Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe
Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980–1987

Zimbabwe’s guerrilla veterans have burst into the international media as the storm troopers in Mugabe’s new war of economic liberation. In this book, Norma Kriger gives the unfolding contemporary drama a historical background, and shows continuities between the present and past. Between 1980 and 1987, guerrilla veterans and the ruling party colluded with and manipulated each other to build power and privilege in the army, police, bureaucracy, and among workers. Both relied chiefly on violence and appeals to their participation in the anti-colonial liberation war as they sought to vanquish their then political opponents. Today, violence and a liberation war discourse continue to be salient as Mugabe’s party and its guerrilla veterans struggle to maintain power through land invasions and purges of a new political opposition. This study gives a critical review of guerrilla programs and the war-to-peace transitions literatures, thus changing the way we view post-conflict societies.

Norma Kriger was on the political science faculty of the Johns Hopkins University for twelve years. Since then she has been an independent scholar. Her first book, Zimbabwe’s Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices (Cambridge University Press, 1992), drew attention to the widespread use of guerrilla violence to mobilize peasants who were more interested in their own agendas than the nationalistic agenda of the guerrillas.
African Studies Series 103

Editorial Board
Dr David Anderson, Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Professor Carolyn Brown, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Jersey
Professor Christopher Clapham, Department of Politics and International Relations, Lancaster University
Professor Michael Gomez, Department of History, New York University
Professor Patrick Manning, Department of History, Northeastern University, Boston
Professor David Robinson, Department of History, Michigan State University
Professor Leo Villalon, Department of Political Science, University of Kansas

Published in collaboration with
THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRE, CAMBRIDGE

A list of titles in this series can be found at the end of this volume.
Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe

*Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980–1987*

Norma J. Kriger
To my late parents, Solly and Sheila, and to Steve and Saul.
Contents

List of tables page x
Acknowledgments xi
Chronology (1889–1980) xiii
List of abbreviations xviii
Map xx

1 Introduction 1
2 The peace settlement 35
3 The assembly phase 67
4 Military integration 104
5 Employment programs for the demobilized 141
6 Conclusion 185

Epilogue: the past in the present 191
Appendix: The ruling party’s attempts to withdraw ex-combatants’ special status and ex-combatants’ responses, 1988–1997 209
Notes 215
References 269
List of pseudonyms used in the text 284
Index 285
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Statistical profile of assembly point personnel</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Categorization of Danhiko students, 1990</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Perpetrators by province</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Strangers, colleagues, friends, and family have all demonstrated tolerance and generosity at every stage of this endeavor.

In gathering data, Zimbabweans and British Military and Training Team members took time to answer my questions. In Zimbabwe, George Chiweshe arranged interviews in the army, Judith Todd gave me access to private archives, and Irene Staunton facilitated useful introductions. The Department of History and the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies at the University of Zimbabwe provided me with affiliation on different visits. Judith Mashinya assisted with parliamentary materials and nudged an inert bureaucracy to produce a research permit. At Johns Hopkins University, graduate students – Martha Bishai, Amelia Kalant, Jason Phillips, and Linda Hedrick – helped clip newspapers and file parliamentary debates. More recently, Sara Rich Dorman at the University of Oxford helped to keep me current.

Sara Berry, always an incredible source of support, read more than one version of the manuscript. Mahmood Mamdani and Crawford Young, despite never having met me, commented on a later version. William Reno and Christopher Clapham reviewed the manuscript for Cambridge University Press, and Elizabeth Schmidt read the revised manuscript. Kate Crehan, Suzette Hemberger, and Evelyn Brodkin have read and listened. Heeding readers’ advice has repeatedly prolonged the process but hopefully improved the final product.

I have found temporary shelter at various institutions through the kindness of individuals. Victoria Hattam arranged affiliation at the New School for Social Research. In Kyoto, Keiko Kusunose shared her office at Seika University with me, in a period when I also had affiliation (but no work space) with Kyoto University’s Graduate School of Asian and African Studies. In Baltimore, Jane Bennett at Goucher College opened her office to me.

Over the years, I have imposed on the goodwill of Frederick Cooper, Matthew Crenson, Colin Leys, John Lonsdale, Lucian Pye, Terence Ranger (all read some version of the manuscript), Steven David, Richard Flathman, and William Zartman.
xii Acknowledgments

At Cambridge University Press, Jessica Kuper and Helen Barton helped to steer the project through many stages. Carol Fellingham Webb was a fine copyeditor.

On the home front, Steve Wilson has been a supportive and critical listener and reader. Saul, an infant when this project began, has grown into an enthusiastic participant with technical skills to offer.

Research for this book has been supported by a sabbatical semester from Johns Hopkins University (1992), the United States Institute of Peace (1993–4), the Social Science Research Council (1991–2, 1996–7), the MacArthur Foundation (1997–8), summer support from Goucher College (2001), and a visiting fellowship at the Center of International Studies at Princeton University (2002–3).
Chronology (1889–1980)

1889 The British South Africa Company (BSAC) obtains a Royal Charter granting extensive rights over present Zimbabwe and Zambia.

1890 The BSAC Pioneer Column occupies Mashonaland.

1893 The Ndebele in Matabeleland revolt against BSAC occupation and administration.

1896–7 The Ndebele and Shona rebel against white settlers and the BSAC administration. The scale and impact of rebellions exceed any other early rebellion in tropical Africa.

1898 The BSAC designates Southern Rhodesia (SR) and Northern Rhodesia (NR) as separate entities. A Legislative Council (LC) introduces representation for white settlers in SR. By 1908 elected settlers outnumber the BSAC nominees.

1922 A majority of settlers vote in a referendum against union with South Africa and in support of full self-government.

1923 Britain annexes SR as a colony; responsible government is established. A British governor replaces the BSAC administrator and a Legislative Assembly (LA) replaces the LC. Britain reserves the right to block legislation and limits the LA’s competence to internal matters, excluding certain reserved constitutional clauses pertaining to African affairs. In practice, the LA and its prime ministers gradually broaden their range of competence and the British government never vetoes any legislation. Nowhere else in its African colonies, except South Africa, does Britain give self-government to white settlers.

1930 The Land Apportionment Act passes. The BSAC had introduced Native Reserves which were restricted to African communal occupation, but outside the Reserves, there were no restrictions on land ownership. The Act extends racial land segregation to the rest of the country. Africans can buy or lease individual plots only in the Purchase Areas (7.7 percent of the country), whereas the tiny European population can buy land anywhere in the much larger
and superior European Areas (50.8 percent). Most Africans live in the communally owned Native Reserves (22.4 percent). The Act and its amendments lead to massive forced evictions and resettlement of Africans and become the centerpiece of racially discriminatory laws affecting every sphere of life.

1953 SR, NR (later Zambia), and Nyasaland (Malawi) are brought together in a self-governing Federation, dominated by SR settlers. SR retains its LA and governor, and sole responsibility for its African affairs, local government, police, and economy.

1957 The Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC) is founded with Joshua Nkomo as president. The ANC engages in non-violent protests against discriminatory legislation and demands universal suffrage.

1959 The government declares a State of Emergency, arrests some 500 ANC leaders, bans the ANC, and soon passes the Unlawful Organizations Act, enabling the arrest of any person associated with a banned organization.

1960 The ANC re-establishes itself as the National Democratic Party (NDP). The acting president, Michael Mawema, and other NDP leaders are arrested for their alleged membership in the banned ANC. The NDP organizes urban demonstrations against the arrests; police repression provokes violence. The government introduces a draconian Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which becomes a primary means of suppressing African nationalist activity. Joshua Nkomo becomes the NDP president.

1961 A new constitution provides for African representation for the first time but for African majority rule only in the distant future. Britain gives up its reserve powers over local legislation. The NDP is banned at year end but re-emerges as the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) days later.

1962 The Rhodesian Front (RF), a settler party, is founded and wins the election. The government bans ZAPU and arrests all its officers, except Nkomo who is out of the country.

1963 The Federation collapses under African pressure for independence in NR and Nyasaland. In SR, the African nationalist movement splits into two organizations when the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) is formed under Ndabiningi Sithole and other former ZAPU leaders, such as Robert Mugabe.

1964 Ian Smith, the RF leader, comes to power. The government bans ZAPU (which then exists under a different name) and ZANU, and most African nationalist leaders are arrested and spend the next decade in prison. The Zimbabwe African National Liberation
Army (ZANLA) is founded as the military wing of ZANU to wage guerrilla war against the government. NR gains independence as Zambia.

1965 The Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) is founded in Lusaka, Zambia as ZAPU’s armed wing. Smith declares a State of Emergency, and then a Unilateral Declaration of Independence to pre-empt British pressures for movement toward African majority rule. A new constitution is introduced and the country is called Rhodesia. Britain responds with economic sanctions. ZANU establishes itself in Lusaka, Zambia, under Herbert Chitepo.

1966 ZANLA guerrillas engage Rhodesian security forces at Chinhoyi (formerly Sinoia) in the northeast. Constitutional talks with Britain fail. The UN imposes selective mandatory economic sanctions.

1967 ZAPU and the South African ANC send guerrillas into the northwest. At this stage, ZAPU has a larger, more active army than ZANU.

1968 The UN imposes comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Further constitutional talks with Britain fail.

1969 A new constitution is introduced. The Land Tenure Act replaces the Land Apportionment Act. The government seeks to expand European agricultural land, despite massive underutilization of land. Agricultural and settlement land is divided as follows: Europeans (40 percent), African communally owned land which is now called Tribal Trust Land (41.4 percent), Purchase Areas (3.8 percent). More Africans are evicted from European land.

1970 Rhodesia is declared a republic. Internal feuding occurs in ZAPU/ZIPRA in Zambia.

1971 ZANLA steps up war in northeast from bases in Portuguese-controlled Mozambique. ZAPU/ZIPRA feuding leads to losses of personnel to ZANU/ZANLA and to a new organization, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI). Britain requires a British–Rhodesian constitutional settlement to obtain African approval. Africans are permitted to organize and Bishop Muzorewa forms the African National Council. ZANLA becomes the more active and larger of the two guerrilla armies, both of which fight a rural-based war. ZANLA recruits chiefly from the Shona and ZIPRA from the Ndebele, reflecting also their respective operational areas.

1972 Britain’s Pearce Commission reports that Africans oppose the proposed constitution.

1973 The Smith–Muzorewa constitutional talks fail.
1974 The formal transition to majority rule in Mozambique starts. ZANU leaders in prison in Rhodesia remove Sithole as leader and replace him with Robert Mugabe. The Organization of African Unity forms the Front Line States (FLS) Presidents’ Committee. ZANU, ZAPU, and FROLIZI announce agreement to form an umbrella organization under Muzorewa’s leadership. There follows a ceasefire, plans for constitutional talks, and the release of African nationalists imprisoned since 1964. The Nhari rebellion/mutiny creates a crisis in ZANU/ZANLA.

1975 Herbert Chitepo is assassinated in Lusaka, Zambia. Zambia blames internal party feuds and detains ZANU/ZANLA leaders in Lusaka, and Tanzania and Zambia close training camps. ZANLA field commanders in Tanzania and Mozambique agree to accept Mugabe as their leader. The Victoria Falls constitutional conference fails. Smith and Nkomo hold talks. Mozambique agrees to the formation of the Zimbabwe People’s Army (ZIPA), a guerrilla army uniting ZANLA and ZIPRA, to restart the stalled war.

1976 Kissinger, the US Secretary of State, and Smith meet in Pretoria. Smith later agrees to African majority rule in two years. Nkomo and Mugabe form the Patriotic Front (PF) under FLS pressure to present a united front at the Geneva constitutional talks, which fail. ZIPA is dismantled. ZANLA no longer operates from Zambia; it shifts to Mozambique. Rhodesian retaliatory attacks into Mozambique begin.

1977 ZANU elects Mugabe as president. ZIPRA’s Jason Moyo is killed by letter bomb in Lusaka, Zambia. There is a new Anglo-American constitutional initiative to end the war. Smith initiates “internal settlement” talks with Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chief Chirau. ZANU has some 3,000 guerrillas inside Rhodesia, and ZAPU a mere 100–200.

1978 The internal parties reach agreement, which the PF and the FLS reject. The agreement provides for a transitional government, universal franchise elections under a new constitution, and amnesty for guerrillas who lay down arms. Nkomo and Smith hold secret talks. The Rhodesian security forces attack Zambia. The war escalates. Guerrillas inside the country number some 9,000, 85 percent belonging to ZANLA.

1979 With sixty-four percent of the African vote in a separate election from Europeans, Muzorewa’s United African National Council (UANC) wins fifty-one of the seventy-two African seats; the RF wins all twenty-eight seats reserved for whites, and Muzorewa
becomes prime minister of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Whites continue to control the executive (and importantly, the military) and the judiciary. Muzorewa’s government fails to win international recognition and the lifting of sanctions because the guerrilla movements did not participate in the settlement. The war intensifies. An estimated 28,000 guerrillas (20,000 ZANLA) are inside the country at the ceasefire, with many thousands more outside. Commonwealth leaders meet in Lusaka and agree to conditions under which Britain should seek a constitutional resolution and an end to the war. Britain convenes the Lancaster House conference. Muzorewa’s team and the PF agree to a new constitution, a transitional government, and a ceasefire.

1980

ZANU contests the February election as ZANU(PF) and wins a majority; the RF wins all twenty seats reserved for whites. The guerrilla armies remain intact. The economy is still in white hands. Racial inequalities in wealth and income make Zimbabwe a world leader in inequality.
Abbreviations

ANC       African National Congress
BMATT     British Military Advisory and Training Team
BOGR      British Observer Group Report (on the 1980 elections)
BSAC      British South Africa Company
CADEC     Catholic Development Commission
CC        Constitutional Conference
CCJPZ     Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe
CFU       Commercial Farmers’ Union
CIDA      Canadian International Development Agency
CIO       Central Intelligence Organization
CMF       Commonwealth Monitoring Force
COG       Commonwealth Observer Group
COGR      Commonwealth Observer Group Report (on the 1980 elections)
CUSO      Canadian University Services Organization
DN        Daily News
DRC       Democratic Republic of the Congo
DRPs      demobilization and reintegration programs
FG        Financial Gazette
FLS       Front Line States
FROLIZI   Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
HAD       House of Assembly Debates
IBA       International Bar Association
JHC       Joint High Command
LA        Legislative Assembly
LC        Legislative Council
LGPO      local government promotion officer
LRF       Legal Resources Foundation
MDC       Movement for Democratic Change
MP        Member of Parliament
NCO       non-commissioned officer
NDP       National Democratic Party
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>non-government organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>Northern Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCCZIM</td>
<td>Organization of Collective Cooperatives of Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUMOZ</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Patriotic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSC</td>
<td>Public Service Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSU</td>
<td>Police Support Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Posts and Telecommunications Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>People’s Voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAR</td>
<td>Rhodesian African Rifles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF</td>
<td>Rhodesian Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEED</td>
<td>Soldiers Employed in Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Sunday Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>Sunday News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Southern Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West African People’s Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>The Chronicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>The Herald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UANC</td>
<td>United African National Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANLA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANU(PF)</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAPU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African People’s Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZBC</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZESA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZHR</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZI</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIMFEP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZINTEC</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Integrated Teacher Education Course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIPA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe People’s Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIPRA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZMPC</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Marketing Producers Cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZNLWVA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZS</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZTV</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Television</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>