right to be nurtured and protected.¹⁸ Therefore, they were deprived of these needs and they grew up as troubled individuals.

Chimbwidos as victims of verbal abuse from the opposition sex since women were considered the weaker sex suffered inside. Words do not leave visible scars or wounds but they are violent and they increased fear and intimidation.¹⁹ They were emotionally bleeding after insults from the security forces and the guerrillas. One can say that they felt unworthy in the war and it caused depression and anxiety.

Mujibas and *chimbwidos* were beaten and also witnessed horrible staff. Many of them lost their body parts, burnt and lost sight and the ability to hear. According to Schoenewolf it caused a condition whereby they were always angry about what had happened to them and how they were going to revenge.²⁰ He also said that in that condition revenge is the main theme of their cognitive life, every time someone enrages them they spent time planning on how they are going to revenge the offender.²¹ Therefore it was unhealthy, emotions were always heightened. Mrs Mavhunga noted that she noticed that on her son who lost his leg from a landmine incident, he was always quiet but angry.²² Thus keeping things inside made them bitter and unfriendly to their society.

As the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were victims of violence in the liberation war, they went through torturous incidents where their bodies were damaged. As similarly to what Kanengoni highlighted whereby a boy was beaten throughout the night and a woman tied a string around his testicles and he screamed till his eardrums were damaged.²³ It was a distressing memory that caused pain every time it came back in mind and caused depression. In such cases, the vital private parts were damaged and they failed to reproduce again which caused more problems such as stress, worry, depression and anxiety.

4.3 PHYSICAL PROBLEMS CAUSED BY PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS ON *MUJIBAS* AND *CHIMBWIDOS*.

Mujibas and *chimbwidos* had physical symptoms of grieving and they were very real effects that grief caused on their bodies. According to the University of Massachusetts, some of the symptoms of grieving include digestive problems, chest pains, sore muscles headaches and fatigue.²⁴ They grieved for their fellow friends whose lives were cut short by the war. In most cases they witnessed the deaths as a result they failed to forget that and it caused not only psychological problems but physical too.

Another psychological problem grew after parents of these young collaborators and as well as other young children died. It meant that there was no longer anyone to provide them with comfort and protection. According to Mazambani, a boy called Gatawa said that he started having nightmares and he visualised dead people in his sleep as children who witnessed death developed sleeping problems.²⁵ It was a serious problem since there was no counselling provided for them. It got worse as their parents were dead, they had no one to hold them in the night when the nightmares attacked. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* suffered more as they were young children who witnessed deaths, bombings and mutilated bodies at first hand. Such experiences caused the development of negative psychotic problems.

The Rhodesian Security Forces employed various strategies to terrorize *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* such as instilling fear through horrible images. The security forces knew that amongst the young children living in the PVs there were guerrilla informers therefore their counterinsurgency was the distribution of pictures of disfigured dead bodies which were accompanied by threats and warning.²⁶ These were intended to scare those who supported the guerrillas. Pictures of decapitated dead bodies traumatized them as well as caused fear and that also exposed them to violence. It developed their mind set negatively because they grew up thinking that was the right way of killing and enemy. Chironga noted that the pictures scared them and they had nightmares and hallucination, they tormented hem in their sleep.²⁷ The below picture demonstrates the kind of horrific experiences the went through.²⁸ The gruesome and ghastly images they saw continued to haunt them in their minds causing fear.



Source: www.Rodhesia.nl/innocents.html, Massacre of the Innocents.

Victims of violence were subjected to nakedness torture and humiliation. According to Mazambani's thesis two *chimbwidos* in a keep in Darwin were caught smuggling food to the guerrilla and were beaten naked, sticks were driven into their private parts to the extent that one of them died and the other one disappeared never to be seen again.²⁹ Such a gory incident left emotional scars on their fellow friends and all who witnessed the horrific episode. The other one who disappeared forever probably left because she failed to handle the shame she went through or she committed suicide and took her own life since such experiences are associated with suicidal behaviour. That incident also caused hatred and bitterness towards the perpetrators and planted ideas of vengeance if they by any chance found an opportunity to pour out their anger.

The use of landmines by both guerrillas and security forces had devastating consequences on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. They were mostly the victims of these life threatening weapons since they were planted outside keeps to prevent runaways and the penetration of guerrillas into the keeps to attack the security forces as well as those planted in the roads by guerrillas for the attack on the soldiers. According to Mazambani, many children died in Mutoko because of landmines the fields while many others were injured and some sustained permanent scars.³⁰ These were constant reminders of pain even after they recovered physically. It caused hatred and bitterness towards the war, any news about the liberation struggle stirred up anger inside them.

Still on that the landmines had a negative effect on agricultural activities which led to starvation and malnutrition. They disrupted crops and killed domestic animals and left them in hunger. The *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* had to take care of the guerrillas and also their families of which if they did not deliver food to the comrades it landed them in trouble and were accused of siding with the enemy since it did not want them to help the guerrillas. Mazambani in his thesis he notes that they affected agricultural activities and it had a toll as many died of starvation related diseases.³¹ This caused stress on them as they were caught in the middle whilst they themselves were young and needed to be taken care of.

During the liberation struggle *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were forced out of school and this means they were denied proper education. The Rhodesian government argued that education was available in the PVs,³² but it is important to note that there were no schools in the keeps. It is also logical to note that under the circumstances they lived in whereby they were curfews and violence all the time, one could not afford to concentrate on education, still the education was biased. Therefore these children learnt from violence only on how to be afraid and they also developed a sense of violence themselves because it seemed to be the only important thing if they wanted to survive since they were exposed to it.

Victims of sexual violence especially *chimbwidos* suffered in silence , they bore the burden of anguish and pain themselves. This was a way of escaping humiliation from the society and their families. According to African customs a girls should get married whilst they are still virgins. However they were raped, deflowered and stripped off their dignity. According to Machel rape was their humiliation and anguish that many withdrew into their shells of denial and pain.³³ The victims sustained scars since rape was forced and ruthless and they became their constant reminders of the unfortunate episodes they went through. *Chimbwidos* who were raped became to hate man and lost faith as they were traumatized. Suicidal thoughts creped in as it was confirmed by Somier that rape victims were at risk for suicide.³⁴ Therefore they were not only affected physically but also psychologically by sexual violence as they were traumatized by the experiences.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is suffice to say that the liberation struggle had negative psychological effects on *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* mentally and emotionally. They suffered from various problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, madness and anger as mentioned in the above study. There were due to the violence and horrible experiences they went through. It left invisible scars on them that were only seen through their change in behaviour. They suffered silently and suicidal incidents were a result of their agony from inside. Sexual violence left permanent scars on them and caused post-traumatic stress disorders that they never recovered from since there was no counselling for them.

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CONCLUSION

The study found that *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were victims of violence during the liberation struggle. The RSFs perpetrated various forms of violence on these young informers as counterinsurgency to prevent them from helping guerrillas and also as punishment for siding with them. The security forces hated the guerrillas because they resented to be challenged by their inferiors. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were strong and were vigilantes because they withstood the harshness of the war in the name of freedom and independence. They never stopped assisting the comrades even though their lives were put at risk.

As the core purpose of this study was to bring to fore the horrific experiences these young informers encountered in the struggle, it has partially fulfilled that purpose as their stories have been put out on light for everyone to see. They were living in silence and this study helped to break that silence. It also highlighted the need for the re-integration of them in the societies so that people will understand them better and learn to live with them, not judging the effects of violence they now live with. The perpetrators of violence and its effects were brought out. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* did not fight with guns but their tactics and bravery were vital in the liberation war to be successful. Their presents was greatly needed and without them the guerrilla warfare which they adopted from Mao's ideology would have been a failure because 'fish needs water to survive' like in this case. They operated between the RSFs and guerrillas which was a hot, scary and risky position that was filled with so much pressure.

The study broke the silence about the horrific experiences *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* went through. They were side lined by historians in their work, they barely touched on the deeper issues of their experiences. However this study talked about that loophole, discussed their misery and loses, from first-hand information. They were crippled and disfigured from severe beating and torture by the security forces and this therefore raised the issue that they needed

re-habilitation facilities for them to recover. They lost their loved ones who were convicted sell outs and traitors. Their names *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* caused pain and suffering to these young boys and girls and were in danger of being captured by the security forces just because of that name. They needed professional attention to help in healing such deeper wounds they had. The study also made sure to note that even their own people, the guerrillas caused their grief too if they failed to deliver what they wanted or if they suspected them as sell outs.

The study also brought to light that *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* were forced to carry out horrible things such as committing atrocities to the people and they had no choice. That landed them in trouble as the spirits of the deceased haunted them. They found no peace and it affected their sanity. Many of them committed suicide. This was as a result of their dedication to fight for independence but it affected their wellbeing and they were supposed to get medical attention. They were also victims of sexual, physical, verbal and psychological violence but the majority of the born frees do not know this because their stories have not been fully told. They afraid to talk about their horrifying episodes they went through because some of them involve the now leaders of this country.

Different schools of thoughts have tried their best to talk about the liberation struggle from their own perspectives including *mujibas* and *chimbwidos*. It demonstrates that all participants and victims have a story to tell. Therefore as brought out by this study, they need to be recognised and respected for their work because they worked under terrible conditions. Many of them failed to enjoy the fruits of the independence they thrived for and others are still living in pain because they did not get re-habilitated and got re-integrated into the society properly. When injustice was committed to them they had no one to fight for their justice. No one consoled them in the war, they carried their pain in their hearts. *Mujibas* and *chimbwidos* story is not just one, they are thousands of stories to be told which are different. It is

important to tell their stories and help heal their wounds they carried in silence like this study did.

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