

# Town, village and bush: war and cultural landscapes in south-eastern Angola (1966-2002)

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In most of the literature on the subject, urban and rural areas are presented as real physical entities that are geographically determined. Obviously such an approach is important and necessary, but in this contribution I want to draw attention to ‘the urban’ and ‘the rural’ as ideas, as items of cultural landscape rather than as physical facts. This will result both in a history of ideas and a social history of the war in Angola as experienced by civilians from the south-eastern part of the country. The article is based on a case-study that deals with the history of south-east Angola, an area that was in a state of war from 1966 to 2002. In the course of the 1990s I spoke with immigrants from this region who were resident in Rundu, Northern Namibia, mostly as illegal refugees. In our conversations the immigrants explained how the categories ‘town’ and ‘country’ came into being during colonialism and what changes occurred after the war started. They argued that during the war agriculture in the countryside became well-nigh impossible and an opposition between ‘town’ and ‘bush’ came into being that could have lethal consequences for the civilian population living in the region. This case-study on south-east Angola shows the importance of a historical approach to categories such as ‘urbanity’ and ‘rurality’ as such categories may undergo relatively rapid change – in both discourse and practice.

*Key words:* landscape (town, country and bush), war, south-east Angola

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## Introduction

There are, by now, many books on urbanity in Africa. The tendency in this literature is to focus on place: urban and rural areas are seen as givens, physical, geographically determined entities that have a numerical dimension, shown in the amount of statistics on demographic trends in urban and rural Africa. As such this is a valid approach, but in this contribution the intention is to study town and country as ideas, as items of cultural landscape rather than as physical facts. As is well known, concepts and ideas may be as ‘material’ as practices and activities. In many ways, one cannot separate discourse and practice as they have become so deeply intertwined. In the case-study presented here, ideas came to have drastic, even lethal, consequences.

The power of ideas indicated here shows how important it is to study town and country as ideas. People from south-east Angola mentioned the development of a rift between

‘townspeople’ and ‘bush people’ as an explanation for the fighting and, in turn, as having enormous consequences for the local civilian population. The war in Angola is mostly explained in terms of ethnic identity, economic resources (oil and diamonds), regional differences, and ideological connections, yet these were rarely mentioned as causes of the war by people from south-east Angola. They rather focused on the perceived differences between town, country and bush. Town and country may have their relevance as geographical place-related entities, but in this case, local people viewed ‘town’, ‘country’ and ‘bush’ in the sense of cultural constructs. Understanding such civilian perspectives on warfare is a valuable exercise in itself: people in history matter. As we will see, these popular interpretations of the causes of the war will lead us to a discussion of the social history of the war as well as to a history of ideas.

In 1996, 1997 and 1999 I spoke with immigrants from south-east Angola – mostly illegal refugees – resident in Rundu, Northern Namibia. Through in-depth interviews and the narration of life histories we discussed the recent history of the region. Most of these people were eager to speak with me; they felt it crucial that I ‘took their voices’ to explain to the world what had happened in their lives. As civilians they had had to bear many of the consequences of warfare, and had not been able to exercise any appreciable power over the course of the events. Telling their stories about what had happened restored at least the agency to evaluate the events and many expressed their appreciation for that. I felt that if they regarded the notions of town, country and bush as a matter of life and death, we might well take this issue seriously (cf White, Miescher and Cohen 2001). Through the conceptual history (Koselleck 1985) of localized notions of town, bush and country, we may arrive both at a social history and a history of ideas of the war in south-east Angola, in the sense that these were the concepts that were deemed to ‘carry capacity’ (*Ibid.*: 74) in the eyes of the people who experienced the war. The people I spoke with identified the ideas of town, country and bush as having major consequences for the course of the war and the changing position of the civilians therein. As the notions changed, so did the practices related to them and in this manner these civilians saw discourse and practice, the history of ideas and social history as related.

Before describing how the ideas about ‘town’, ‘village’ and ‘bush’ developed in the period and area under review (i.e. the period of war), let us start with a brief description of matters before the war started in the 1960s.

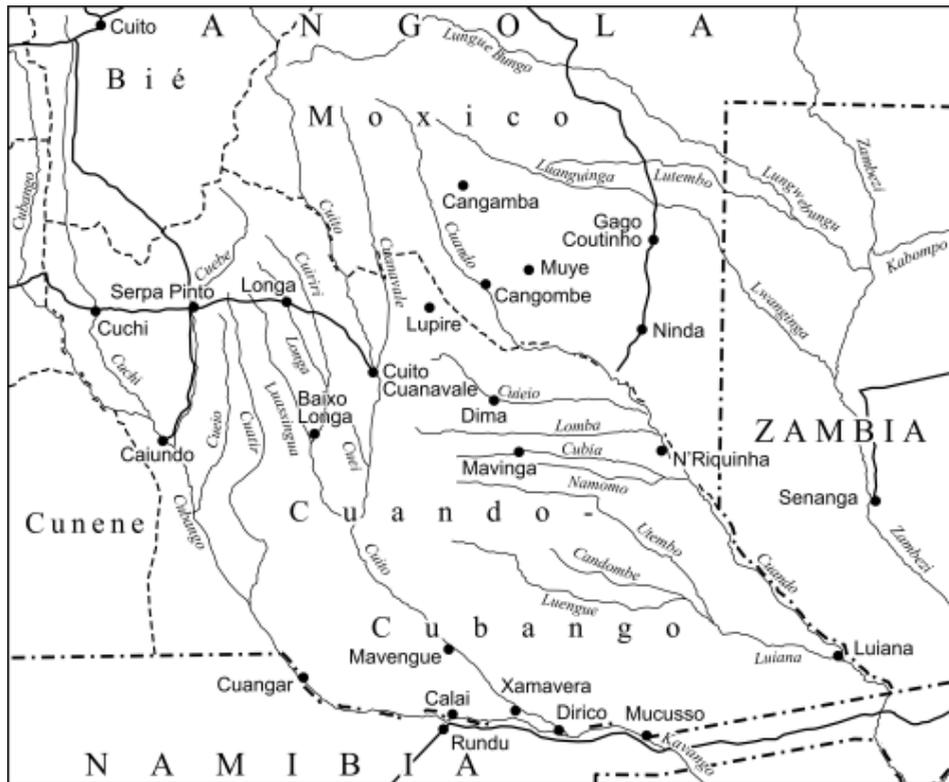


Figure 1: Map of colonial south-east Angola. (Cartography: Monika Feinen)

### The colonial era in south-eastern Angola

It has been said that Angola has been colonised for five long centuries (Henderson 1979). For southeast Angola, however, this statement does not hold. There was a limited Portuguese presence before 1900 and a number of expeditions were conducted at the beginning of the 20th century (de Almeida 1936), but no stable colonial administration was set up and by the end of the 1920s officials complained that the colonial presence had even decreased over the years (Galvão 1929). This area remained an area of colonial conquest rather than colonial rule. The south-east of Angola is a land of sand and rivers, called by the Portuguese colonials: ‘the lands at the end of the earth’ as it was regarded as one of the remotest areas of the country.

A few administrative posts were built in the region in the course of the colonial era, but little was done in terms of building up colonial rule and administration, road construction, education, health services, etc. The construction of towns such as Serpa Pinto (nowadays Menongue), Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga did not imply any large-scale changes in settlement patterns. Locally an administrative centre came to be known as

*mbongi* (roughly translatable as town), but the colonial grid of towns and roads (constructed by forced labour) barely disturbed local patterns of movement and settlement. Small numbers of people lived in ‘towns’ on a temporary basis, but the main characteristic of a ‘town’ remained its colonial administrative function. From these bases, the few colonial officials who lived there would sporadically organise tax expeditions. Colonial officials had a group of local policemen at their disposal for this aim. These men and their families would live in ‘town’. In each ‘town’ there would be a few Portuguese-owned shops, selling soap, salt, sugar and other newly introduced products. The size of the colonial ‘towns’ was relatively small: even the district capital Serpa Pinto had less than 4,000 inhabitants by 1960 (Kuder 1971). Size was not a determining factor in the conceptualisation of ‘town’, its main characteristic was that the colonial administration was located there. Nearly all inhabitants of these sparsely populated plains continued to live in small, shifting villages along the region’s river beds, practising slash-and-burn agriculture: they were *vakamembo*: people of the villages. Only a few became *vakambongi*: town dwellers.

Seen from the colonial administrative centres, a simple opposition came into being, between ‘town’ and the rest: ‘country’. People in town did not distinguish between the village and the bush. Villagers adhered to a tripartite division, *mbongi* (‘town’), *membo* (‘villages’, *membo* being plural of *limbo*) and the uninhabited *musenge* (‘bush’). The place where they lived had a name and, according to those who lived in the villages, there was nobody ‘living in the bush’ (Interview 1).

The above makes it clear that colonialism had an impact in the region. New developments included migratory and forced labour, taxation, the construction of colonial buildings and roads, and the introduction of new consumer goods. At the same time the region’s marginal situation in relation to the economic and political centres of colonial power meant that any services organised by the state were extremely limited. The south-east also remained a land ‘without missionaries’ which was quite exceptional for 20th century Africa. Thus, during the colonial era there was no development of Christianity nor of a local, educated elite. The south-east of Angola was a marginalised area: politically, economically and socially the region was considered unimportant and backward. Often it was also considered isolated, yet ironically marginalisation and isolation led to a greater degree of connection: many people from the region travelled widely within the region or within Angola in search of work and food, but also to North-Rhodesia (later Zambia), South-West Africa (later Namibia) and South-Africa. In particular young men used the newly-built roads to travel by motor car or lorry (to look for work in the South African and Rhodesian mines or to join forced labour in the North of Angola). In terms of language Portuguese was not widely spoken, and where there was a *lingua franca* it would be English or Afrikaans.

Most people continued to use local paths for travelling. Travelling was in any case crucial for social existence: the idea of having one fixed abode was quite alien to the inhabitants of the region. ‘Dwelling-in-travel’, a concept coined by James Clifford (1997), seems a very apt description of the way of life in this vast area. An example would be

the translation of the English question: 'Where are you from?' with 'Ndonga?', meaning 'river'. The answer is formed by one of the rivers in the region. Home and origin are fluid, moving, connecting various places.

### **The war for independence**

In the southeast of Angola, war started when the MPLA and to a lesser degree UNITA opened the so-called eastern front in 1966/1967 against the newly independent Zambia. The MPLA, which consisted mostly of people from Luanda and the surrounding area, tried to recruit followers from the region itself, but also from immigrants from the region living in Zambia. Before these events – in 1961 – there had already been revolts in Angola's coastal capital Luanda, the central cotton region of Malange and in North Angola. The Portuguese, through military action and the activities of their secret police, regained control of the central regions of the colony, but in the border zones this proved difficult. This meant that after the war started in the south-east, there were two war zones in Angola: the North and the south-east. With their leadership based in neighbouring Zambia and other countries, guerrillas of the MPLA built bases in south-east Angola from where they conducted guerrilla operations. The war in the South-East started less abruptly than in the North and in the meantime the Portuguese army had gained some experience in counter-insurgency.

Standard strategic goals never came to play an important role in the guerrilla war, and conquering territory for itself was not given priority of on either side of the conflict. Instead, the struggle became, as Basil Davidson (1972) put it, 'a war for people.' Both the Portuguese and the Angolan nationalist groups tried to assemble as many people as possible under their control. The MPLA sought to do this mainly by abducting people from their homes, taking them out of their villages along the riverbeds. They led local people from their farms into the bush, often using force to make people follow: 'We had to catch them, as they did not know that we wanted to save them' (Interviews 2 (quote) and 3). Many villagers were ordered to kill noisy livestock, a threat to the guerrilla form of warfare, and were directed not to flee to the town. The MPLA guerrillas interpreted trying to escape from the hardships of life in the bush as a betrayal of the nationalist cause (Interviews 4, 5 and 6). Civilians were required to stay with the guerrillas in the 'bush'.

The Portuguese took the remaining people to 'town', i.e. within the orbit of colonial control. They had rather successfully employed a policy of villagisation in the North of the country and had also initiated similar measures in the South-East. In the vicinity of the regional 'towns' and along the colonial roads, concentrated settlements were built by the colonial regime. The Portuguese forces burned down remaining villages, killed civilians indiscriminately and imposed forced migration on the surviving inhabitants. Those captured were moved to the regional towns proper or into one of the concentrated settlements fenced off with barbed wire and posted with security guards to prevent contact between guerrillas and civilians. Any who attempted to return to the countryside to grow crops could face the death penalty on the suspicion that they were feeding the guerrilla forces. Within the context of the war, village life became increasingly dangerous. The cat-

egories of *vakambongi* and *vakamembo* were replaced by a division between *vakambongi* and *vakamusenge* ('those of the bush'). Since the start of the war *vakambongi* had come to mean either people living in one of the regional towns – such as Serpa Pinto, Cuito Cuanavale, Mavinga or another colonial administrative centre – or people living in one of the newly built concentrated settlements. *Vakamusenge* was an entirely new category directly related to the war; as indicated, 'the bush' had been uninhabited before the war. Furthermore this renewed dichotomy came to be connected with violence: a visit to town would be interpreted by MPLA soldiers as betrayal, while Portuguese soldiers regarded anybody staying outside town as an MPLA supporter.

Until 1974 Northern as well as South-eastern Angola could be characterised as military zones: with a significant army presence, ongoing guerrilla actions and a population largely confined to fenced concentrated settlements.

### Civil war

After the Portuguese army staged a coup in Lisbon in 1974, a cease-fire was signed and in 1975 Angola became an independent country. Even before Independence Day however, fighting had started between the nationalist movements and there was heavy fighting notably between UNITA (supported by the USA and South-Africa) and the MPLA (supported by the USSR and Cuba). The Northern-oriented movement FNLA (earlier UPA) had a branch in the south-east under the leadership of former MPLA commander Daniel Chipenda: FNLA-Chipenda. Most FNLA-Chipenda fighters ended up in the South African army and in the North the FNLA disappeared as a military factor. The fighting groups tried to move into the now empty colonial offices of the south-eastern towns: 'They wanted to be the next *vakambongi*' (Interview 7).

After some time UNITA was chased 'out of town,' though for considerable time it retained control over Mavinga. The MPLA mostly occupied the towns in south-eastern Angola, while UNITA held sway over the countryside. So a dualism between bush-UNITA and town-MPLA developed, whereby the MPLA became the Angolan state party with a strong socialist orientation and UNITA formed a rebel movement supported by the forces of South-Africa and money/material from the USA. The extensive fighting in the region caused many local people to leave, by moving abroad or to Angola's capital Luanda. Most of the concentrated settlements were abandoned and people who continued to live in the region stayed mainly in the regional centres held by the government forces. A smaller number – although no statistics are available – lived in areas controlled by the UNITA forces. UNITA also brought in soldiers and civilians from the Angolan Highlands, a journey that could take several weeks.

Because of decreasing food supplies in the towns, many inhabitants had little choice but to try and grow crops in the neighbourhood of the towns. However harvesting crops was extremely hazardous as UNITA often placed mines on the paths that led to the fields. Moreover, townspeople feared being detected by UNITA soldiers. The accounts refugees gave of such encounters testify to a strongly perceived difference between town-dwellers and 'those of the bush'. People from the town would immediately be recognised by their

appearance: they would be clean, wear neat clothes and shoes, in contrast to the ragged appearance of those who lived in the bush. UNITA forces were said to torture and kill captives from the town, telling them to ‘shit’ salt, soap, oil, tins of condensed milk, rice, tarmac etc.: all products typically associated with town life and ‘modernity.’ It was often mentioned that jealousy was the reason for UNITA’s use of torture and mutilation against townspeople. Thus one man explained: ‘We do not know why they did this. They used to tell our people: ‘You are staying in town, you live in nice houses, you eat nice food, while we are suffering in the bush’ (Interviews 8 (quote) and 1). ‘Modern’ life in town was opposed to ‘traditional’ and ‘primitive’ life in the bush, whereby ‘modern’ was associated with an easy and comfortable lifestyle facilitated by new products and machines. Although many of these products were unobtainable for the ordinary citizen staying in ‘town’ during the war, people in the bush often lacked access to even the most basic goods such as salt, soap, cloth, shoes, matches and so on.

Life in the bush was considered so difficult, that it was assumed that UNITA would not be able to contain its civilians who would always attempt to flee to the town. Preventing such a flight from the bush was seen as another reason for UNITA’s use of violence towards civilians. They always feared that civilians would try to flee to town (Interview 9). Uttering the word ‘town’ was said to result in an immediate death sentence in UNITA camps. Being silent could result in accusations of treachery: ‘You are thinking of salt!’ (Interviews 10 (quote) and 11).

People living in UNITA’s bush were under constant threat of MPLA attacks. As they were supposed to feed UNITA troops, their fields and crops were regarded as war targets by the MPLA forces (Interviews 12 and 13). Often, the fighting was so heavy that they had to flee from one place to another. Many UNITA civilians had experienced periods in which they lived on what they could gather in the bush. Others were caught by MPLA soldiers and taken to town. Those who could stay on, mostly those who lived far from any urban centre, had to face heavy demands by the UNITA army: many UNITA civilians were left with only a fraction of their farming produce (Interviews 11 and 14). People who had lived in the bush during the war years took pride in having developed strategies to cope with a dangerous and difficult way of life. They explained their methods of defence, such as camouflaging white flour and fires, avoiding noises, and concealing their homes. They also mentioned their knowledge of plants used for soap, methods of food storage and other techniques necessary for survival without access to industrial or even agricultural products (Especially Interview 15).

The MPLA’s stress on formal education and scientific socialism was seen as ‘modern’ and contrary to the use of traditional medicine (Davidson 1972). UNITA was thought to possess powers with which they could influence nature, technology and the senses. UNITA’s long-time leader Jonas Savimbi and the commanders in his army were said to use magic to protect themselves during combat. They could disappear, turn into animals, change bullets into water, make the enemy lose all sense of direction etc. According to the refugees, the MPLA’s relationship with the occult drastically changed when they ‘entered’ town upon Angolan independence. Before the end of the colonial era, MPLA commanders were also believed to use magic to protect themselves and their followers, but

after entering 'town' their usage of magic decreased markedly: 'traditional' magic did not go together with 'modern' town life. What remained of the use of magic took on a fundamentally different character: both MPLA presidents, Agostinho Neto and Eduardo dos Santos were said to be able to change into a pen (Interviews 8 and 17). In other words, the use of magic became more restricted and remained firmly within the realm of matters associated with the 'modern', such as literacy.

### Constructing categories

Civilians became separated into two groups. It is telling that it was deemed impossible for townspeople to lie about their background: within no time they would have to own up and reveal the truth (for example: Interviews 1, 2, 8, 18). Time and again it was stressed that the appearance of a town dweller was fundamentally different to that of an inhabitant of the bush. The process of essentialising *vakamusenge* and *vakambongi* had started during the war in the colonial era, when it became increasingly difficult to continue village life and mobility between villages and town was contained. After the Portuguese had left, the rift between bush and town deepened and became even more strongly associated with violence.

The differences between *vakamusenge* and *vakambongi* were assumed to show in many respects. Language and ethnicity certainly played a role: in the bush all would speak Umbundu, 'because the president of the bush is Ocimbundu.' In town the *lingua franca* was Portuguese (Interviews 1, 18). Also MPLA people would shake hands, while in UNITA's bush, people would clap on each other's hands and then knock clenched fists together (Interviews 1, 4, 9, 18). Apart from such codes and gestures, dress was crucial in categorising civilians. Townspeople had access to Western-style clothes and shoes, while in the bush people wore clothes fashioned from animal skins and bark cloth. In contrast to shoe-wearing townspeople, bush-people walked bare-foot, as a result of which many had cracked soles (Interview 11), and in town 'the boys had different hairstyles' (Interviews 4 (quote), 11; Cf. Martin, 1994). Lacking soap, Vaseline and washing powder, people in the bush were regarded as dirty and unclean. The herbs which were used instead took a long time to prepare and did not work as well (Interviews 1, 4, 11). One could smell the difference between townspeople and bush people. This was not only a matter of soap: *vakambongi* smelled of salt, *vakamusenge* of water (Especially Interview 4).

The Western stereotype of hectic town-life and the natural rhythm of the bush was inverted. It was held that in the bush people had to be wary and on guard continuously. Meals were taken hurriedly, women slept with their babies on the back so as to be able to flee with them instantly, and one could tell *vakamusenge* by their walking-style: a brisk, nearly hasty step. In town people walked slowly and carefully (Interviews 9 and 11).

These differences rendered the boundary between *vakambongi* and *vakamusenge* fixed and rigid. Life in the bush was considered both 'primitive' and 'traditional' as opposed to a 'modern' life in town. Only long experience could alter people's identity category. Bush dwellers who were taken to town by the MPLA also needed time to adapt to their new environment. Yet, in general this change was seen as far less problematic than a move of townspeople into the bush.

### Enforced categories

People felt that life in town was safer than in the bush. Venturing out of town in search of food was to risk encountering UNITA soldiers or stepping on a mine. Within the confines of town itself, people felt they were generally more secure than civilians living in the bush. UNITA rebels hardly ever ventured into the regional towns, whereas in the bush, civilians ran the risk of falling victim to violence and extortion by both parties. This is probably why the events after 1992 were regarded as so scandalous and outrageous. In 1992 elections were held, but soon after fighting between UNITA and the MPLA intensified. During this period, called 'peace', many towns, including Menongue (formerly Serpa Pinto), Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga, became the scene of heavy fighting between UNITA and the MPLA and were entirely cut off from the outside world. As the circle closed, people were unable to reach their fields, flights with food aid were made impossible and hunger became an acute problem in the over-populated towns. Bombing completely destroyed the stone buildings which had made town life so different from life in grass huts outside of town. UNITA forces intruded into the urban areas and mowed down scavenging civilians. This period is remembered with intense anger and resentment: the violence was so complete that nobody was safe wherever s/he tried to take refuge.

The growing dichotomy between town and bush during the war was much resented by civilians. Firstly because the increasing opposition between town and bush was the result of the destruction of village life and agriculture by the fighting parties. For many it became impossible to have their own farms: this loss of independence becomes manifest in many accounts in the form of intense nostalgia: 'We used to have nice food, nice porridge. We knew no language of suffering' (Interviews 16 (quote), 4, 13. Also: Brinkman, 1999). The fighting forces were accused of senseless behaviour in all respects: 'If MPLA finds you, they will kill you or take you to town. If UNITA finds you, they will kill you or take you to bush' (Interviews 19 (quote) and 4).

In the context of the war, force was used: people were forced to flee or they were abducted, and afterwards they were forced to stay in 'town' or in 'bush'. People were no longer able to freely visit each other, go where they wished, live where they wanted. Both forced mobility and immobility were a source of major agitation in the accounts.

### Conclusion

After the war for independence started in south-eastern Angola in 1966/1967, village life and agriculture became virtually impossible. Many people tried to flee abroad and the remaining inhabitants were forced to leave their homes to live in the towns controlled by the colonial forces or in the bush with the guerrillas. The group of *vakamembo* ('people from the villages') sharply decreased during the war. The existing opposition between town and countryside was thus sharpened into a dichotomy between town and bush. In particular, during the civil war after independence this opposition became increasingly connected with violence, torture and mutilation. In this process, bush and town were moulded into absolute categories of identity by the fighting parties: *vakamusenge* ('people from the bush') and *vakambongi* ('people from town') were attributed specific character-

istics which made them easily distinguishable. This rapid process of essentialisation not only had consequences on a conceptual level, in many cases it literally became a matter of life and death. While ethnic, regional and ideological explanations have been forwarded in studies on the Angolan war, this relationship between violence, identity and cultural landscape has hitherto received little attention. As this case-study reveals, the connections between discourse and practice (in this case at times even deadly connections), it becomes clear that the history of ideas and social history are closely related to the extent that it is almost impossible to interpret them separately.

In many African countries a process of urbanization is taking place and this is a widely debated phenomenon in African studies. In Angola, the situation is different. During the war, many people fled abroad, to Zambia, Namibia or RDC. Others sought refuge in Angola's capital Luanda. After the peace accords of 2002 most international refugees returned, people returned from the 'bush' and also many IDPs were required to resettle in their 'home' areas. As services in these areas were in most cases entirely lacking, all infrastructure was destroyed and nothing was left of people's property, a considerable number of people did not move to their area of origin, but settled in the regional towns. Now, nearly ten years on, services are slowly on the increase in the countryside and some Angolans consider leading a village life. The consequences of these developments for the categories town, village and bush are as yet unclear and it remains to be seen how *vakambongi*, *vakamembo* and *vakamusenge* as conceptual categories and in practice will be constructed in the future in the South-East of Angola.

### Abbreviations and glossary

FNLA – Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola

IDP – Internally Displaced People

MPLA – Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

RDC – République Démocratique du Congo

UNITA – União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola

UPA – União das Populações de Angola

### Ndonga – river

*Vakambongi* – 'those of the town'

*Vakamembo* – 'those of the villages'

*Vakamusenge* – 'those of the bush'

### Interviews

- Interview 1, with a man born in 1968 in Cuito Cuanavale. His mother tongue is Nkangala, he received four years of schooling, but is at present unemployed. He had been captured by UNITA, then by the MPLA and was an MPLA soldier before his flight to Namibia. This interview took place on 16 June 1997, in Kehemu, in a homestead which I visited regularly, and was attended by three other men who

- joined in the discussion (The list of those who attended always excludes my assistant and myself).
- Interview 2, with a man born near Cuito Cuanavale in 1941. He is a carpenter without formal schooling who speaks Nkangala. Another man, born in Cuito Cuanavale in 1939, a farmer without formal schooling also spoke at length and this reference is taken from his part. The interview took place in Kayengona on 19 August 1997.
  - Interview 3, with a man born near Cuito Cuanavale in 1919 or 1911. He speaks Nkangala, is a member of the Baptist church, fought in four armies before retiring and is now a respected and feared member of the community. The interview was held on 25 June 1997 in Kaisosi.
  - Interview 4, with an elderly woman born in Mavinga. She speaks Mbuela and is a member of the Baptist church. She has no formal schooling and is a farmer. The interview took place on 19 June 1997 in Kaisosi and was joined by 3 other women and a young man.
  - Interview 5, with a woman older than 50 years, born in Namono, a farmer without formal schooling. Interviewed on 21 June 1996 in Kehemu while she was visiting a friend. After a period of membership of the MPLA, she became a UNITA supporter.
  - Interview 6, with a women's group leader in the MPLA, born near Ninda (Moxico) in 1942. She is a farmer, businesswomen and healer without formal schooling. This interview with her took place on 5 September 1996 in Kaisosi.
  - Interview 7, with a woman born in 1969 in Cuito Cuanavale. A Nkangala speaker with 3 years of formal education, who works as a farmer and sometimes bakes bread to sell. This interview with her took place on 13 September 1997 in Kehemu.
  - Interview 8, with a man born in Cuito Cuanavale in 1951. When war started again after the elections in 1992, he spent two years living in the bush before moving to Namibia. He is a farmer with four years of formal schooling. The interview took place in Kehemu, on 3 September 1996.
  - Interview 9, with a woman, born near Cuito Cuanavale about 65 years ago. She is a farmer without formal schooling. She had lost her husband and two children during the war. The interview was conducted in Kaisosi on 18 August 1997.
  - Interview 10, with a woman born in Mavinga in 1964. She is a farmer without formal education. The interview was held on 29 July 1996 in Kehemu.
  - Interview 11, held with the woman of Interview 4 on 21 July in Kaisosi.
  - Interview 12, with a woman born in Menongue, 38 years ago. She was interviewed in Kaisosi on 1 August 1996. She had been a UNITA supporter throughout the war and lived in the bush before she fled for MPLA attacks.
  - Interview 13, with a group of people from the homestead mentioned under Interview 1 visiting our home in Vungu Vungu. The interview took place on 27 June 1997. The part referred to in this article was led by a 38-year-old woman, who,

amidst the other people, 6 of whom were MPLA supporters, spoke about her experiences as a UNITA civilian.

- Interview 14, with a woman born in Mavinga, about 55 years ago. A Lucazi speaker without formal education. She has worked as a laundress for Portuguese people, and is now a farmer. The interview took place in Kaisosi on 26 August 1996.
- Interview 15, with a widowed female farmer born by the Cuatir river, ca. 60 years ago. Interviewed in Kehemu, 29 August 1996. She had fled on several occasions and from several places since the beginning of the war until 1987 when she crossed the Kavango river.
- Interview 16, with a woman born in Longa, about 55 years ago. The interview was held in Kehemu, 2 August 1996. She had spent long time living in the bush under UNITA control. The interview was attended by three other women and a man sitting somewhat further.
- Interview 17, held in Kaisosi on 27 August 1996. The particulars of the main informant are given under Interview 3. The remark mentioned in the article was made by his daughter (a single mother of about 17 years old).
- Interview 18, with two men. The younger was born in 1950 in Njamba and works as a bricklayer and farmer. He had had no formal schooling and belongs to the Roman Catholic church. The other man was born around 1920 near Cuito Cuana-vale and is a farmer without formal schooling who belongs to the Baptist church. The interview took place on 3 September 1997 in Kaisosi and was attended by 3 women and a man, who all belong to the household of the elderly man.
- Interview 19, with an elderly woman interviewed on 14 June 1996 in Kehemu.

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