

VU Research Portal

Politics, history and conceptions of democracy in Barue District, Mozambique

van Dokkum, A.

2015

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

van Dokkum, A. (2015). *Politics, history and conceptions of democracy in Barue District, Mozambique*. VU University Amsterdam.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl

CHAPTER 11 – BARUE AFTER THE 1917-1918 REVOLT: POLITICAL ACTORS IN COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL TIMES

After the Barue revolt the Portuguese power holders tried to persuade Baruese exiled in Rhodesia to return, with the condition that their leaders would not claim any authority. Few responded to the call (Azambuja Martins 1937: 25). During the years thereafter, the Barue area was very sparsely populated, also to contemporary standards; Junod (1936: 310) reports 1.9 inhabitant/km² for 1932. Historical data about chiefdoms (and some lower-level hereditary polities) will be given in the next chapter. Suffice it to say that the Portuguese went practically unchallenged in Barue in the more than half a century since the Revolt. This chapter, after presenting some data on a series of administrative redefinitions that obliterated Barue's geographical cohesion of the Makombe era, will deal with Frelimo's struggle against the Portuguese and then with the Frelimo-Renamo war. See Map 7 for a general overview of Barue District at the time of the author's fieldwork.

Administrative developments

Present-day Barue District's capital Catandica was renamed "Vila Gouveia", after M.A. de Sousa's nickname, in January 1915. Barue became an area under the "Office of the Government of Barue" (*Intendência de governo de Bárue*) in 1928, to become a "civil borough" (*circunscrição civil*) again in 1931 (Rafael 2001: 19). From information in Rafael (ibid.) and Portugal (1942) it appears that the area of Barue at that time extended more northward than when it was a kingdom. The area now included Changara which was not in the area of operation of the Mozambique Company (compare map in Serra [ed.]: 2000: 210; cf. map 6 in this thesis). In 1942, the concession to the Mozambique Company expired, enabling the Portuguese government to redefine administration in central Mozambique. The Province of Manica and Sofala was created, consisting of two districts: Beira and Tete. Barue became part of the Beira District, while Changara became integrated into the *concelho* of Tete (Portugal 1942: art. 3-3). In 1958 Mandié and Mungari were split off from Barue. Barue became a *concelho* in April 1964 (Fernandes 2006: 103; Rafael ibid.). After independence, in 1986, Macossa was split off to become a district of its own. Barue District now has a surface of 5,821 km² (Rafael ibid.), only a fraction of the original kingdom.

The anticolonial war in and near Barue

Barue was subject to Frelimo operations during the anticolonial war, with much fighting especially near Cagole and the destruction of two Frelimo bases in the Chôa area.¹⁶² I shall now present fieldwork data of some ex-combatants of the anticolonial war I spoke with in Barue. Ways of recruitment varied; where information on recruitment is available it does not indicate a specific “revolutionary” character of the anticolonial resistance in the sense of Machel *cum suis*.

Barega B (war name: « Blue Band ») joined Frelimo in 1972 by his own volition. He trained in Tanzania for six months, after which he operated in the Guru area (north of Barue), where he was born. He stated he was a commander of a detachment of 485 soldiers, directly responsible to Samora Machel. He reported a former combatant’s pension of MZN 6,820 per month. Fabião JN became a Frelimo-soldier when the war “arrived” in the Chôa area in 1973. He reported recruitment by Frelimo was rather casual: “Ah, they just walked around, Frelimo. [...] They said [that they would bring us] to a base [...] [but we] only went to the bush [i.e. an encampment]”.¹⁶³

Draiva ST was captured when driving a car on the road in Gorongosa in 1972. A group of Frelimo soldiers carrying weapons stopped him without overt threats (though carrying fire arms) and took him to Massingire Base (near the Txatora River), where he stayed for three months. According to Draiva ST, at Massingire Base the population sustained Frelimo with food. The leader of Massingire Base was Jehova.¹⁶⁴ Later Draiva ST went to Nachingwea, Tanzania to train with large weapons for four months. I asked Draiva ST about Filipe Magaia’s death; he stated that it was not allowed to talk about how this had happened. About education in Nachingwea Draiva ST stated that it was directed towards military training. Draiva ST did report political education but the lessons were short (about an hour) because of fear for helicopter/airplane (*ndege*) attacks,¹⁶⁵ and Draiva ST stated he only attended two lessons. As for the content, Draiva ST reported:

He [political teacher] informed us that [...] the Akhatibvundza kuti [...] maPutukezi

¹⁶² Frelimo (1972; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1974a); MMN; VBN; FJN; FM; HSG.

¹⁶³ FJN: destroyed: *yakanerwa*; walked around: *Ah, izvo izvo vaifamba, Frelimo. [...] vaitaura [...] [ku?]enda kubase. Manji [...] [inaudible] kuenda musango basi.*

¹⁶⁴ Possibly the same person as “Commander Johane Jehovah, [...] provincial security and defence commander” (Sithole [H] 1981: 3).

¹⁶⁵ Here I intended in the interview to talk about DST’s experience in Nachingwea but in the answer that incorporates the *ndege* attacks DST may refer to Massingire Base.

Portuguese were doing us injustice like tying us; we were beaten [with the] *palmatória* [punishing instrument applied to the hands] [...]. Therefore [we] said that they should give us our land, they refused, [saying] that “we do not want to give [it] to you, we will be defeated [...]”. Therefore we entered the fight.

wakhatidzvinirira *como* wakutisunga; tichienda kunerwa mbalamatoya [...]. Saka ndowabvundza kuti tipasane dziko latu, wadalamba, kuti “hatidi kukupasana, tinadzakundwa [...]”. Saka tidadzapinda mukunyesana.

Earlier in the interview DST had given the “definition of the enemy” thus:

Q: [Y]our enemy, who was it?

R: It was the Portuguese.

Q: ... *inimigo* wanu akhali wani?

R: Akhali Putukezi.

Bernardo M, now a *sabhuku* (see below, Musosonora) joined Frelimo by his own initiative and operated under Commander Luís Malcriado, whose war name was « Canhão » (“cannon”). The suffering of the people made Bernardo M want to “let these Portuguese run, haha!”¹⁶⁶

Judging from Fabião JN and Draiva ST’s information, Frelimo’s recruitment methods do not seem to have been much dependent on thorough ideological training. As for the objective to fight, Draiva ST stated it was “so that you [the fighters] take the country, that we may rule it on our own”.¹⁶⁷ Draiva ST and Bernardo M clearly imply they saw “the Portuguese” as their enemy, contrary to Frelimo ideology in the period Machel was Frelimo-leader.

Some spirit mediums cooperated with Frelimo (cf. Lan’s 1985 account of spirit mediums’ cooperating with guerrillas in Zimbabwe). One of them was Ioanes CN, medium of the *mhondoro* spirit Nyamukucu. Another was Herbert SG, spirit medium of Nyanhau, who confirmed that the situation in the Chôa area was hard; around the time the war ended there was hunger because the Portuguese commandos had burnt bases there. He himself helped the Frelimo soldiers by giving information on the Portuguese positions. He said that the late (female) medium of the spirit Kunga had done similar things.

History of Barue around the time of independence

Before independence there were some commercial traders in Barue, such as Vali Osmane, Cruz, Nogueira and others. Most of them seem to have left after independence. For the time after independence the existence of collective fields (*machambas colectivas*) in Barue was reported (Alice C, Fernando SC, Pita PC). One of them was near Sabão and is now the site of

¹⁶⁶ ... [ku]tamangisa vazungu ava, haha!

¹⁶⁷ ... kuti mudzatole dziko, tidzatonge tekha.

a school agricultural field (FN^s 20/04/2010). These collective fields were under the responsibility of the District Administrator (PPC), but a *secretário* is also mentioned (FSC). Fernando SC describes the collective fields as cooperatives; people worked on them on Fridays but also worked their own fields. The practice of cooperative farming in Barue was abandoned in or around 1982. Fernando SC was not in favour of the collective fields because one could not see where the produce was going.

Fernando VGT reported that a Portuguese captain named Sousa Dias had a farming estate north of what is now Catandica, which continued after independence and still exists. Sousa Dias sold it to Mr. Pegacho, who came to Mozambique as a soldier of the Portuguese army.¹⁶⁸ This was no problem for Frelimo according to Fernando VGT (cf. comments on Frelimo's equivocal Marxist character in ch. 10 above). Other farms existed which were transferred to cooperatives (FVGT).

Concerning the {district} popular assembly in Barue after independence, my assistant interviewed Mrs. Eulária L (member), Mr. João CI (president) and Mr. Ambrósio D (probably = Ambrósio DC) (assistant) in 2013. These interviews reveal that in Barue a popular assembly was established after Frelimo's Third Congress in the time of Administrator José dos Santos Macaruja (cf. ch. 10). It had between 30 and 50 members who were all of Frelimo. Each assembly member represented his or her people in a "zone" within the district. The assembly had commissions for education, health and agriculture in which people could discuss matters pertaining to these issues. The regulation of the police was also mentioned. The assembly could refer "problems" to the provincial assembly. Concerning agriculture it had to promote and monitor production in a time where agricultural prices were set by the government. Work in the popular assembly was unpaid. The popular assembly was dissolved in 1994 at the time of the first (multiparty) elections of that year. João CI and Ambrósio D stressed that in the time of the one-party political system things were better; today with the multiparty system there is "much difficulty" and there is "no reconciliation", they indicated. Similar sentiments concerning the multiparty system were expressed by substantial numbers of respondents in Shanga and Mattes (2009: 132).

¹⁶⁸ I approached the spouse of Mr. Pegacho, IP, but she declined to be interviewed.

Régulos

As for the *régulos* (chiefs), details of their dynasties will be given later, but here it can be said that at the time of independence the majority of them were stripped of their formal functions but were not specifically harassed, with the exceptions of Gimo Sanhantamba, who was reported to have been killed by Frelimo already before independence, and Bernardo Seguma, who was killed by Frelimo in the 1980s. On the other hand Sanhamáuè apparently cooperated with Frelimo during the anticolonial war and was later abducted by Renamo (Virtanen 2005: 238-239). There are reports that at least some chiefs continued performing rain rituals.

Spirit mediums

Herbert SG, born in Barauro 1 estimatedly in the 1940s, stated that he is medium of the *mhondoro* spirit Nyanhau. He is a healer specializing in reproductive health. Around 1974, before the independence war had ended, he initially suffered from the erratic behaviour known in the literature that describes the onset of spirit mediumship (e.g. Garbett 1969: 115). At that time Frelimo was active in the Chôa area and Herbert SG cooperated with Frelimo soldiers, informing them of Portuguese positions (intelligence – *conhecimento*). In 1975, after the war had ended, he started working as medium.

Caibossi SG, also known as Magodo, is elder brother of Herbert SG and was also born in Barauro 1. He stated he is a medium of the *mhondoro* spirit Saunyama Nyaruembere, who was a ruler in Nyanga, Zimbabwe. Nyaruembere's wife was Nyanhau, whose spirit came out, as indicated, in Caibossi's brother Herbert. Caibossi's spirit was with him since childhood, but started afflicting him in the first half of the 1960s when he worked in Bulawayo at a maternity hospital. Eventually Caibossi SG came back to Barue in 1973. In 1976 the spirit finally "came out" (*kubuda*). The "spirit province" (term of Garbett 1969), extends into Nyamaropa in present-day Zimbabwe, has borders with Katerere (Zimbabwe) and Tangwena, and overlaps with the present area of Sahatsiro. Between Makombe and Saunyama there was an affinal relation of unknown exact nature (CSG).

The independence war of Zimbabwe in Barue

Herbert SG, who started to work as a spirit medium/healer around the time of Mozambique's independence in 1975, told that from then on the Chôa area accommodated refugees from

Zimbabwe when that country had not yet achieved independence. Zimbabwean soldiers were told (it is not clear whether by HSG himself) that they should not kill or rob any person (Mozambicans, presumably) and that when they approached a river they should stay still and clap hands – the usual way to show respect to the spirits.¹⁶⁹ Barue was also the site of Robert Mugabe’s escape from Rhodesia in 1975 (cf. below). The Nhazónia massacre of 1976 has already been mentioned (chapter 10).

The Frelimo-Renamo war in Barue

Renamo crossed and partly occupied what is now Barue District east of the Chimoio-Tete road from late 1981 on, judging from Cabrita (2000: 195, 199), consistent with interview material of the present author. Renamo was also active in the Chôa area, although it is less clear how strong Renamo’s consolidation was there (cf. map in Hanlon 1995). Entry into Renamo occurred in various ways. My interview material corroborates Schafer’s (2007: 59) observation that Renamo combatants were not necessarily recruited by way of having to commit atrocities with the objective to cut off linkages to their own communities. Vasco BN for instance was stationed near his own birth place for some time. Former Renamo combatants reported three ways of entering Renamo as a combatant: voluntary adherence (Francisco JB in December 1982), capture (António G), and pre-emptive association to avoid being killed by Renamo (Vasco BN).

Francisco JB, who at the time of interview occupied a provincial-level position within Renamo, had been an activist of the SNASP (political police) and a Frelimo *secretário* of a *localidade* in Barue (appointed by the provincial committee of Frelimo) when he was approached by Renamo. He explained he became convinced by Renamo’s political programme:

Frelimo succeeded in defeating Portuguese colonialism, but [...] the people [...] were not free; [...] the people still continued in exploitation. They were not [...] free, they did not have democracy. [...] There was no democracy because nobody succeeded in talking even in a meeting [...]; who talked was always taken [...] to suffer imprisonment or torture.

... a Frelimo conseguiu com vencer o colonialismo Português, mas [...] o povo [...] não estava livre; [...] o povo sempre continuava na [...] explo[rado]. Não estava [...] livre, não tinha democracia. [...] Não existia democracia porque ninguém conseguia a falar mesmo na uma reunião [...]; quem falava sempre era tomado [...] a sofrer cadeia ou tortura.

¹⁶⁹ HSG: *Mungasvika pamvura ndogara muchiombera maoko.*

After joining Renamo on 18 December 1982, Francisco JB went to Cagole, which was then under the leadership of Captain João Fundisse. Vasco T confirmed Cagole was a Renamo area during the war. After two months Francisco JB went to other places and returned to Barue in 1994, to occupy, amongst others, the functions of chief of mobilization and district political delegate of Barue. Francisco JB explained that a delegate is chosen in meetings with “all [Renamo] members of the district” from amongst three “trusted persons” who are well known within Renamo.

Vasco BN went by himself on foot from Nhanzanze to Cagole to associate himself with Renamo in 1982. This was to avoid being killed by Renamo should they find him first, as he was a militiaman (*miliciano*) of Frelimo at the time. Vasco BN reported that Renamo burnt settlements so as to prevent people and specifically Frelimo from hiding there.

António G was captured by force by Renamo when visiting family in Honde in about 1981. He was taken to Casa Banana in Gorongosa where he and others were beaten a lot, and after a while was given a fire weapon in order to fight Frelimo. He was about 14 years with Renamo, also spending time in Zambézia Province. António G explained that Renamo said that “we are fighting because of suffering injustices”, that restoration of “our ways of Makombe as in the days of old” was desirable but refused by Frelimo, and that “we want democracy”.¹⁷⁰ Renamo had resentment against Frelimo concerning communal fields and the people’s shops (state-run outlets that functioned within Frelimo’s efforts to manage retail trade – Munslow 1983: 166, 170). António G had not developed sympathy for Renamo as Vasco BN had. In fact he had lost faith in all party politics; in 1994 he voted for Renamo, but when asked why he did not vote in the last elections he said that “we suffered a lot” and that “there is no money”. He and others were promised housing but were still “waiting to see it”. Asked what he thought about the government of the country, he answered that “we only think about finding work”.¹⁷¹

According to Bonifácio TQ, Renamo operated during the war in nuclei in cities and villages that had no contact with each other but communicated only vertically with their superior structures. At the time of the GPA Renamo could abandon secrecy and establish a tiered system of delegates (*delegados*) aided by counsellors (*assessores*) with specific tasks. Francisco JB stated that during the war Renamo operated in “groups” who had specialized tasks, such as collecting food originating from the population, or guarding material. Bento

¹⁷⁰ António G (quoting Renamo), first quote: ... “*tiri kukanira zvekuzvinyirirwa*”; second: “*ingamoda vadu vakare vaMakombe*”; third: “*tinoda democracia*”.

¹⁷¹ AG: we ... work: só ife tiri kufunga watitsvagire mabasa.

GC reported he was in a *grupo* responsible for carrying meat for consumption at the Casa Banana base, although he also fought twice. Asked about life within Renamo António G reported in a matter-of-fact way that it was “like a job”.

Bonifácio TQ stated that Renamo during the war could not enter any area without the cooperation of (one-time) *régulos*. Renamo would then reinstall these *régulos*. According to Bonifácio TQ Frelimo realized after the war that it lacked support amongst the population because of its neglect of the *régulos*; Frelimo then decided around 1999 to recognize the *régulos*, but this was really a Renamo policy.

The spirit medium Magodo (Caibossi SG), in the Chôa area is generally perceived to have taken a neutral stance during the war. Francisco JB reported:

Magodo received all those who appeared [to him]. When Renamo appeared he received [them] [...] [when] Frelimo appeared he received [them]. Because [...] Magodo [...] [did] not want there to be shootings.

Magodo recebia todos que apereciam. Quando aperecia Renamo ele recebia. [...] aparecia Frelimo ele recebia. Porque [...] Magodo [...] não quere que [...] houve de alguns [disparos *or* descargas].

The then *Régulo* Sanhatunze reported in 1993 that Magodo was “independent” but informed also that Renamo had tried to capture him three times without success “due to Magodo’s powers” (Alexander 1994: 60). There was more to this, however. Mr. Magodo, who operated as a healer (*curandeiro*), showed me various *laissez-passer* documents of the Zimbabwean Defence Forces (ZDF) and the People’s Republic of Mozambique which helped him cross the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border and protected him from ZDF/Frelimo obstruction. The documents I saw were issued in the period 9 June 1988 till 19 June 1990, the latter document with apparent prolongation stamps until 22 December 1992. The documents would suggest some cooperation between Magodo and Frelimo (9 June 1988: “is one of us” – *é o nosso elemento*) and ZDF, but they contain certain remarks which reveal great political skill on his side: the document of July 1989 states: “To date, we have not found anything to say he colaborates [sic] with the enemy as the rumour was circulating in Catandica area.” The document of 19 June 1990 however exhorts that

It is also further appreciated that Mr Magodo can be useful to Zimbabwean troops operating in and across the common borders *provided commanders adhered to some package of restrictions which specifically apply to his area of residence.* (emphasis added)

Thus while having the appearance (“rumour”) against him of having cooperated with “the enemy” (i.e. Renamo), he was able to put forward some demands (“restrictions”). From the

documents it does not become clear what the rumours amounted to, what use he had for ZDF or what the demanded “restrictions” were, but given his long-standing reputation as a neutral person he appears as somebody who tried to create space for himself and his area in the midst of the Frelimo-Renamo war. In the first place this is (further) evidence against the idea that Renamo and spirit mediums were necessarily cooperating, but in the second place it shows that not everyone was pushed to the side of one or the other combating party. CSG/Magodo himself declared that his spirit offered “help so that moving from Frelimo to Renamo, in the country [...] peace might obtain”,¹⁷² encouraging warring parties not to commit atrocities. (Compare the situation of *Régulo* Luís in the Beira area who also cooperated with the Frelimo government but appeared nevertheless to have been non-partisan in the 1990s – Meneses et al. 2003: 369-370.)

In contrast with his elder brother Caibossi SG, who had a reputation for having been neutral, Herbert SG stated that he continued to be on Frelimo’s side during the Frelimo-Renamo war (cf. Wilson 1992: 548), helping Frelimo soldiers with food provision. People would also consult his spirit. Herbert SG reported Renamo took his material possessions and his wives.

Renamo approached medium Ioanes CN before the elections of 2009 to obtain from the spirit Nyamukucu a favourable attitude towards a victorious result in those elections. Ioanes CN’s spirit Nyamukucu had said¹⁷³ that they should go to the *mhondoro* Samatenje in Gorongosa because Nyamukucu “had no things in the Renamo bases” (i.e. had no relationship with Renamo; Ioanes CN himself had cooperated with Frelimo during the anticolonial war).¹⁷⁴ According to Ioanes CN, Renamo had a base near the Luenha River (more to the north). Although Renamo apparently did not control large stretches of territory in the eastern mountainous area of Barue, and despite the occurrence of abductions in Chôa, (cf. Virtanen 2005: 238-239), Herbert SG commented that he was approached (i.e. probably by Frelimo officials) after the elections (presumably those of 1994) that his area, Barauro 1,

¹⁷² ... *rubatsiro vakandobva kuFrelimo até kusvika [...] kune Renamo, kuti munyika [...] muite runyararo.*

¹⁷³ Apparently this was during a trance session.

¹⁷⁴ From Alexander (1995: 27) it would appear that « Samatenje » refers to a person rather than a *mhondoro* spirit, but Ioanes CN definitely considered Samatenje to be a spirit; cf. BTQ. Cabrita (2000: 159) mentions that Samatenje “blessed André Matsangaice himself”. However, Samatenje, whether a person or a spirit, is despite such an association with Renamo also reported to have established a “peace zone” around 1987, to have instructed soldiers not to use violence in that area, and to have helped Frelimo as well as Renamo soldiers (Alexander 1994: 61). We are reminded of Caibossi SG/Magodo who was associated with Frelimo but also made efforts to establish a general peaceful area in the Chôa area (cf. note 172 above). On “peace zones”, see also Wilson (1992: 554).

had so many votes for Renamo. Herbert SG continued that he then worked with the population so that at the latest elections (2009) the area had a victory for Frelimo. For this he was given a uniform, he reported (not observed by the author). This would mean Herbert SG is one of those “recognized” as community authority in the third category of Decree 15/2000 besides “traditional chiefs” and secretaries.

Remembrance of the Barue Revolt

On 28 March 2010 I witnessed the yearly ceremony of commemorating the spirit of Makombe in Catandica’s municipal park (see Table 3 for approximate times, and Appendix B, § 10 for background information). Makombe’s spirit is addressed by way of certain rhythmic hand clapping. Ioanes CN explained that by doing this Makombe’s work in the struggle against the Portuguese is commemorated. He associated this with the struggle between Frelimo and the Portuguese.

The flower bundle depositions stress a Frelimo political background of the participants; Bonifácio TQ reported Renamo got no invitation for the ceremony. After the ceremony a few short speeches were held from a speech platform at the sports ground of the municipal park. Somewhat later District Administrator Joaquim Zefanias addressed for about ten minutes a group of people mostly of secondary school age. A great part of his exposition he devoted to the significance of Makombe as someone who resisted colonialism. He made associations with Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel in the context of resistance against Portuguese colonialism. He also mentioned Ngungunyana (~ Gungunyane) as hero of resistance.¹⁷⁵ Later in the speech Zefanias did refer to more recent history, indicating that “we are no longer at war” and are “brothers and sisters”, but used typical Frelimo vocabulary when referring to the “turning generation” and the “continuator” (*continuadores*) who will develop the country (i.e. as successors of earlier Frelimo “generations”). The significance of Makombe was then integrated into the present: “When we are doing all these things [development] for the whole of our country we are appreciating Makombe.” A few minutes later a cultural programme started with dances and music. Many women wore *capulanas* (multifunctional colourful cloth virtually ubiquitous in Mozambique) with the face of President Guebuza. One of the musical instruments also clearly displayed the words « *Vota Frelimo* » (vote for Frelimo).

¹⁷⁵ Ngungunyana is reported to have attacked Barue twice, though without success (*The Rhodesia Herald* in Coutinho 1904: 44; cf. Portugal 1967: 2, 63). Beach (1999: 63n153) doubts this. On the ambiguous character of Ngungunyana’s legacy, see Meneses (2012: 68-71, 78)

Table 3: Ceremony on Makombe Day 2010

Time	Event
09:32	<i>Régulo</i> Mpanze and <i>Líder Comunitário</i> Sueta take off belt, shoes and hat. ^a
09:34	<i>Régulo</i> Mpanze and <i>Líder Comunitário</i> Sueta walk into the commemoration circle. <i>Régulo</i> Mpanze and <i>Líder Comunitário</i> Sueta sit in front of a white rock within the circle. <i>Régulo</i> Mpanze claps hands for about 27 seconds (both still sitting).
09:35	<i>Régulo</i> Mpanze and <i>Líder Comunitário</i> Sueta sit in front of the white rock. <i>Régulo</i> Mpanze claps hands for about four seconds (both still sitting). <i>Régulo</i> Mpanze and <i>Líder Comunitário</i> Sueta stand up and leave the circle.
09:36	Two other leaders, <i>Régulos</i> Seguma and Sanhantamba, walk into the circle (with complete uniform), and take up a wreath already within the circle; some women start singing; <i>Régulos</i> Seguma and Sanhantamba put the wreath horizontally on the ground at the white rock. District Administrator (DA) Joaquim Zefanias walks into the circle; <i>Régulos</i> Seguma and Sanhantamba walk towards the entrance of the circle. DA Zefanias places the wreath vertically against the white rock while <i>Régulos</i> Seguma and Sanhantamba standing at each side of the circle's entrance; singing subsides. DA Zefanias steps back about two metres but within the circle facing the wreath to stand still; singing of the national anthem, mostly by school children, is initiated after about seven seconds.
09:39	Singing of anthem stops; DA Zefanias and <i>Régulos</i> Seguma and Sanhantamba leave the circle. Two women distribute flower bundles. Júlio Luciano (First Secretary of the Frelimo Party of Barue District) walks into the circle and places a flower bundle next to the wreath, steps back and stands still for about two seconds.
9:40	The placing of flower bundles is repeated by several others (42 individuals), beginning with Eusébio Lambo Gondiwa (Mayor of Catandica Municipality). Amongst the others are the head of the Department of Cultural Heritage of Manica Province, some army men who give military salutes (which is later also done by some <i>autoridades comunitárias</i>); most women (mostly OMM representatives) make a bow or a curtsy. People from the Frelimo party, artistic organizations or education could be identified. No representatives of other political parties than Frelimo could be identified, however.
09:45	Last person places a flower bundle.
09:47	Participants and public are directed to the sports ground of the municipal park.

Note: a) A *líder comunitário* (community leader) is a local government leader (see chapter 14). Thanks to assistant for help with the identification of persons from movie registration.

Summary

In this chapter salient aspects of the political history of the District of Barue after the Revolt of 1917-1918 have been highlighted. Frelimo and Renamo have used the legacy of Makombe to make political points (anticolonial and anti-Frelimo sentiments respectively). Both colonial and postcolonial governments redrew administrative boundaries so that the original kingdom is no longer recognizable on the map. What is now Barue District was actually involved in the war of Frelimo against the Portuguese. After independence Frelimo replaced most of the

“traditional authorities” by its own party officials, but not entirely so. Certainly, chiefs were mostly stripped of administrative functions, but in my fieldwork experience people considered chiefly status within the government as a matter of fact and expressed no strong feelings (positive or negative) about it. *Régulos* were, however, allowed to continue performing rain rituals. Also some spirit mediums are known to have been at least tolerated by Frelimo. The Frelimo-Renamo war reached Barue in 1981. Frelimo killed one *régulo* for reason of having cooperated with Renamo. On the other hand Renamo abducted *Régulo* Sanhamáuè (Virtanen 2005: 238-239) who is known to have cooperated with Frelimo. All together it is difficult to confirm for Barue District that Frelimo-Renamo antagonism is largely intelligible through Frelimo’s anti-“traditional” stance that looms large in Geffray’s (1990) book. The factor power should not be underestimated, as Alexander (1994: 35-36) comments in this context.