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Now you want to develop the people by imitating the ancient rulers,
but the people of old were simple through honesty,
while the people of to-day are clever through artificiality.

The Book of Lord Shang (3^d century BC;
Duyvendak [ed.] 1928: 229)

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CONCISE CHRONOLOGY

From the founding of the Barue kingdom onwards

| | |
|--|---|
| 2 ^d half 15 th century | Probable founding of Barue kingdom within Mutapa Empire |
| 1608 | Barue kingdom independent from Mutapa Empire |
| ± 1659 | Temporary occupation of Barue under António Lobo da Silva |
| ± 1767-1770 | Makombe Gunguro active |
| 1826-1830 | <i>Sine regno</i> in the Makombe dynasty |
| 1830s-1840s | Nguni invade Barue |
| ≤ 1853 | Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro becomes Makombe |
| 1863 | Manuel António de Sousa appointed captain-major |
| ± 1868-1869 | Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro contains but fails to defeat De Sousa |
| ± 1874 | Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro and M.A. de Sousa conclude a treaty; De Sousa marries Chipapata's daughter |
| 1880-1881 | Chipapata/Kabudu Kagoro dies; M.A. de Sousa becomes leader of Barue |
| 1888 | Paiva de Andrada establishes the Mozambique Company |
| 1891-1892 | Hanga defeats M.A. de Sousa; Mozambique Company fails to subdue Barue |
| 1902 | Coutinho defeats Makombe Hanga; Barue loses independence |
| 1914 | <i>Indígenas</i> formally denied rights equal to those of Europeans |
| 1917-1918 | Barue revolt; definitive end of Makombe dynasty |
| 1926 | <i>Indigenato</i> system (including labour regime) formalized |
| 1949 | NESAM founded |
| 1954 | Tanganyika Mozambique Makonde Union founded |
| 1957 | Mozambique African Voluntary Cotton Society founded |
| late 1950s | MANU founded |
| 1960 | Mueda massacre; UDENAMO founded; UNAMI founded |
| 1961 | <i>Indigenato</i> system legally abolished; UNEMO founded |
| 1962 | Frelimo founded; Eduardo Mondlane becomes Frelimo's president |
| 1964 | Frelimo starts armed struggle |
| 1965 | COREMO founded |
| 1966 | Samora Machel becomes Frelimo's army commander |
| 1969, 3 February | Mondlane killed |
| 1970 | Machel becomes Frelimo's president |
| 1972 | Frelimo militarily active in Barue; Wiryamu massacre |
| 1974, 25 April | Coup in Portugal ends fascist rule |
| 1974, 7 September | Lusaka Agreement decides Frelimo will head one-party state |
| 1975 | Nachingwea proceedings |
| 1975, 25 June | Mozambique independent; Machel president |
| 1976, 9 August | Nhazónia massacre, Barue |
| 1976-1977 | Start of war of Renamo against Frelimo government |
| 1981 | Renamo militarily active in Barue |
| 1984 | Nkomati Accord between Mozambique's Frelimo government and South Africa's National Party government; First attempts to a political settlement of the Frelimo-Renamo war |
| 1986 | Machel dies in a plane crash; Chissano president |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1992, 4 October | General Peace Agreement signed between Frelimo government and Renamo |
| 1994 | First multiparty elections won by Frelimo |
| 2009 | MDM founded |

ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS, AND SYMBOLS

Common short forms like « NATO » and « USA » are considered understood.

Acronyms; short forms of organizations' names

| | |
|----------|--|
| AMETRAMO | Associação dos Médicos Tradicionais de Moçambique |
| CEA | Centro de Estudos Africanos (UEM) |
| CNE | Comissão Nacional de Eleições |
| COREMO | Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique |
| DGS | Direcção-Geral de Segurança (formerly PIDE) |
| EMS | Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Stichting (Amsterdam) |
| Frelimo | Frente de Libertação de Moçambique |
| GPA | General Peace Agreement (between Frelimo and Renamo in 1992) |
| IESE | Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos |
| MDM | Movimento Democrático de Moçambique |
| MFA | Movimento das Forças Armadas |
| MZN | New Mozambican metical (MZN 100 = ± USD 3.50 = ± ZAR 30) |
| OMM | Organização da Mulher Moçambicana |
| ONUMOZ | United Nations Operation in Mozambique |
| PIDE | Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (later DGS) |
| Renamo | Resistência Nacional Moçambicana |
| SCCI | Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações |
| SNASP | Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular |
| STAE | Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral |
| UEM | Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Maputo) |

Abbreviations

| | |
|---|--|
| B | brother |
| F | father |
| S | son |
| Z | sister; concatenation implies genitive (e.g. FBS means father's brother's son) |

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| FN ^s | field notes |
| Q | question |
| R | response |

| | |
|-----|--|
| [A] | archival material |
| [H] | historical material, not necessarily in archives |
| [L] | legislation |
| [N] | material from newspapers |
| [R] | recorded (part of) interview; see list in "Interviews" |
| [U] | unrecorded (part of) interview |

| | |
|-----|--|
| Bw | Barwe language |
| En | English language |
| Pt | Portuguese language |
| Sh | Shona language |
| -Sh | indicates that the preceding word or phrase is in the Shona language |
| Sh: | indicates that the following word or phrase is in the Shona language |

| | |
|-------------|------------------------|
| art. | article(s) |
| bk. | book |
| c. | circa |
| ch. | chapter(s) |
| d. | died |
| haha! | laughter in interview |
| opp. | opposite |
| pers. comm. | personal communication |
| resp. | respectively |
| sg. | singular |

Symbols

| | |
|-----|---------------|
| Δ | male person |
| O | female person |
| | descent line |
| ┌┐ | marriage |
| ┌/┐ | divorce |
| ┌┐ | siblinghood |

- “ ” indicate quotes, concepts under scrutiny (often contested, e.g. “democracy”), or irony
- « » indicate lexical items (words, phrases, letters or digits, not concepts)
- < > indicate Internet web sites
- = indicates (1) the identity of a person with different names, e.g. Hanga = Nyaupare;
(2) the usual mathematical identity
- ~ indicates variants of different ways of pronouncing and/or writing the same name or other word (e.g. Hanga ~ Kanga), with quotation marks and chevrons omitted; the difference between English/Shona and Portuguese spelling conventions (e.g. Samanyanga ~ Samanhanga) will usually not be indicated; where relevant names will mostly be written in the English/Shona way when dealing with precolonial times and in the Portuguese way for colonial and postcolonial times

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mozambique itself was the main inspiration for this thesis. In 1994 I started to work with the Dr. Eduardo Mondlane Foundation (EMS) in Amsterdam as a conscientious objector. One of my tasks was to co-organize a seminar on the results of the first multiparty elections in Mozambique in the same year (EMS 1995). Bringing together people from governmental and non-governmental development cooperation and political backgrounds, the seminar inspired me to do a research project on Mozambique. The seminar focussed much on national multiparty politics and the rôle of international donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within the new political situation in Mozambique. The discussions reflected the general atmosphere in the Netherlands (apparently in contrast with the United States) that local forms of politics were not figuring much in policy-making with respect to Mozambique. “Democracy” was mostly associated with multiparty systems but I reasoned that at least sometimes somewhere other political forms than party politics must have existed that also could be associated with “democracy”. Thus came about the idea to carry out a research project including a field study on the topic of “democracy in Africa”. In 2008 I made a first short trip to Mozambique to enable me to make a decision on where to conduct the later field work. In 2009, 2010 and 2012 fieldwork was conducted in the District of Barue (~ Bárúè, Barué), Manica Province, for a total of about 11 months. This was facilitated by research permission of the ARPAC (Instituto de Investigação Sócio-Cultural) in Chimoio, Manica Province.

As the famous African saying has it, a person is a person through other persons. This is especially visible in a PhD project, and my gratefulness goes to all those who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the manuscript across the decades. I am profoundly grateful to Professor Jan Abbink of the African Studies Centre in Leiden for his supervision. When I approached Professor Abbink about the project he was immediately interested and I was also honoured to be able to work at once with him to co-produce two books eventually published in 2008. It was Professor Abbink who provided me with the academic guidance concerning the specific Africanist and political-anthropological topics that form part of the project. Great thankfulness I also have for Dr. Maria Paula Meneses of the University of Coimbra, who was approached in 2011 to become co-supervisor of the project. With her experience she brought in specialist knowledge about Mozambique and provided guidance concerning historical argumentation. Together the two supervisors evaluated the different preliminary versions of the present text, rescuing me from many serious errors and omissions.

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I now mention with great gratitude my interlocutors in Barue District who were very willing to share their time, thoughts and also meals with me, even if sometimes the discussed topics were sensitive. Also many thanks to my informants in the Netherlands, Tamme Hansma en PLJZ; and in Macau, José J. Dias and Ana C.F. Dias (kind mediation by Raquel Dias). I thank Dr. Alberto Folowara and other personnel of the ARPAC (Instituto de Investigação Sócio-Cultural) of the Chimoio branch for the permission to carry out the fieldwork in Barue and for help to browse ARPAC's own material. Contacts in Barue were established by chains of informal connections, at the beginning of which stood Lorena Núñez Carrasco. Her and Jeremy Daphne's place in Johannesburg was also always a warm home on the way to and from Mozambique. I thank Dirce Costa, Carlos Shenga, José Coimbra, Rui Carlos, and Dr. Arlindo Simbine, who referred me to Dr. Folowara. Dirce Costa also referred me to Dr. João C.G. Pereira of the Mecanismo de Apoio à Sociedade Civil (MASC). Dr. Pereira in turn referred me to John Chekwa, coordinator of the Catandica Community Radio in Barue District. Being an insightful internationally active radio and multimedia specialist, John Chekwa has a wide-ranging network, which helped me enormously. Rui António introduced me to Júlio da Conceição Carlos Rui and also helped me to get started, while Rui António's wife Joyce gave me a crash course Shona. Moreover, I was so often invited for diner and watching world cup football matches that their home practically became a second home for me. Other people who greatly helped me to start up have been Alex Bolding, James Bannerman and Stefaan Dondeyne.

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